THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

QUEEN VICTORIA

BY

ROBERT WILSON.

Illustrated with numerous Portraits, Views, and Historical Pictures.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

THE first Eleven Chapters of this Work are from the pen of the late MR. EDMUND OLLIER, to whom the Publishers originally entrusted the commission to write it—a commission which he was compelled to resign by the illness which terminated in his lamented death.

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THE

LIFE AND TIMES OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS OF THE PRINCESS VICTORIA.

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THE ROYAL ARMS.

In the dawn of June 20th, 1837, immediately after the death of King William IV., the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) and the Lord Chamberlain (the Marquis of Conyngham) left Windsor for Kensington, to convey the tidings to his late Majesty's successor. They reached the Palace about five o'clock in the morning, and knocked, rang, and beat at the doors several times before they could obtain admission. When at length the porter was aroused, the visitors

were shown into one of the lower rooms, where a long time passed without an attention being paid them. Growing impatient, they rang the bell (as we rea in the interesting narrative of Miss Wynn), and desired that the attendant on th Princess Victoria might be sent to inform her Royal Highness that they requeste an audience on business of importance. Another long delay ensued, and agai the bell was rung, that some explanation might be given of the difficulty whic appeared to exist. On the Princess's attendant making her appearance, sh declared that her Royal Highness was in so sweet a sleep that she could nc venture to disturb her. It was now evident that stronger measures must b taken, and one of the visitors said, "We have come on business of State to th *Queen*, and even her sleep must give way to that." The attendant disappeare and a few minutes afterwards the young sovereign came into the room in a loos white robe and shawl, her fair hair falling over her shoulders, her feet in slipper her eyes dim with tears, but her aspect perfectly calm and dignified.* Lor Melbourne, the Prime Minister, was at once sent for, and arrived at nine o'clocl when, after an interview of half an hour with the Queen, he addressed himself t a rapid study of the ceremonials to be observed at the approaching Privy Counci Some time after, the Lord Mayor and other members of the Corporation reache the Palace, and the chief members of the Privy Council soon thronged the rooms

Although the final illness of the late King had been rather brief, Willia had for some time been in declining health, and the nation had only to hope tha his life would be prolonged until his niece, the Princess Victoria, had attaine an age which could be regarded as constituting her majority. This had occurre on the 24th of the previous month, when the Princess completed her eighteent year, which had been declared by Act of Parliament to be sufficient. William I was a man of very moderate abilities; but a certain simplicity and geniality c character had secured for him the regard and respect of the people, and ha carried him through the revolutionary epoch of the Reform Bill with no grea loss of popularity, even at a time when he was supposed to be unfriendly to th measure. For the last two years he had ceased to take any interest in th political tendencies of the day, while discharging the routine duties of his hig office with conscientious regularity. Brought up in the midst of totally differen ideas, he could not, at his time of life, accommodate himself to the flood of nove principles which had recently set in, and which he was equally unable to accep and powerless to resist. The result was that, as a well-qualified observer record "he submitted to what he could not help, but evidently with a sense c weariness."† In the previous April he had been distressed by the death o his eldest daughter, Lady de Lisle, and of the Duchess-Dowager of Saxe Meiningen, mother of Queen Adelaide. Great physical prostration ensue shortly afterwards, and by June it was evident that the end could not be fa

* Diaries of a Lady of Quality, by Miss Frances Williams Wynn. 1864.

† Memoirs of the Courts and Cabinets of William IV. and Victoria, by the Duke of Buckingha and Chandos. 1861.

distant. His Majesty was attended by the Queen with the most affectionate devotion; but the weakness steadily increased, and soon reached a fatal termination.

Owing to the state of the King's health, the Duke of Wellington proposed to dispense with the usual Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House; but on the 17th of June the dying monarch sent a message to the illustrious Field-Marshal, desiring that the occasion should be observed in the customary manner, and wishing the host and guests a pleasant day. On the anniversary of the great battle (the 18th), the Duke transmitted to Windsor, in accordance with the prescribed form, the banner by the presentation of which he held his estates. Lord Muncaster presented it to the King, who, raising himself up, grasped the folds of the flag, and exclaimed, "Ah! that was a glorious day for England!" * The eulogies pronounced in Parliament on the character of the deceased sovereign may have been somewhat affected by the conventional or official tone inseparable from such utterances; but they probably contain a fair amount of truth, with no more than the usual omissions. The disposition of William IV. was certainly superior to that of his brother George; and the country recognised the difference with the true instinct of a free people.

The Modern Age, in its most distinctive developments, is almost coeval with the reign of his successor. It is true that the Railway service had already begun; but it was still in its infancy when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, and had not yet effected any great revolution in the sentiments or habits of society. The Electric Telegraph, though fully born in the brains of scientific speculators, had received no practical application. Steam and machinery had still to achieve some of their greatest triumphs. The Postal system of those days seems barbarian to our modern eyes. The Newspaper Press was an insignificant force compared with what it is at the present day. Education, in the popular sense, hardly existed. Nation with nation held but little intercourse, and the prejudices of Englishmen were scarcely less gross than they had been in the days of Hogarth. Manners were far more coarse and brutal than they are now; the laws were more complicated and uncertain; social order was less secure; the arts had not attained so wide and general a culture; medicine, surgery, chemistry, geology, and other sciences, were less cultivated; taste was less diffused and less instructed; the luxuries, and even the comforts, of domestic life were almost unknown to the poorer classes; and political power was held by only a small proportion of the community. The England of 1837 was so different from the England we now behold, that the "Pickwick Papers," belonging to that date, require explanatory notes for the benefit of a younger generation. The history of these vast changes—in which the personal character and influence of her Majesty have had no small share—must be of the deepest interest to all thinking men; and it is this history which we propose to relate.

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Malmesbury. 1884.

ALEXANDRINA VICTORIA, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empre
of India, was born at Kensington Palace on the 24th of May, 1819. She
the daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of King George III.; an
her mother was Victoria Mary Louisa, daughter of his Serene Highne
Francis, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld. The Duke of Kent was the secon
husband of this lady, who in 1802 had married Charles Louis, Prince

WEST FRONT OF KENSINGTON PALACE.

Leiningen—an ill-assorted match, productive of no happiness. The secon
marriage took place in 1818; but the Duke of Kent died in less than tw
years. Her Majesty's descent is very illustrious. It may be traced (con
jecturally, at least) up to Odoacer, a warlike chief of the Heruli, who, aft
defeating the forces of Romulus Augustulus, the last Roman Emperor of th
West, in the year 476 of the Christian era, disputed the kingdom of Italy wit
Theodoric the Ostrogoth. One of the supposed descendants of Odoacer wa
Boniface, Count of Lucca and Duke of Tuscany, who lived in the early pa
of the ninth century, and from whom sprang Alberto Azzo II., Marquis
Italy and Lord of Este, who, in the first half of the eleventh century, marrie
Cunegonda, of the House of Guelph, by whom he had Guelph, Duke of Bavari

the ancestor of the House of Brunswick, and consequently of the present Royal Family of Great Britain, who are called Este-Guelphs. According to some accounts, however, the Guelphs are derived from a younger brother of Odoacer, whose son, Olfigandus, held a command in the army of Belisarius. But in truth

KING WILLIAM IV.

these matters lie beyond verification, and are interesting only as affording a shadowy link between the present and the past.

One of the most famous ancestors of the Duchess of Kent, and therefore of Queen Victoria herself, was Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony in the early years of the sixteenth century, who ranks among the first converts to Protestantism, and who befriended Luther when that great reformer stood in peril of his life. The Prince Consort was likewise descended from the same family, and the Queen's children are thus doubly connected with one of the most

distinguished German houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In late times, various members of the Saxon family have shown their prowess a warriors, or their capacity as rulers; but the father of the Duchess of Kent the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, was a man of pacific inclinations and retirin habits, with a taste for the fine arts. The Duke of Kent was remarkabl as a generous supporter of popular government—even to an extreme borderin on democratic ideas—at a time when the Court and the ruling classes wer fanatically enthusiastic on the Tory side. Tall and striking in aspect, trained t military service, irreproachable in private life, and exact in all his busines habits, the Duke of Kent inherited the manly and sedate qualities of his father George III., while superadding to them a breadth of intellect to which the Kin himself could advance no claim. As a commander in the British army, his Roya Highness incurred some temporary disfavour by his strictness as a disciplinarian but this was afterwards removed by the liberal character of his political views At a banquet, during which he replied to the toast of "The Junior Members o the Royal Family," he said:—"I am a friend of civil and religious liberty, all th world over. I am an enemy to all religious tests. I am a supporter of a genera system of education. All men are my brethren; and I hold that power i delegated only for the benefit of the people. These are the principles of myself and of my beloved brother, the Duke of Sussex. They are not popular principle just now; that is, they do not conduct to place or office. *All* the members o the Royal Family do not hold the same principles. For this I do not blam them; but we claim for ourselves the right of thinking and acting as we thin best."

Like some of the other Royal Princes, the Duke of Kent refrained from marriag until after the death of the Princess Charlotte, on the 6th of November, 1817 That ill-fated lady—the only child of the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV.— had been married, on the 2nd of May, 1816, to Prince Leopold, third son o the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and brother of the Princess who was subsequentl united to the Duke of Kent, and became the mother of our Queen. Leopol (who, several years later, was chosen King of the Belgians) was distinguished from his earliest maturity to his latest days, by high character and distinguishe abilities; and the English people hoped much from a union which seemed t promise so fairly. But, unhappily, the Princess Charlotte died in childbed; and as the infant was still-born, the succession to the throne was left in a ver precarious state. Accordingly, in the following year (1818), the Duke of Clarence third son of George III., and afterwards William IV., the Duke of Kent, fourt son, and the Duke of Cambridge, seventh son, contracted nuptial alliances but that of the Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the Duke of Kent, wa unattended by any issue that survived, so that the Princess Victoria soon becam heiress-presumptive to the crown of Great Britain.

For some time after their marriage, the Duke and Duchess of Kent reside abroad, chiefly from motives of economy, the allowance of the former bein

restricted within narrow limits by the servile Parliament of that day, owing to his political independence. In view, however, of an expected event, the Royal couple returned to England in the latter part of April, 1819, so that their child should be "born a Briton;" and, as we have said, the future Queen of England drew her first breath on the 24th of May. The Duke of Kent had been long estranged from his brother, the Prince Regent; but a reconciliation took place shortly after the birth of the Princess Victoria. The infant was christened on the 24th of June at Kensington Palace, where she had been born; on which occasion, the gold font was brought from the Tower, and the draperies were removed from the Chapel Royal, St. James's. Chief among the sponsors were the Prince Regent and the Emperor Alexander of Russia, the latter represented by the Duke of York. It was in compliment to the Czar that the infant Princess received Alexandrina as her first name. In subsequent years, however, this Russianised Greek appellation was wisely abandoned, as unfamiliar and unwelcome to English ears, and the far nobler-sounding "Victoria" took its place. The second name, now famous throughout the world, is of course pure Latin, and no more native to our race than Alexandrina. But in a certain sense we are all Latins—we of the West of Europe; and the accents of the Imperial tongue are familiar to our ears. The meaning and sound of "Victoria," moreover, are strikingly appropriate to the sovereign of a great Empire; and the omen has, on the whole, been happily fulfilled under the sceptre of her Majesty, not merely in the triumphs of war, but also in the victories of peace.

It is not generally known, that, so far as can be inferred from imperfect and obscure records, a monarch bearing the name of Victoria once before held sway in Britain. During the general weakness of the Roman Empire in the second half of the third century, several of the provinces detached themselves from the central authority, and for a while established separate governments. Spain, Gaul, and Britain formed a western realm of immense extent, the capital of which was at Trèves, on the Moselle, then a city of Gallia Belgica; and the sovereignty of this varied region passed in time to an ambitious and energetic woman named Victoria. She is mentioned in the great work of Gibbon; yet little is known of her acts or character. It is probable that she was a resolute and capable despot; but she appears in history as a name, and little else.

For the brief remainder of his life, the Duke of Kent dwelt principally at Claremont, which, but a short time before, had been the residence of the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, and which was rendered sadly memorable by the death of the former. But the unusually severe winter of 1819-20 induced the Duke and Duchess to visit Sidmouth, for the sake of the mild climate of Southern Devonshire. At Salisbury Cathedral, to which he made an excursion during the frosty weather, the Duke caught a slight cold, which, after his return to Sidmouth, became serious, owing, it would seem, to neglect and imprudence. According to the medical custom of those days, the patient was copiously bled, and not improbably owed his death to the exhaustion thus occasioned. He expired on the

23rd of January, 1820, in his fifty-third year; and so small were his means that he left the Duchess and the Princess totally devoid of maintenance. Such was the statement made long afterwards by Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who was with his sister during the days of her trial and bereavement. Soon after the fatal event, the Prince accompanied the widowed lady to London, where addresses of condolence were voted by both Houses of Parliament. The address of the Commons was presented by Lords Morpeth and Clive, when the Duchess of Kent

CLAREMONT.

appeared with the infant Princess in her arms. The scene was one of the chambers in Kensington Palace; and that historic building can scarcely have witnessed a more affecting interview.

The edifice in which Queen Victoria passed most of her early years, and which yet attracts the interest both of Englishmen and Americans, dates, as a palace, from the time of William III., though, at a rather earlier period, the Finches, Earls of Nottingham, had a mansion on the same spot, of which a small portion is believed to be still existent. The second Earl of Nottingham sold the house and grounds to the illustrious Dutchman who came to rescue us from the Pope and the Stuarts; and his Majesty caused additions to be made to the building by the greatest English architect of that time—Sir Christopher Wren. Successive

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF KENT: PRESENTING THE COMMONS' ADDRESS OF CONDOLENCE TO THE DUCHESS AT KENSINGTON PALACE (See p. 8.)

sovereigns, down to George II., still further enlarged the domicile and the grounds; and, for sixty years of the eighteenth century, Kensington Palace was the most brilliant and courtly place in London. All the nobles, statesmen, wits and beauties of the age assembled in its saloons, or paraded in its gardens. Many are the anecdotes (scandalous and otherwise) connected with this royal home but there are pleasanter associations too. Tickell, one of the minor *literati* of the period which we associate with Queen Anne, though it extended into the reigns of George I. and his successor, wrote a pretty fairy tale, in verse, in connection with Kensington Gardens; and Pope may have studied in that courtly enclosure the belles and fops of his "Rape of the Lock." In the Palace itself, Death was a frequent visitor, as he must be in houses which survive several generations William III. and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, Prince George of Denmark, and King George II., all died within its walls; and then came an eclipse. The sedate and formal residence, with its stately gardens, fell out of favour with George III. though it is not easy to say why, since his own character inclined him to the formal and sedate. All the glancing lights of wit and beauty faded from its rooms; and, by the earlier years of the present century, the Palace had acquired the sombre and somewhat depressing character inseparable from all old buildings which have seen better days, and from which the laughter and the life of earlier times have passed away.

Such were the surroundings amongst which the Princess Victoria was brought up. They were far from inspiriting; yet they may have helped to form the character of the future Queen, and to give to it an element of gravity, not unbecoming the sovereign of countless myriads. The walls of the apartments were adorned with pictures belonging chiefly to the Byzantine and early German schools; and these probably did much in creating a taste for art. The training of the young Princess was conducted by her mother—a task for which she was admirably qualified. When the Prince of Leiningen died, in 1814, his widow, afterwards the Duchess of Kent, was left the guardian of her young sons, and the ruler of their territory until they came of age. These duties she had performed in a manner the most exemplary; and she afterwards showed equal good sense in the education of the Princess Victoria. The child was taught from her earliest years to rely on exercise and temperance as the best promoters of health; to devote a reasonable amount of time to riding and sailing; to be economical, yet charitable; and, while observing a courteous demeanour towards her inferiors, to keep aloof from the evil influence of parasites. In early years, it was rather the moral than the mental nature of the Princess that was cultivated. The Dowager-Duchess of Coburg wisely wrote to her daughter, in 1823, that it would be better not to force book-knowledge too soon on one so young; and this advice appears to have been followed.

As her Royal Highness grew up, however, she was well grounded in languages, music, and such branches of science as were then thought suitable to ladies. Her general education was afterwards entrusted to the Duchess of Northumberland,

wife of the third Duke; and the Princess speedily developed many charming qualities. Living for the most part in retirement, she was but little known to the outer world; but her affability made an excellent impression on all with whom she came in contact. Her character was to some extent influenced by the great philanthropist, William Wilberforce, whom she saw very frequently. Several pleasing anecdotes are related of her charity and kindness; and it is said that in her visits to Ramsgate she was a great favourite with the bathing-women and other characteristic frequenters of the sands. When, a little later in life, it became nearly certain that she would succeed to the throne, owing to the childlessness of her father's elder brothers, the Princess emerged more into public view, and took her rides and walks in places where she could be generally seen. It is said that, for some years, George IV. treated his sister-in-law and her infant with marked coldness; but the Duke and Duchess of Clarence—whose own disappointments, in the failure of offspring, might have furnished some slight excuse for neglect—showed much kindness to the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria. This cordial sentiment continued after the accession of William IV., and the Queen never forgot, in later days, the respect and affection which she owed to Adelaide.

The early years of the Princess were passed under healthful conditions, and resulted in the formation of a strong constitution. Nevertheless, the public were disquieted by rumours to the effect that the daughter of the Duke of Kent would never attain her majority, or that, at any rate, if she lived to marry, she would never become the mother of a family. In proportion as these statements were believed, fears arose that the succession would pass to the Duke of Cumberland—a prince very generally disliked for his arrogance, and for faults and vices which may perhaps have been exaggerated by popular hatred. The connection between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Hanover—which would have been perpetuated by the succession of any one of the Princes, but which the existence of the Salic Law in the latter State rendered incompatible with the accession of a female sovereign in England—was another contingency which the people of this country regarded with the utmost distaste. For these reasons, the false reports concerning the Princess's health created no little agitation. But it soon came to the public knowledge that the unwelcome tidings were wholly false; and it was evident, from her frequent appearances in the streets and parks, that the heiress-apparent to the British throne was not likely to die prematurely.

The studies of the Princess were pursued with a fair amount of diligence, though her Royal Highness would occasionally show her independence by refusing to be too closely bound by rules. On one occasion, she objected to that dull, mechanical practising of notes which the young learner of the pianoforte has perforce to undergo. She was told that this was necessary before she could become mistress of the instrument. "What would you think of me," she asked, "if I became mistress at once?" She was told that that would be impossible;

there was no royal road to music. "Oh, there is no royal road to music, eh?" repeated the Princess. "No royal road? And I am not mistress of my pianoforte? But I will be, I assure you; and the royal road is this"—whereupon she closed the piano, locked it, and took out the key. "There!" she continued, "that's being mistress of the piano. And the royal road to learning is never to take a lesson till you're in the humour to do it." This, however, was spoken

QUEEN CAROLINE'S DRAWING-ROOM, KENSINGTON PALACE.

more out of a sense of fun than from any spirit of opposition; for, immediately afterwards, her Royal Highness resumed the interrupted lesson.

The readiness to admit a fault was amusingly shown by a little incident which occurred during a visit to the seat of Earl Fitzwilliam. The royal party were walking in the grounds, when the Princess ran on in advance. One of the under-gardeners pointed out that, owing to recent heavy rains, a certain walk was very slippery, or, as he expressed it, using a local term, "very slape." "Slape! slape!" exclaimed the Princess, in the style of quick reiteration which characterised the utterance of her grandfather, George III.; "and pray what is 'slape'?" The requisite explanation was given; but the little lady proceeded down the path, despite all warning, and speedily fell to the ground. Seeing what

had happened, Earl Fitzwilliam called out, "Now your Royal Highness has an explanation of the term 'slape,' both theoretically and practically." "Yes, my lord," she replied, "I think I have. I shall never forget the word 'slape.'" Another time, she persisted in playing with a dog against which she had been cautioned. The animal made a snap at her hand; and when her cautioner expressed his fears that she had been bitten, she replied, "Oh, thank you! thank you! You're right, and I am wrong; but he didn't bite me—he only warned me. I shall be careful in future." *

An additional grant of £6,000 a year was made to the Duchess of Kent in the

QUEEN ADELAIDE.

early summer of 1825, in order that the Princess Victoria, then six years of age, might be enabled to live more in accordance with her rank and prospects. After this period, the King (George IV.) behaved with greater kindness to his sister-in-law and niece. The latter, however, was not seen much at court during the remainder of that monarch's reign; indeed, her time was mainly occupied by the work of education. It was in 1830—shortly after the death of George IV.—that the Duchess of Northumberland was appointed, at the suggestion of the new King, to the office of governess to the Princess; and under her judicious care considerable progress was soon made. The accession of William IV. to the throne, on the 26th of June, 1830, placed the Princess Victoria in direct succession to the British Crown, as the Duke of York had died on the 5th of January, 1827. It was therefore thought advisable to make provision for the various contingencies

* McGilchrist's Life of Queen Victoria. 1868.

of the future; and accordingly, towards the close of the year, a Regency Bill was introduced into Parliament, which provided that Queen Adelaide, in the event of her giving birth to a posthumous child, should be the guardian of such child during its minority, and also Regent of the kingdom. If that event did not occur, the Duchess of Kent was to be Regent during the minority of her daughter, the Princess Victoria, who was not to marry, while a minor, without the consent of the King, or, if he died, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

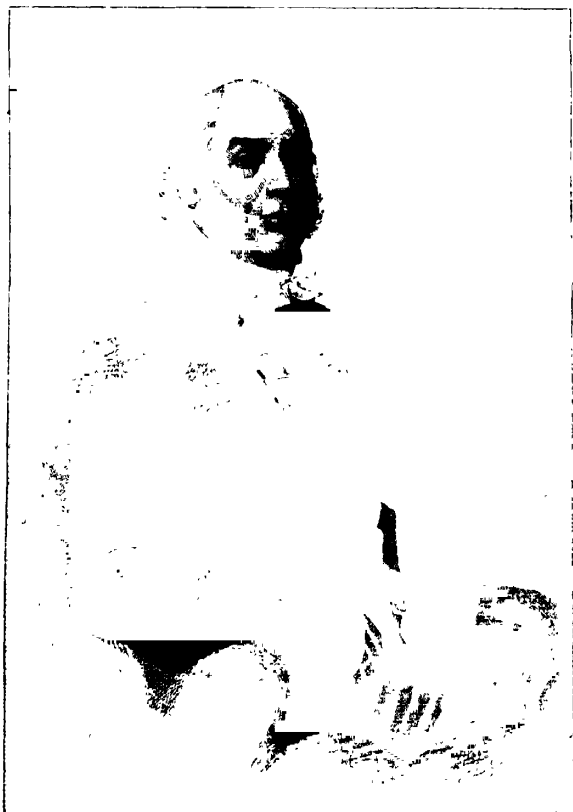
During these early years, Prince Leopold, brother of the Duchess of Kent, had acted the part of a father to the young Princess; but he was now removed to a different scene and other duties. A revolution broke out at Brussels on the 25th of August, 1830, with the ultimate result that Belgium was separated from the Kingdom of the Netherlands, of which, since 1814, it had formed a part. On the 12th of July, 1831, Leopold was elected King of the new nationality, and a week later entered the capital. He had shortly before been designated by the Great Powers to the sovereignty of Greece, which had just achieved its independence of Turkey; but he declined that perilous and doubtful honour. As the liberal and enlightened ruler of the Belgians, however, he acquired great and deserved distinction until his death on the 10th of December, 1865. The assumption of regal powers on the Continent removed Leopold from constant association with his niece; but the nearness of Brussels enabled him to make frequent visits to England, and in after years the Queen often consulted him on difficult matters of State policy. His decease was in many respects a serious affliction to the sovereign of this realm.

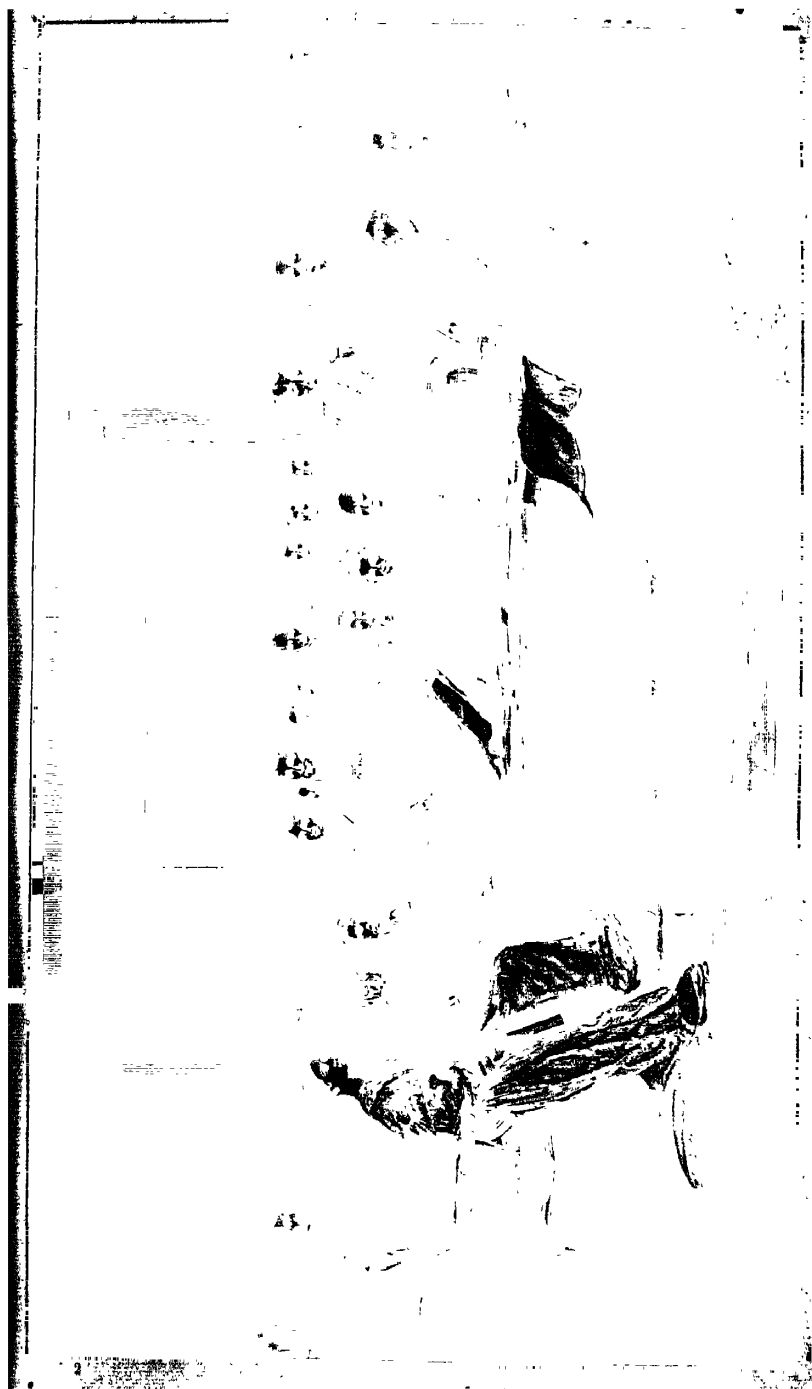
Under the general direction of the Duchess of Northumberland, the instruction of the Princess was conducted by various gentlemen of high repute in their several attainments. She made considerable progress in Latin; from Mr. Amos she received the elements of Constitutional Government as it exists in England; and Westall, the painter, taught her the lighter graces of drawing. Music was now studied with assiduity, and the future Queen revealed at an early age that passion for a noble art which has distinguished her to the present day. Shortly after the accession of William IV., the health of the Princess underwent some decline, due in part to the distracting gaieties to which she had been introduced since the change of reign. This failure of health appears to have been the reason why her Royal Highness and the Duchess of Kent were absent from the coronation of King William, on the 8th of September, 1831, though the circumstance gave occasion at the time to many sinister remarks, as if the favour of the new monarch had been suddenly withdrawn from his niece. Such, however, was not the case. The Princess was treated with the consideration befitting her rank; and, on the 24th of May, 1831, when she completed her twelfth year, Queen Adelaide gave a juvenile ball in her honour, the magnificence of which made a deep impression on the mind of the principal guest. It is evident, therefore, that the King and Queen retained their old affection for the Princess; but the Duchess of Northumberland saw that so much excitement was having a prejudicial effect on

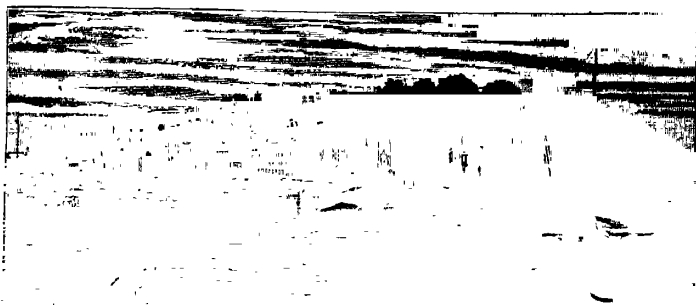
the health of her pupil, and she accordingly advised absence from court, and from the fatigue and turmoil of a coronation ceremony. Only a month before, the King had recommended to Parliament an increased allowance for the Princess; in consequence of which, an additional income of £10,000 a year, for her Royal Highness's maintenance and education, was granted by the national representatives. The Princess, however, was still much sequestered; and it may be that the Court of William IV., though better than that of his brother, was not well suited to a young girl whose mother considered her purity more than anything else.

It was about this period that Southey, the poet, historian, and critic, being one morning at Kensington Palace, was admitted to an interview with the Princess, who expressed to him the great pleasure she had derived both from his poetry and his prose, especially from the "Life of Nelson," which she declared she had read half a dozen times over. At the time of the coronation, the Duchess of Kent and her daughter were staying in the Isle of Wight, from which they afterwards proceeded to Worthing and Malvern. The Princess was a great admirer of ecclesiastical architecture and music, and she frequently visited such cathedral cities as Worcester, Hereford, and Chester. She was also entertained by the principal members of the nobility at their country seats, and thus acquired a knowledge of the semi-feudal state which still distinguishes the lives of our aristocracy. A very extensive home-tour was made in 1832, when, amongst other interesting events, the royal party visited the cotton-mills of the Messrs. Strutt at Belper, in Derbyshire. By means of a model, Mr. James Strutt explained to the Princess the various processes of cotton-spinning, and a great impression was produced by this exposition of a most important manufacture. It was a very felicitous thought to take her Royal Highness to one of those great seats of industry to which England owes so much, and to show her how varied, complicated, and far-reaching were the interests over which, in the maturity of time, she was to bear sway. From this visit, in all probability, may be dated the Queen's intelligent appreciation of the commercial and manufacturing greatness of her Empire, which brings unparalleled wealth into the land, circulates wages amongst innumerable labourers, and furnishes a counterpoise to the preponderance of hereditary power. In 1856, the Queen conferred the dignity of a peerage, with the title of Baron Belper, on the son of Mr. James Strutt, who had conducted her over the factory four-and-twenty years earlier.

Before the conclusion of the royal tour, the Princess and her mother visited Oxford, where they were presented with an address in the Sheldonian Theatre by the Vice-Chancellor. In her reply, the Duchess of Kent said:—"We close a most interesting journey by a visit to this University, that the Princess may see, as far as her years will allow, all that is interesting in it. The history of our country has taught her to know its importance by the many distinguished persons who, by their character and talents, have been raised to eminence by the education they have received in it. Your loyalty to the King, and recollection

of the favour you have enjoyed under the paternal sway of his house, could not fail, I was sure, to lead you to receive his niece with all the disposition you evince to make this visit agreeable and instructive to her. It is my object to ensure, by all means in my power, her being so educated as to meet the just expectation of all classes in this great and free country."

THE DUKE OF KENT.

Their Royal Highnesses returned to Kensington on the 9th of November, 1832, and in the following year confined themselves to the south coast of England. The most memorable circumstance of this trip was one of those ceremonials in which the Queen has since so often taken part. While the Duchess of Kent and her daughter were residing at East Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, they attended the opening of the new landing-pier at Southampton, then beginning to acquire importance as a great southern port. In Southampton

Water, the Royal yacht, which had been towed from Cowes by a steamer, was met by a deputation from the corporation of the town, the members of which were stationed on board an eight-oared barge, with one of the town-sergeants bearing a silver oar. To the address of this deputation, the Duchess of Kent replied that she wished her daughter to become attached, at an early age, to works of utility—an attachment which, in later life, her Majesty has exhibited on many interesting occasions. The distinguished visitors were then rowed ashore, and entertained at luncheon; after which, the Duchess of Kent signified her pleasure that the new pier should be called the Royal Pier.

In July, 1834, the Princess Victoria was confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) in the Chapel Royal, St. James's. The remainder of the year was distinguished by no very remarkable events; but a little incident occurring at Tunbridge Wells gives a pleasing idea of the young Princess's benevolence. The husband of an actress employed at the town theatre died under circumstances of poverty, leaving his wife on the eve of her confinement. Distressed at what she heard, the Princess obtained £10 from her mother, added an equal sum from her own resourees, and personally carried the amount to the sufferer. After the accession of her Majesty to the throne, she conferred on the actress an annuity of £40 for the remainder of her life. The years 1835 and 1836 passed very quietly; but 1837 was destined to be a date of great importance. On the 24th of May, the Princess completed her eighteenth year, and was declared legally of age, according to the provisions of the Act of Parliament to which reference has before been made. The day was kept as a general holiday: Kensington was especially festive, and a serenade to the Princess was performed under the Palace windows at seven o'clock in the evening. Among the numerous birthday presents was a magnificent pianoforte from the King. Within a month from that time, William IV. had breathed his last.

COWES HARBOUR.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY EVENTS OF THE NEW REIGN.

First Council of the Queen—Her Address to the Assembled Dignitaries—Admirable Demeanour of the young Sovereign—Proclamation of Queen Victoria—Condition of the Empire at the Time of her Accession—Character of Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister—His Training of the Queen in Constitutional Principles—Question of the Royal Prerogative and the choosing of the Ministry—Removal of the Queen to Buckingham Palace—First Levee—Her Majesty's Speech on the Dissolution of Parliament—Amelioration of the Criminal Laws—Results of the General Election—Meeting of the New Legislature—The Civil List fixed—Relations of the Queen towards the Duchess of Kent—Daily Life of her Majesty—Royal Visit to the City—Insurrection in the Two Canadas—Measures of the Government, and Suppression of the Revolt—The Melbourne Administration and Lord Durham—Reform of the Canadian Constitution.

We now resume our narrative of what happened on the first day of the new reign—the 20th of June, 1837. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon—the appointed hour—Queen Victoria, attended by the chief officers of the household, entered the Council Chamber, and seated herself on a throne which had been placed there. The Lord Chancellor (Cottenham) then administered the customary oath taken by the sovereigns of England on their accession, in which they promise to govern according to the laws. The Princes, Peers, Privy Councillors, and Cabinet Ministers, next took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, kneeling before the throne; and the first name on the list was that of Ernest, King of Hanover, known to Englishmen as the Duke of Cumberland. The Queen caused these distinguished persons to be sworn in as members of the Council, and the Cabinet Ministers, having surrendered their seals of office, immediately received them back from her Majesty, and kissed her hand on their reappointment. Having ordered the necessary alterations in the official stamps and form of prayer, the Council drew up and signed the Proclamation of her Majesty's accession, which was publicly read on the following day. But one of the principal incidents of that memorable Council was the reading by the Queen (previously to the surrender of the seals by the Ministers, and their reappointment) of an address which ran as follows:—

"The severe and afflicting loss which the nation has sustained by the death of his Majesty, my beloved uncle, has devolved upon me the duty of administering the government of this Empire. This awful responsibility is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden, were I not sustained by the hope that Divine Providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find, in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources which usually belong to a more mature age and longer experience. I place my firm reliance upon the wisdom of Parliament, and upon the loyalty and

affection of my people. I esteem it also a peculiar advantage that I succeed to a sovereign whose constant regard for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and whose desire to promote the amelioration of the laws and institutions of the country, have rendered his name the object of general attachment and veneration. Educated in England, under the tender and affectionate care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country. It will be my

GATEWAY OF ST JAMES'S PALACE

unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, securing at the same time, to all, the full enjoyment of religious liberty; and I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote to the utmost of my power the happiness and welfare, of all classes of my subjects."

The demeanour of the Queen on this difficult and agitating occasion is described as composed and dignified. She received the homage of the nobility without any undue excitement, and her delivery of the address was an admirable specimen of the clear and impressive reading to which her Majesty has since accustomed the public. Occasionally she glanced towards Lord Melbourne for guidance; but this occurred very seldom, and for the most part her self-

possession was extraordinary. The quietude of manner was now and then broken by touches of natural feeling which moved the hearts of all present. Her Majesty was particularly considerate to the Royal Dukes, her uncles; and when the Duke of Sussex (who was infirm) presented himself to take the

QUEEN VICTORIA AT THE TIME OF HER ACCESSION.

oath of allegiance, and was about to kneel, she anticipated his action, kissed his cheek, and said, with great tenderness of tone and gesture, "Do not kneel, my uncle, for I am still Victoria, your niece."

On the whole, that day was the most memorable in the Queen's life, and its effects were seen next morning in an aspect of pallor and fatigue. An inexperienced girl, only just eighteen, had been invested with a power which carried with it the gravest responsibilities towards innumerable millions; and the

had for the first time to discharge the duties of the State—duties of which she could have had no practical knowledge until then—under the affliction of a personal loss, for there can be no doubt that she was attached to her uncle, the late King. The lonely height of regal splendour was never more sharply or intensely felt than by that young Princess in the first hours of her grandeur and her burden. It is true that the death of King William was not unexpected, and that his niece had for some years been familiarised with the fact that, in the ordinary course of nature, she would one day succeed to the crown. But death is always surprising when it comes, and the new monarch had seen little of the ceremonial life of courts before her elevation to the throne. Owing to the temporary failure of health to which we have alluded, the Princess had not been made fully aware of her destiny until after she had entered her twelfth year. She had probably thought but little of the future in the intervening time; and at eighteen she was called upon to administer the affairs of a vast Empire, full of varied races, of complex interests, and of unsettled problems.

The new sovereign was proclaimed under the title of "Alexandrina Victoria"; but the first name has not been officially used since that day. The appearance of the Queen at one of the windows of St. James's Palace, on the morning of June 21st, was greeted with immense enthusiasm by a vast crowd of people who had assembled to hear the Proclamation read, but who did not anticipate that the sovereign would present herself. At ten o'clock, the guns in the Park fired a salute, and immediately afterwards her Majesty stood conspicuously before her subjects. Dressed very simply in deep mourning, her fair hair and clear complexion came out the more effectively for their black surroundings. With visible emotion, and with her face bathed in tears, she listened to the reading of the Proclamation, supported by Lord Melbourne on the one side, and by Lord Lansdowne on the other, both dressed in court costume; while close at hand was the Duchess of Kent. The court-yard of the Palace was filled with a brilliant assemblage of high functionaries, consisting of Garter King-at-Arms, heralds and pursuivants, officers-of-arms on horseback, sergeants at-arms, the sergeant-trumpeter, the Knights-Marshal and their men, the Duke of Norfolk as Earl-Marshal of England, and others—all clad in the picturesque dresses and wearing the insignia of their offices. At the conclusion of the Proclamation the Queen threw herself into the arms of her mother, and gave free vent to her feelings, while the band played the National Anthem, the Park and Tower guns discharged their salvos, and the spectators burst into repeated acclamations.

In some respects, the accession of Queen Victoria took place at a fortunate time. England was at peace with all foreign Powers; her colonies were undisturbed, with the exception of Canada, where some long-seated discontents were on the eve of breaking out into a rebellion which for a while proved formidable; and, about three years before, slavery had ceased in all British possessions. At home, several of the more difficult questions of politics and statecraft had been settled, either permanently or for a time in the

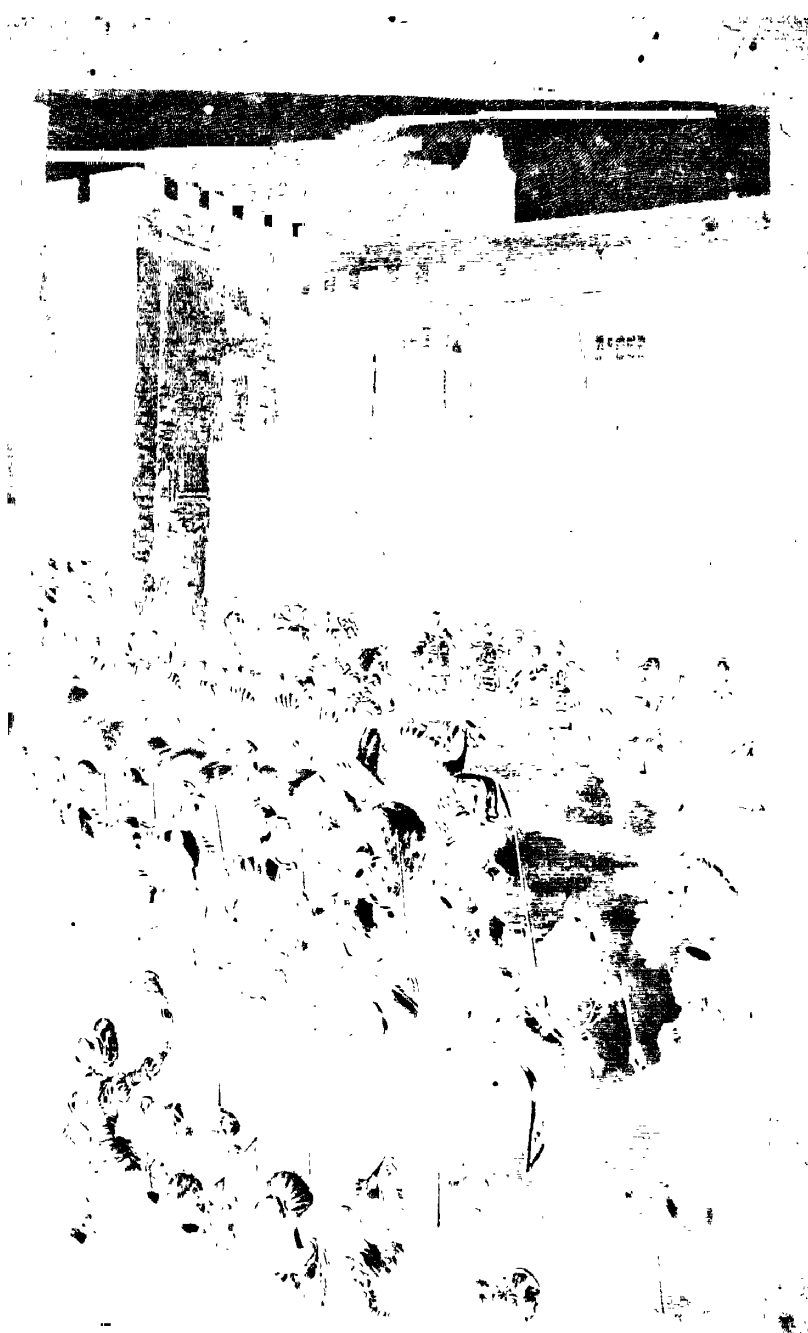
sections of the people, formerly disloyal, or at least unfriendly to the existing order, were well disposed towards a form of government which no longer appeared in the light of an oppression. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, in 1828, had conciliated the Dissenters; the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities, in 1829, had abolished one of the grievances of Ireland. By the Reform Bill of 1832—the temporary defeat of which had very nearly plunged the country into revolution—the middle classes had obtained a considerable accession of political power. The sanguinary rigour of the criminal laws had been partially mitigated; and, in September, 1835, an Act was passed for reforming the government of municipal corporations. The great Constitutional question, touching on the relation of the sovereign towards the Cabinet, had been virtually settled, during the same year, in harmony with those Parliamentary claims which were at any rate in accordance with the current of popular feeling. France—the great hotbed of revolution—was comparatively tranquil; and nothing in the general state of the world betokened the advent of any serious troubles.

Lord Melbourne, who held the office of Prime Minister at the time of the Queen's accession, was an easy-tempered man of the world, well versed in political affairs, but possessed of little power as a speaker, and distinguished rather for tact than high statesmanship. He had entered public life in 1805 as an adherent of Charles James Fox, and therefore as a Whig of the most pronounced type; it was as leader of the Whigs that he now held power; but in the latter part of the reign of George IV. he had taken office under the Conservative Administrations of Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington. In truth, he cared more for government than for legislation, and was therefore well disposed to join any set of politicians who seemed capable of conducting the affairs of the country with firmness and sense. Still, his most natural and permanent inclinations were towards a moderate Whiggism, very different, however, from the quasi-Radicalism of Fox, which he had adopted in the days of his youth. In 1830 he accepted the seals of the Home Office in the Government of Earl Grey; and this brought him back to the old connection. On the retirement of Lord Grey, in July, 1834, he succeeded to the Premiership; but in the following November the King dismissed the Ministry without any reference to the wishes of Parliament, and placed the Government in the hands of Sir Robert Peel. This was the occasion of that Constitutional struggle which, in consequence of the House of Commons gaining the day, has fixed the later practice in accordance with what are usually regarded as popular principles. Sir Robert Peel encountered so much opposition that, in April, 1835, he was compelled to resign, and Lord Melbourne for the second time became First Lord of the Treasury.

It was from this versatile, well-informed, but not very profound statesman that her Majesty received her first practical instructions in the theory and working of the British Constitution. That Lord Melbourne discharged his office with ability, devotion, and conscientiousness, is generally admitted; but it may

be questioned whether he did not, however unintentionally, give something of a party bias to her Majesty's conceptions of policy, and whether his teachings did not too much depress the regal power in England. It is in truth only within the present reign that it has come to be a fixed principle in English affairs that the Ministers for the time being are to be chosen from the majority of the

LORD MELBOURNE

House of Commons, without the least regard to the sovereign's desires. Melbourne himself, as we have seen, suffered from William's assertion of his independence in the matter of choosing his Ministers; and it was perhaps not unnatural that he should wish to establish a contrary practice, by instilling into the mind of his illustrious pupil the conviction that absolute submission to the Parliamentary majority (or rather to the majority in the Lower House) was the only Constitutional course. But in fact that very course was an innovation; and to Lord Melbourne, more than to any other man, is the innovation attributable. There had undoubtedly been a movement in this direction since the latter end of the seventeenth century; but it had

PROCLAMATION OF THE QUEEN AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE. (See p. 22.)

than continuous, and was frequently checked by reactions towards the other practice.

From an early date in the Middle Ages, the King of England was assisted in the task of governing by the Privy Council, the members of which body did not, at the utmost, much exceed twelve. All were appointed by the sovereign, and each was removable at his pleasure. In process of time, the number of councillors became so great that their capacity for the despatch of business was seriously impaired; and in 1679 Charles II. limited the assembly to thirty members, of whom fifteen were to be the principal officers of State. Those functionaries had already assumed, under the name of the "Cabinet," a species of separate existence, though only as a part of the larger body to which they belonged. It was not until shortly after the Restoration that this interior council acquired much importance; and by many it was regarded as unconstitutional and dangerous. Even at the present day, the Cabinet, in the striking language of Macaulay, "still continues to be altogether unknown to the law: the names of the noblemen and gentlemen who compose it are never officially announced to the public; no record is kept of its meetings and resolutions, nor has its existence ever been recognised by any Act of Parliament."* Nevertheless, the Cabinet, having gained a place in the machinery of the State, gradually drew to itself greater powers; and when, in 1693, the Earl of Sunderland persuaded William III. to choose his Ministers from among the members of the predominant party in the House of Commons, it is obvious that both the Legislature and the Government obtained increased importance. Yet the King still allowed himself considerable latitude, and had certainly no intention of giving up all power in the matter.

The eighteenth century was mainly divided between the laxity of the first two Georges—who, as foreigners largely concerned in Continental affairs, were glad to leave much to their Ministers, especially to so powerful a man as Sir Robert Walpole, though their powers of initiative were not entirely abandoned—and the high-prerogative ideas of the third George, who conceived that the kingly office had been unduly lowered since the Revolution of 1688, and who resented the supremacy of a few Whig families. Whatever may be thought of his policy or his motives, it cannot be denied that George III. was within his right in determining to have an actual voice in the appointment of his Ministers. A legal authority says:—"The Cabinet Council, as it is called, consists of those Ministers of State who are more immediately honoured with his Majesty's confidence, and who are summoned to consult upon the important and arduous discharge of the executive authority. Their number and selection depend only upon the King's pleasure; and each member of that Council receives a summons or message for every attendance." Such is the statement of Mr. Edward Christian, Chief Justice of the Isle of Ely, and Downing Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge, in a note to the fourteenth edition of Blackstone's

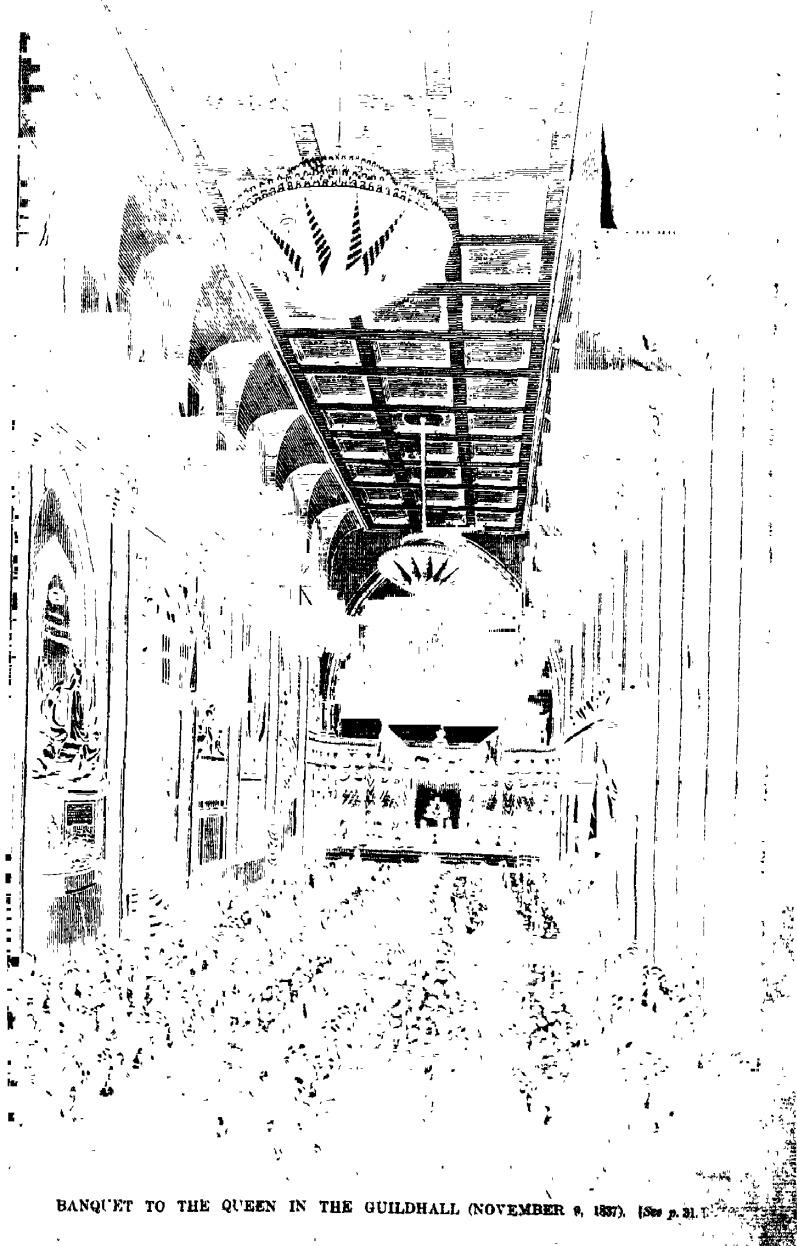
* History of England, Vol. I., chap. 2.

Commentaries, published in 1803; and similar expositions appear in much more recent law-books. Originally, the Cabinet Council was a committee of the Privy Council: it is now, in effect, very little else than a committee of the House of Commons; and it was Lord Melbourne's instructions to the young Queen which gave it finally, and perhaps irrevocably, that character.

Queen Victoria and her mother left Kensington on the 13th of July, and proceeded to Buckingham Palace, a residence which George IV. had favoured, and which William IV. detested and forsook. A levee was held shortly after her Majesty's arrival; on which occasion the Queen is said to have presented a striking appearance, her head glittering with diamonds, and her breast covered with the insignia of the Garter and other orders. More important business, however, was approaching, and on the 17th of the month the Queen went in State to the House of Lords to dissolve Parliament. Addressing both Houses, her Majesty said:—"I have been anxious to seize the first opportunity of meeting you, in order that I might repeat in person my cordial thanks for your condolence upon the death of his late Majesty, and for the expression of attachment and affection with which you congratulated me upon my accession to the throne. I am very desirous of renewing the assurances of my determination to maintain the Protestant religion as established by law; to secure to all the free exercise of the rights of conscience; to protect the liberties, and to promote the welfare, of all classes of the community. I rejoice that, in ascending the throne, I find the country in amity with all foreign Powers; and, while I faithfully perform the engagements of the Crown, and carefully watch over the interests of my subjects, it will be the constant object of my solicitude to maintain the blessings of peace." After alluding to the chief events of the session, the Queen concluded by observing:—"I ascend the throne with a deep sense of the responsibility which is imposed upon me; but I am supported by the consciousness of my own right intentions, and by my dependence upon the protection of Almighty God. It will be my care to strengthen our institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, by discreet improvement, wherever improvement is required, and to do all in my power to compose and allay animosity and discord. Acting upon these principles, I shall on all occasions look with confidence to the wisdom of Parliament and the affection of my people, which form the true support of the dignity of the Crown, and ensure the stability of the Constitution."

In the course of this speech—which was delivered with great clearness and elocutionary power—the Queen expressed marked pleasure at a further mitigation of the criminal code, which she hailed as an auspicious commencement of her reign. The change was assuredly much needed, and the subject had engaged the attention of eminent statesmen and lawyers for several years. Jeremy Bentham had exposed the unreasonable and cruel severity of the punishments attached to comparatively trivial offences; and Sir Samuel Romilly, seconded by Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Fowell Buxton, had brought the state of the law before the notice of the Legislature. For a long while, the disinclination

of Parliament to deal with important reforms kept this crying abuse of justice in the background; but in 1833 a Royal Commission was issued, for the purpose of inquiring how far it might be expedient to reduce the written and unwritten law of the country into one digest, and to report on the best manner of doing it. In the following year, the Commissioners were further required to state their opinions on the subject of the employment of counsel by prisoners, and on capital punishment. At the present day, it seems almost incredible that until 1836 the accused in criminal trials were not professionally defended. But still worse was the merciless spirit with which the rights of property were hedged about. A case is reported in which a poor Cornish woman, who, urged by want caused by the impressment of her husband as a seaman, had stolen a piece of cloth from a tradesman's door, was hanged for the fact. Indeed, in the earlier years of the present century, the death-penalty was so frequent, and attached to so many offences, that numerous criminals were executed regularly every Monday morning outside Newgate. The extreme rigour of the law, however, was softened by various Acts of Parliament, passed from 1824 to 1829, with which the name of Sir Robert Peel is honourably associated. But much still remained to be done; and the Acts to which the Queen alluded, and which were introduced into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, confined the punishment of death to high treason, and, with some exceptions, to offences consisting of, or aggravated by, violence to the person, or tending directly to endanger life. By the Criminal Law Consolidation Acts of 1861, death is now confined to treason and wilful murder; so that the reign of Queen Victoria has been distinguished, amongst other things, by a great and beneficent reform in the criminal laws of England.

The General Election followed quickly on the dissolution of Parliament, and the Whigs, who had been losing popularity for some time past, proceeded to the country with the questionable credit of being supported by Royal favour. Personally, the Queen liked Lord Melbourne, and readily adopted the political opinions he advanced. The Ministerialists made the most of the fact, and it was even said that they went about "placarded with her Majesty's name." But it is not improbable that this very circumstance told against them in many quarters, by inducing waverers to believe that the holders of office were endeavouring to influence the electorate after a manner entirely foreign to constitutional usage. At any rate, the Government lost seriously in the counties; yet, owing to their gains among the borough constituencies, and the large amount of support obtained in Scotland and Ireland, they returned to Westminster with a small majority, though with an appreciable loss of political repute. Parliament reassembled on the 20th of November, and on the 12th of December the Queen sent a message to the House of Commons asking for a suitable provision for the Duchess of Kent. This was made; the Civil List was settled, though not without some opposition from the economists; and the necessary preliminaries of a new reign were complete. The income of the Queen's mother was fixed at

BANQUET TO THE QUEEN IN THE GUILDHALL (NOVEMBER 9, 1837). [See p. 31.]

£30,000, as against £22,000 previously; while the Civil List of her Majesty was settled at £385,000 a year, including £60,000 for the Privy Purse.

The Queen at once threw herself with business-like precision into the duties of her high office. She rose at eight, signed despatches until the breakfast hour, and then sent one of the servants to "invite" the Duchess of Kent to the Royal table. Such was the rather cold formality observed by the young monarch; and in other respects the etiquette of a Court seems to have been followed with rigid exactness. The Duchess never approached the Queen unless specially summoned, and always refrained from conversing on affairs of State. These restraints were considered necessary, in order to prevent any suspicion of undue influence by the mother over the daughter; but they were very distressing to the former. The late Mr. Charles C. F. Greville, for many years Clerk of the Council, was told by the Princess de Lieven that the Duchess of Kent was "overwhelmed with vexation and disappointment." The same authority adds that the Queen behaved with kindness and attention to her parent, but she had rendered herself quite independent of the Duchess, who painfully felt her own insignificance. For eighteen years, she complained to Princess de Lieven, she had made her child the sole object of all her thoughts and hopes; and now she was taken from her. Speaking from his own observations, Mr. Greville remarks:—"In the midst of all her propriety of mind and conduct, the young Queen begins to exhibit slight signs of a peremptory disposition, and it is impossible not to suspect that, as she gains confidence, and as her character begins to develop, she will evince a strong will of her own."* With respect to the Queen and the Duchess, it should be recollected that one in the exalted position of the former is necessarily bound by other than domestic rules.

At twelve o'clock, the sovereign conferred with her Ministers, and the serious business of the day at once began. When a document was handed to her Majesty, she read it without comment until the end was reached, the Ministers in the meanwhile observing a profound silence. The interval between the termination of the Council and the dinner-hour was devoted to riding or walking, and the public had many opportunities of observing the admirable style in which the Queen sat her horse. At dinner, the first Lord-in-waiting took the head of the table, opposite to whom was the chief Equerry-in-waiting. The Queen sat half-way down on the right hand, and the guests were of course placed according to their respective ranks. At an early hour, her Majesty left the table for the drawing-room, where the time was passed in music and conversation. The sovereign herself was a proficient at the pianoforte, and often showed her abilities in this respect; and when the gentlemen returned from the dining-room (which was in about a quarter of an hour), a little singing would give variety to the evening. Mr. Greville speaks of these banquets as dull and formal. They were doubtless unavoidably so; for the ceremony of

* The Greville Memoirs: Second Part (1885), relating to the Reign of Queen Victoria from 1837 to 1852.

Court is not favourable to the charm and vividness of the best social intercourse.

On the 9th of November—eleven days before the meeting of Parliament—the Queen went in State to the City, and was present at the inaugural banquet of the new Lord Mayor, Alderman Cowan. The streets through which her Majesty passed were densely thronged by people of all orders, who kept up an almost continual volley of cheers as the Royal carriages, with their escort, proceeded eastward. The houses were hung with richly-coloured cloths, green boughs, and such flowers as could be furnished by the mid-autumn season. Busts of Victoria were reared upon extemporary pedestals; flags and heraldic devices stretched across the streets; and London displayed as much festive adornment as was possible in those days. At Temple Bar, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were seen mounted on artillery-horses from Woolwich, each with a soldier at its head, to restrain any erratic movement that might have troubled the composure of the City dignitaries. On the arrival of the Queen, the Lord Mayor dismounted, and, taking the City sword in his hand, delivered the keys to her Majesty, who at once returned them. Then the Lord Mayor resumed his horse, and, bearing the sword aloft, rode before the Queen into the heart of the City, the Aldermen following in the rear of the Royal carriage. In the open space before St. Paul's Cathedral, hustings had been erected, on which were stationed the Liverymen of the City Companies, and the Christ Hospital (or Blue-coat) boys. One of the latter presented an address to the Queen, in accordance with ancient custom, and the whole of the boys then sang the National Anthem. The Guildhall was magnificently adorned for the occasion; and here an address was read by the Recorder. A sumptuous banquet followed, and at night the metropolis was very generally illuminated. On this occasion, the Queen was accompanied by the Duchesses of Kent, Gloucester, and Cambridge, and by the Dukes of Cambridge and Sussex, together with Prince George of Cambridge. The Ambassadors, Cabinet Ministers, and nobility, followed in a train of two hundred carriages, which are said to have extended for a mile and a half. The title of Baronet was conferred on the Lord Mayor, and the two Sheriffs were knighted. It was long since the City had had so brilliant a day, and the memory of it survived for many years.

The first great historical event in the reign of Queen Victoria was the insurrection in Canada. This proved to be of very serious import, and undoubtedly showed the existence of much disaffection on the part of the French-speaking colonists. It is probable that the latter had never outgrown the mortification of being snatched from their old association with the mother-country, and subjected to a Protestant kingdom. For several years after the Treaty of 1763, which made over Canada to Great Britain as a consequence of the brilliant victories gained by Wolfe and Amherst, the colony was despotically ruled; but in 1791 a more representative form of government was established, by which the whole possession was divided into an Upper and a Lower Province. Each of the

provinces was furnished with a constitution, comprising a Governor, an Executive Council nominated by the Crown, a Legislative Council appointed for life in the same way, and a Representative Assembly elected for four years. This constitution (which had been sanctioned by an Act of the British Parliament) worked very badly, and in 1837 the Assemblies of both provinces were at issue with their Governors, and with the Councils appointed by the monarch. But by far the most serious state of affairs was that which prevailed in Lower (or Eastern) Canada, where the population was mainly of French origin, and where, consequently, the antagonism of race and of religion was chiefly to be expected. Towards the latter end of the reign of William IV., Commissioners were nominated to inquire into the alleged grievances, and the report of these gentlemen was presented to Parliament early in the session of 1837. On the 6th of March, Lord John Russell (then Home Secretary) brought the subject before the attention of the House of Commons, and, after many prolonged debates, a series of resolutions was passed, affirming the necessity of certain reforms in the political state of Canada. These reforms, however, did not go nearly far enough to satisfy the requirements of the disaffected, and by the close of 1837 the Canadians were in full revolt.

When the Queen opened her first Parliament, on the 20th of November, the state of Lower Canada was recommended, in the Royal Speech, to the "serious consideration" of the Legislature. Before any measures could be taken, intelligence of the outbreak reached England, and, on the 22nd of December, Lord John Russell informed the House of Commons that the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada had been adjourned, on its refusal to entertain the supplies, or to proceed to business, in consequence of what were deemed the insufficient proposals of the Imperial Government. The colonists had undoubtedly some grievances of old standing, and their constitution required amendment in a popular sense. But a position had been assumed which the advisers of the Crown could not possibly tolerate, and the malcontents were now in arms against the just and legal authority of the sovereign. As early as March, Lord John Russell had said that, since the 31st of October, 1832, no provision had been made by the legislators of Lower Canada for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, or for the support of civil government in the province. The arrears amounted to a very large sum, which the House of Assembly refused to vote, while at the same time demanding an elected Legislative Council, and entire control over all branches of the Government.

The insurgents of Canada had numerous sympathisers in the United States, where, under cover of a good deal of extravagant talk about liberty, many people began to hope that existing complications would effect the long-desired annexation of the two provinces to the great Federal Republic. Those who were the most earnest in their views soon passed from sympathy into action. In the latter days of 1837, a party of Americans seized on Navy Island, a small piece of territory, situated in the river Niagara a little above the Falls, and

belonging to Canada. Numbering as many as seven hundred, and having with them twenty pieces of cannon, these unauthorised volunteers seemed likely to prove formidable; but their means of offence were soon diminished by an energetic, though somewhat irregular, proceeding on the part of the Canadian authorities, acting, as was afterwards well known, under the orders of Sir Francis Head, the

PRESIDENT VAN BUREN.

vernor of Upper Canada. A small steamboat owned by the American invaders, th which they kept up communications with their own side of the river, and ich was laden with arms and ammunition for the insurgents, was cut adrift m her moorings on the night of December 29th, set on fire, and left to sweep r the cataract. The affair led to a great deal of diplomatic correspondence ween the American and British Governments; but the preceding violation of nadian soil by a body of adventurers precluded the Cabinet of Washington m making any serious demands on that of London. Ultimately, in the course 1838, the President (Mr. Van Buren) issued a proclamation calling on all sons engaged in schemes for invading Canada to desist from the same, [illegible]

of such punishments as the law attached to the offence. This put an end to the difficulty so far as the two countries were concerned; but the insurrection was not yet entirely suppressed.

Although the worst disaffection was in Lower Canada, both provinces were disturbed by movements of a disloyal nature. Upper Canada was excited by the fiery appeals of a Scotsman named William Lyon Mackenzie; Lower Canada by the incitements of Louis Joseph Papineau, one of the disaffected French provincials. The two divisions of the colony, however, were jealous of each other, and this hampered what might otherwise have been a more dangerous rising. The Radical party in England supported the cause of the malcontents, and insisted on the necessity of at once redressing all grievances. The Government of Lord Melbourne maintained that the rebellion must be first suppressed; and undoubtedly that was the only course consistent with Imperial authority. In the autumn of 1837, a small party of English troops was beaten at St. Denis: but another detachment was successful against the rebels, and the garrisons of the various cities, though extremely small, held their own against the rising tide of insurrection. Aided by the Royalists, the Government force under Sir John Colborne inflicted some severe blows on the enemy; yet the movement continued throughout the greater part of 1838. On the 16th of January in that year, however, the Earl of Durham had been appointed Governor-General of the five British colonies of North America, and Lord High Commissioner for the adjustment of the affairs of Canada. The liberal policy thus inaugurated, and the victories obtained over the rebels by Sir John Colborne, Sir Francis Head, and others, brought the revolt to an end before the close of the year, and the colony soon afterwards entered on a future of prosperity.

The task of Lord Durham had, nevertheless, been surrounded by many difficulties, and, although he was sent by the British Government to carry out measures of leniency and concession, which his personal inclinations were well inclined to second, he was speedily called to account by the Imperial Cabinet for an ordinance touching the punishment of offenders, which, being regarded as in some respects illegal, was disallowed. Protesting that he had been abandoned by the Government, Lord Durham resigned on the 9th of October, and the principal conduct of affairs was left in the hands of Sir John Colborne. The policy of the High Commissioner had been swayed by truly benevolent and broadly liberal motives; but he had adopted—perhaps necessarily, considering the state of affairs with which he had to deal—a highly dictatorial manner, and the Opposition at home (especially in the Upper House, under the violent incentives of Lord Brougham) found several opportunities of effective attack. The Government, being weak and vacillating, said less in defence of their representative than they might have done; Lord Durham, in his passionate and imperious way, issued a farewell proclamation to the people of Canada, which, in effect, amounted to an appeal from the decisions of the Queen's advisers—an appeal, that is, to a community still in rebellion against the Crown; Ministers

replied by recalling their insubordinate servant; and the career of Lord Durham was at an end. Having left his post without permission—certainly a very improper proceeding—he was not honoured with the usual salute on landing; and, in revenge, caused his wife to withdraw from the position she held in the Queen's household.

The recall of Lord Durham had been anticipated by his resignation; but the disgraced official, assisted by his two secretaries, Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, drew up a report containing the germs of that system of unity and self-government under which Canada has since become a loyal, contented, and progressive colony. It was not long before the Cabinet of Lord Melbourne carried out the suggestions of the discredited, but still successful, dictator. In 1839, Lord Glenelg, who had been Colonial Secretary during the dissension with Lord Durham, gave place to Lord Normanby, and he shortly afterwards to Lord John Russell, who in 1840 passed a measure for reuniting Upper and Lower Canada, and establishing a system of colonial freedom. In the same year, Lord Durham died at the early age of forty-eight; but the principles of his colonial policy rose triumphant above his tomb.

CHAPTER III.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF A YOUNG SOVEREIGN.

Decline in the Popularity of the Queen—Its Causes—Her Majesty Accused of Encouraging the Papists—Alleged Design to Assassinate the Monarch—Disloyal Toryism—Honourable Conduct of the Queen—Fatal Riots at Canterbury, owing to the Pretensions of John Nicholls Thom—Preparations for the Coronation—The Ceremony at Westminster Abbey—Incidents of the Day—Mismanagement at Coronations—Development of Steam Navigation and the Railway System—Prorogation of Parliament in August, 1838—Difficult Position of the Government—Rise of Chartism—Appearance of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli in the Political Arena—Failure of Mr. Disraeli's First Speech—"Conservatives" and "Liberals"—Capture of Aden, in Southern Arabia—Wars with China, owing to the Smuggling of Opium into that Country by the Anglo-Indians—Troubles in Jamaica—Bill for Suspending the Constitution—Defeat and Resignation of the Melbourne Government—Ineffectual Attempt of Sir Robert Peel to Form a Cabinet—The Question of the Bedchamber Women—Reinstatement of the Melbourne Administration.

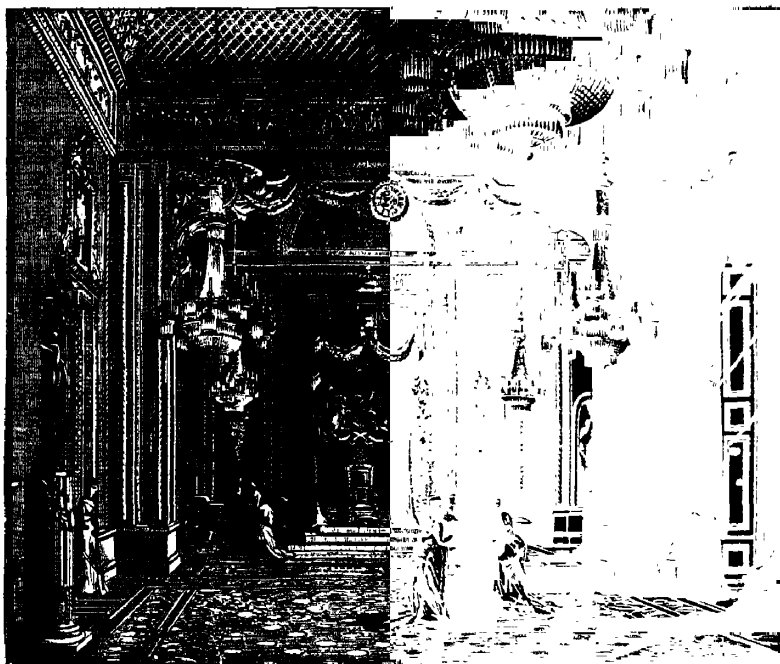
NOTHING could exceed the popularity of the Queen at the beginning of her reign. Her youth, her innocence, the novelty of her duties and the difficulty of her position, all appealed with a commanding tenderness to every manly instinct and every womanly sympathy. But after a while a change occurred in the national sentiment, which was not altogether inexcusable on the part of the public, though it did some injustice to the sovereign. Many enthusiasts expected more than they had any right to expect, and were disappointed because the Queen did not at once do wonders for the removal of grievances, and the cure of national distress. Beyond these vague impressions, however, there were some real

causes of complaint, or at least of apprehension. It was seen very clearly that the young monarch had placed herself too unreservedly in the hands of one political connection. The offices about the Queen's person were filled by ladies belonging to the families of the chief Ministers. People said that Lord Melbourne was too much at the Palace; that he sought to occupy the position of a

THE EARL OF DURHAM.

Mentor in all things; and that in the General Election the Queen showed a partiality for certain candidates who belonged to the faction then in power. Ministers and their supporters did really use the name and supposed leanings of her Majesty as a means of bolstering up a Cabinet which they knew to be generally unpopular; and persons were found to ask whether the English Court was always to be the appendage of an aristocratic coterie.

Under the influence of these feelings, some men were unmanly enough to attack the Queen in public with shameful imputations. The excitement, which began during the elections of 1837, had become almost frantic in 1839. The

Orangemen of Ireland, and the ultra-Protestants of England, believed, or affected to believe, that the sovereign was being influenced to destroy the reformed religion, and re-establish Papacy throughout her dominions. The Melbourne Administration supported religious liberty; to some extent, its members leant for support upon the Irish vote; the Queen favoured Lord Melbourne: therefore, her Majesty was inclined to Rome. Such were the stages by which these hot-headed reasoners

THE THRONE-ROOM, BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

arrived at their conclusion. Some placed their hopes in the Tory party; others openly declared that the Tories, could they only get possession of the sovereign, would poison her, and change the succession. Men recollected with an uneasy feeling that, in 1835, Mr. Joseph Hume, a conspicuous Radical member of Parliament, detected and unmasked an Orange plot for setting aside the rights of the Princess Victoria, and giving the crown to the Duke of Cumberland, on the ridiculous plea that, unless some such step were taken, the Duke of Wellington might seize the regal power for himself. The investigations which the Government were compelled to make raised a strong suspicion that the Duke of Cumberland was privy to this traitorous scheme. The English people were so delighted when he left for Hanover, after the death of William IV., that a [illegible]

medal was struck to commemorate the event; and his despotic rule in the small German kingdom amply justified their fears. Nothing more, it would seem, was to be dreaded from the fifth son of George III.; yet apprehensions of a conspiracy still remained.

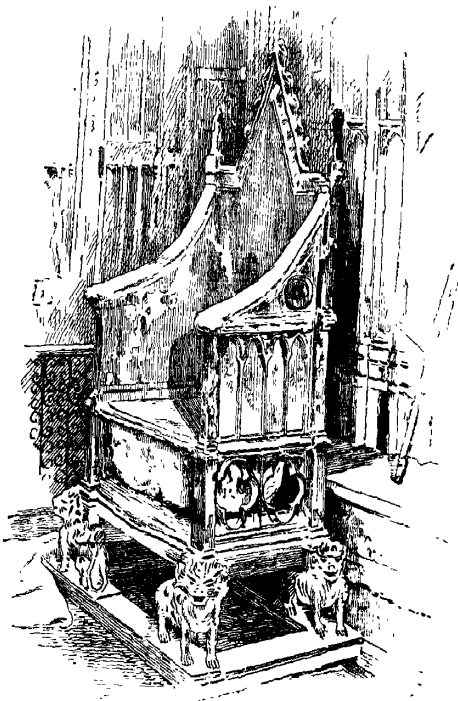
It is a remarkable feature of the times that during all this commotion the Liberals were the loyal and courtly party, while many of the Tories indulged in fierce invectives against the monarch. On the one side, the Irish agitator, Daniel O'Connell, vaunted in the course of 1839 that he could bring together five hundred thousand of his countrymen to defend the life and honour of "the beloved young lady" who filled the English throne; on the other, a Mr. Bradshaw, member for Canterbury in the Tory interest, alleged, without any circumlocution, that the countenance of Queen Victoria, the ruler of Protestant England, was given to "Irish Papists and Rapparees," her Majesty, he added, being "Queen only of a faction, and as much of a partisan as the Lord Chancellor himself." This, indeed, was by no means the worst of the speaker's utterances; but his wildest flights of vituperation were received with enthusiastic cheers. It is but fair, however, to add that he afterwards apologised for his bad manners. At a meeting held at the Freemasons' Tavern, presided over by Lord Stanhope, a Chartist orator proposed to open a subscription for presenting the Queen with a skipping-rope and a birch-rod. Other persons spoke with equal violence, and in some instances the authorities even found it necessary to warn military officers, and civil servants of the Crown, against such disloyal utterances. One very painful incident occurred towards the end of June, 1839, when her Majesty was hissed on Ascot racecourse. It was represented to her that the Duchess of Montrose and Lady Sarah Ingestre were amongst the persons so acting: the Queen therefore showed her displeasure to those ladies at a State ball. The slander was apparently traced to Lady Lichfield, who denied it, first by word, and then by writing. With the letter in her hand, the Duchess went to the Palace, and required an audience of her Majesty, but, after being kept waiting a couple of hours, was refused, on the advice of Lord Melbourne. She was extremely angry, and insisted that a written statement should be laid before the Queen. These circumstances increased the unpopularity of the monarch, and she was coldly received at the prorogation of Parliament.

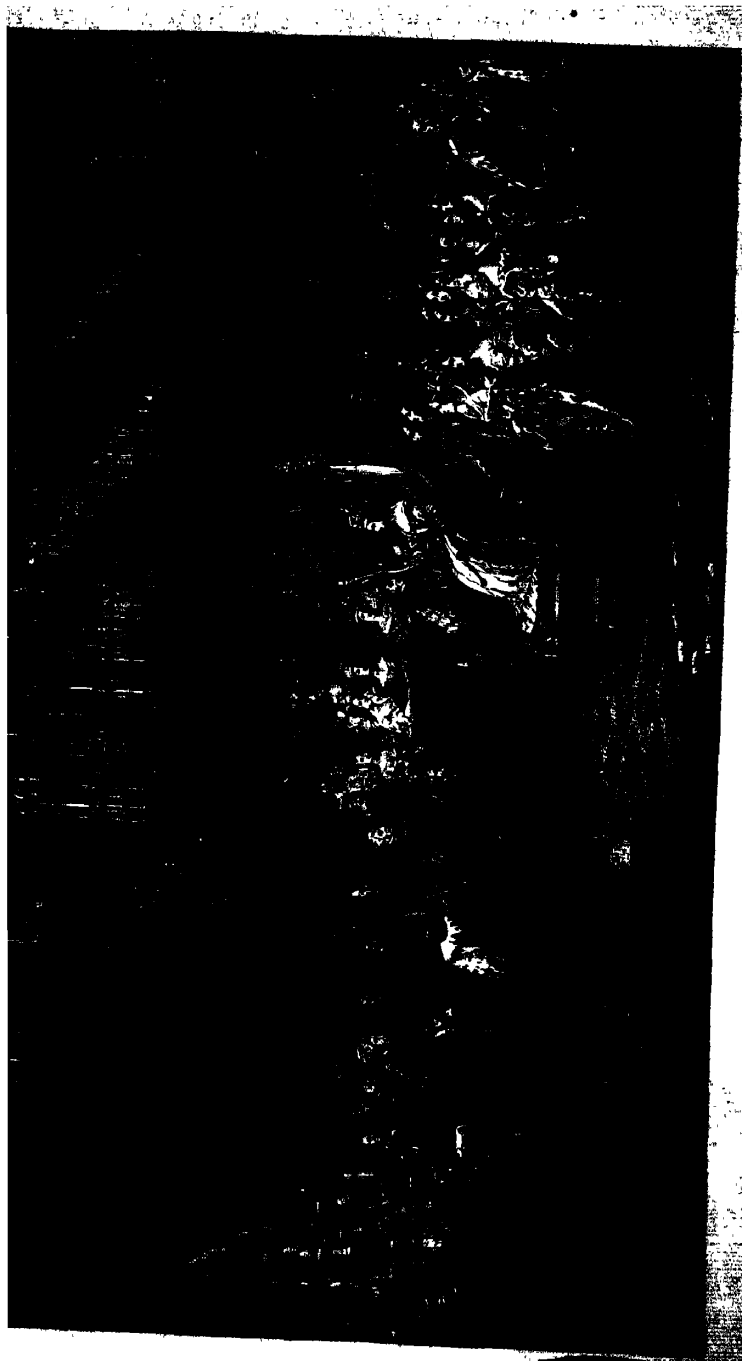
Yet, if people could have set aside their prejudices and passions, they would have found abundant evidence that the nature of the Queen was instinct with just and honourable feelings. She had been accustomed from childhood to live strictly within her income, and to deny herself any little gratification which could not be at once paid for in ready money. The same habit of virtuous prudence continued after her accession to the throne; and out of her savings she was enabled, during her first year of regal power, to discharge the heavy debts of her father, contracted before she was born. With respect to this matter, however, it should be mentioned that, according to a statement in the *Morning Post*, the Duke of Kent's executors had succeeded in Chancery in establishing their

claim against the Crown to the mines of Cape Breton, which had been made over to his Royal Highness for a period of sixty years dating from 1826, and that therefore the Crown must either have paid the Duke's debts, or suffered the mines to be worked for the benefit of the creditors. The Queen also paid her mother's debts, which, however, were in some respects her own, since they had in the main been incurred on her behalf. With a truly liberal and generous feeling, she continued to the natural children of William IV. by Mrs. Jordan the allowance of £500 a year each which had been granted them by the King. What was really regrettable in the early part of the Queen's reign was the completeness with which the new sovereign placed herself in the hands of Lord Melbourne and his clique, and which seemed for a time to set her in the light of a partisan. But what else could be expected of one so young, so inexperienced, so incapable by early training to assume all at once the full responsibilities of royalty? The fault was with the advisers, rather than with the advised.

The General Election of 1837 failed to rescue the Government from the difficult position they had long occupied. Threatened by the Radicals, who considered they did not move fast enough, they were obliged to lean for assistance on the Conservatives, without whose help they would often have been left in a minority. Ministers felt the ignominy of their lot, but were unable to amend it; and a painful set of incidents in the spring of 1838 gave occasion for a sharp attack on the Home Office. A few years previously, a person called John Nicholls Thom left his home in Cornwall, and settled in Kent, where he described himself as Sir William Courtenay, Knight of Malta. He was in truth a religious madman, claiming to be the King of Jerusalem, or, in other words, the Messiah; and multitudes of persons, belonging for the most part, though not entirely, to the poor and ignorant classes, believed in his assertions. Dressed in a fantastical costume, he went about the country, haranguing the people, and violently denouncing the Poor Law. He persuaded many of the farmers and yeomen that he was entitled to some of the finest estates in Kent, and that he would shortly be established as a great chieftain, when all the people on his lands should live rent-free. To the still more credulous he spoke of himself as Jesus Christ, and pointed in confirmation to certain marks in his hands and side, which he described as the wounds inflicted by the nails of the cross. Crowds followed him about, believing in his foolish miracles; some actually paid him divine honours; but a tragedy was approaching. On the 31st of May, 1838, Thom shot a constable who had interfered in his proceedings. The military were then summoned from Canterbury, when the rioters retreated into Bossenden Wood; a lieutenant who endeavoured to arrest the maniac was also shot dead; and a riot ensued, in which several persons, including Thom himself, were killed by the fire of the soldiers, and others wounded. It afterwards appeared that the man had previously been confined as a lunatic, but had been liberated the year before by Lord John Russell, acting as Home Secretary. For this, the latter was severely censured by

the Opposition in Parliament, and a select committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances; but it was generally agreed that the Minister was not to blame in the matter.

In the first half of 1838, attention was drawn away from many distracting controversies by the preparations for crowning the new sovereign. The

THE CORONATION CHAIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

imagination of the populace was powerfully affected by the thought of this gorgeous ceremony, and a Radical paper of the time observed that the commonalty had gone "coronation-mad." Political economists, however, fixed their thoughts upon the question of expense, and it was resolved that the charges should fall far short of those incurred for George IV., which amounted to £243,000. The crowning of his successor had cost the nation no more than £50,000; but it was stated in Parliament that the expenses for Victoria would be about £70,000—an increase on the previous reign due to the desire of Ministers to enable the great

THE CORONATION OF THE QUEEN. (*After the Painting by Sir George Hayter.*) [See p. [illegible]]

mass of the people to share in what was described as a national festivity. Some important alterations were introduced into the programme. The procession of the estates of the realm was to be struck out, and the accustomed banquet in Westminster Hall, with its feudal observances, was likewise marked for omission. To compensate for these losses, it was arranged that there should be a procession through the streets which all could see. The new arrangements were objected to by some of the upper classes; but there can be no question that the popularity of the show was greatly enhanced by these concessions to the wishes of the majority.

The coronation took place on the 28th of June. Although the day began with clouds and some rain, the weather afterwards cleared, and the pageantry was seen to great advantage. The streets were lined with spectators; an unbroken row of carriages moved on towards the Abbey; and the windows were crowded with on-lookers. At ten o'clock A.M., the Royal procession started from Buckingham Palace, and, passing up Constitution Hill, proceeded along Piccadilly, St. James's Street, Pall Mall, Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, Whitehall, and Parliament Street, to the west door of the grand old historic structure where the ceremonial was to take place. The carriages of the Ambassadors Extraordinary attracted much attention, especially that of Marshal Soult, which, so far as the framework was concerned, appears to have been the same as that used on occasions of state by the last great Prince of the House of Condé, one of the most famous military commanders of the seventeenth century. The gallant adversary of Wellington in the wars of the Peninsula was everywhere received with the heartiest cheers, and was so deeply touched by this cordiality of feeling on the part of his old opponents, that some years after he declared himself, in the French Chamber, a warm partisan of the English alliance. Westminster Abbey had been brilliantly decorated for the occasion. The ancient aisles glowed and shone with crimson and purple hangings, with cloth of gold, and with the jewels, velvets, and plumes of the peeresses; and when the procession entered at the west door, the effect was both magnificent and solemn.

It was half-past eleven when her Majesty reached the Abbey. Retiring for a space into the robing-room, she issued forth clad in the Royal robes of crimson velvet, lined with ermine, and embroidered with gold lace. Round her neck she wore the collars of the Garter, Thistle, Bath, and St. Patrick, and on her head a circlet of gold. It is mentioned that she looked very animated; and assuredly the scene was one well calculated to impress even the mind of a sovereign with a sense of lofty and almost overwhelming grandeur. The noble, time-honoured building, with half the history of England in its monuments and its memories, appealed powerfully to the moral sentiment; while the splendour of the decorations and the costumes was such as to hold the Turkish Ambassador entranced for some minutes. The peers and great officials, with their pages and other attendants, were gorgeously dressed; so also were the Foreign Ministers and their suites, and, in particular, Prince Esterhazy glittered with diamonds to

his very boot-heels. Her train upborne by the daughters of eight peers, preceded by the regalia, the Princes of the blood-royal, and the great officers of State, and followed by the ladies of the Court and the gentlemen-at-arms, the Queen advanced slowly to the centre of the choir, and, amidst the chanting of anthems, moved towards a chair placed midway between the chair of homage and the altar, where, kneeling on a faldstool, she engaged in private devotion. The ceremony of the coronation then commenced.

The first act was that which is called "the Recognition." Accompanied by some of the chief civil dignitaries, the Archbishop of Canterbury advanced, and said, "Sirs, I here present unto you Queen Victoria, the undoubted Queen of this realm; wherefore, all you who are come this day to do your homage, are you willing to do the same?" The question was answered by loud cries of "God save Queen Victoria!" and, after some further observances, her Majesty made her offerings to the Church, in the shape of a golden altar-cloth, and an ingot of gold of a pound weight. The strictly religious part of the ceremony followed, and, at the conclusion of a sermon preached by the Bishop of London, the Oath was administered in the manner usual on such occasions. The Queen then knelt again upon the faldstool, while the choir sang, "Veni, Creator Spiritus;" after which came the Anointing. Her Majesty seated herself in the historic chair of King Edward I., while the Dukes of Buccleuch and Rutland, and the Marquises of Anglesey and Exeter (all being Knights of the Garter), held a cloth of gold over her head. The Dean of Westminster next took the ampulla from the altar, and poured some of the oil into the anointing-spoon; whereupon the Archbishop anointed the head and hands of the Queen, marking them with the cross, and pronouncing the words,—"Be thou anointed with holy oil, as kings, priests, and prophets were anointed," etc. A prayer or blessing was then uttered, and the investiture with the Royal Robe, the rendering of the Orb, and the delivery of the Ring and Sceptre, were the next ceremonies. The placing of the Crown on the sovereign's head was one of the most striking incidents of the day. As the Queen knelt, and the crown was placed on her brow, a ray of sunlight fell on her face, and, being reflected from the diamonds, made a kind of halo round her head.* At the same moment, the peers assumed their coronets, the Bishops their caps, and the Kings-of-Arms their crowns, thus adding greatly to the richness and dignity of the spectacle. Loud cheers were echoed from every part of the Abbey; trumpets sounded, drums beat; and the Tower and Park guns were fired by signal.

The Benediction, the Enthroning, and the formal rendering of Homage, now ensued. The last of these ceremonies had a singularly feudal character. First, the Archbishop of Canterbury knelt, and did homage for himself and the other Lords Spiritual; then the uncles of the Queen, the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, removed their coronets, and, without kneeling, made a vow of fealty in

* Recollections of Society in France and England, by Lady Clementina Davies. 1872.

these words:—"I do become your liege man, of life and limb, and of earthly worship; and faith and truth I will bear unto you, to live and die, against all manner of folks. So help me God!" Having touched the crown on the Queen's head, they kissed her left cheek, and retired. The other peers then performed their homage kneeling, the senior of each rank pronouncing the words. It was at this part of the day's proceedings that an awkward incident occurred —an incident, however, which served to bring out an amiable trait in the sovereign's character. As Lord Rolle, then upwards of eighty, was ascending the steps to the throne, he stumbled and fell. The Queen, forgetting all the ceremonious pomp of the occasion, started forward as if to save him, held out her hand for him to kiss, and expressed a hope that his Lordship was not hurt. Some rather obvious puns were made on the correspondence of the noble Lord's involuntary action with the title which he bore; and even his daughter was heard to remark, after it had been ascertained that no damage was done, "Oh, it's nothing! It's only part of his tenure to play the *roll* at the Coronation."

While the Lords were doing homage, the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer of the Household, threw silver medals about the choir and lower galleries, which led to a good deal of rather unseemly scrambling. The choir then sang an anthem, and the Queen received two sceptres from the Dukes of Norfolk and Richmond. Next, divesting herself of her crown, she knelt at the altar, and, after two of the Bishops had read the Gospel and Epistle of the Communion Service, made further offerings to the Church. She then received the Sacrament; the final blessing was given; and the choir sang the anthem, "Hallelujah! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth." Quitting the throne, and passing into the chapel of Edward the Confessor, while the organ played a solemn yet triumphant strain, her Majesty was relieved of her Imperial Robe of State, and arrayed in one of purple velvet. Thus adorned, with the crown upon her head, the sceptre with the cross in the right hand, and the orb in the left, the Queen presented herself at the west door of the Abbey, and, delivering the regalia to gentlemen who attended from the Jewel Office, re-entered the State carriage on her return to the Palace. It was by this time nearly four o'clock, but the streets were still crowded with sight-seers. The peers now wore their coronets, and the Queen her crown; the latter of which (together with the coronets of the Royal Family) blazed with diamonds and other precious stones. State dinners, balls, fireworks, illuminations, feasts to the poor, and a fair in Hyde Park, lasting four days, which was visited by the Queen herself, followed the splendid ceremony of which Westminster Abbey had been the theatre.

In many respects, the proceedings in the Abbey were grand and impressive; but Mr. Greville, the clerk of the Council, lets us a little behind the scenes in the Second Part of his Memoirs. "The different actors in the ceremonial," he writes, "were very imperfect in their parts, and had neglected to rehearse them. Lord John Thynne, who officiated for the Dean of Westminster, told me that

nobody knew what was to be done except the Archbishop and himself (who had rehearsed), Lord Willoughby (who is experienced in these matters), and the Duke of Wellington; and consequently there was a continual difficulty and embarrassment, and the Queen never knew what she was to do next. They made her leave her chair, and enter into St. Edward's Chapel, before the prayers were concluded, much to the discomfiture of the Archbishop. She said to [Lord] John Thynne,

THE DUCHESS OF KENT.

'Pray tell me what I am to do, for they don't know;' and at the end, when the orb was put into her hand, she said to him, 'What am I to do with it?' 'Your Majesty is to carry it, if you please, in your hand.' 'Am I?' she said; 'it is very heavy.' The ruby ring was made for her little finger instead of the fourth, on which the rubric prescribes that it should be put. When the Archbishop was to put it on, she extended the former, but he said it must be on the latter. She said it was too small, and she could not get it on. He said it was right to put it there, and, as he insisted, she yielded, but had first to take off her other

rings, and then this was forced on; but it hurt her very much, and as soon as the ceremony was over she was obliged to bathe her finger in iced water in order to get it off. The noise and confusion were very great when the medals were thrown about by Lord Surrey, everybody scrambling with all their might and main to get them, and none more vigorously than the Maids of Honour."

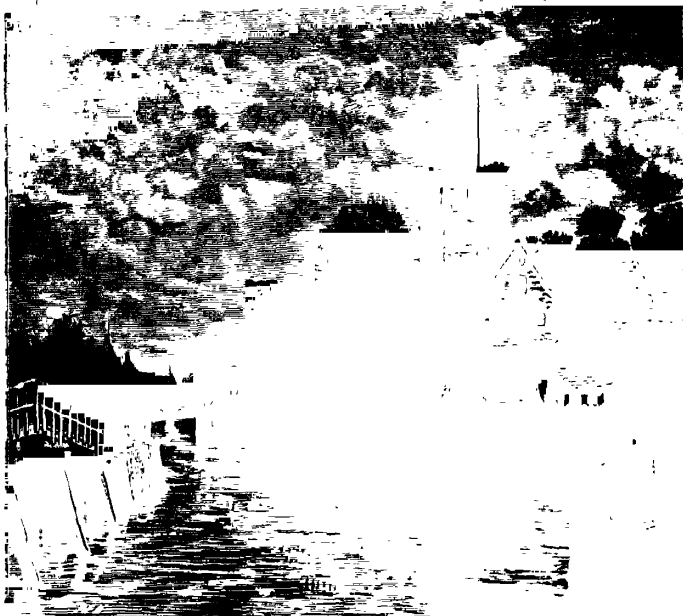
There can be no doubt that on all these occasions mistakes and omissions are numerous. What accidents may have attended the coronation of Queen Elizabeth it is impossible to say, for there were no Memoir-writers in those days; but, in several of his letters, Horace Walpole gives some amusing anecdotes of the unpreparedness of the Court officials at the coronation of George III. In a communication to Sir Horace Mann, dated September 28th, 1761, he says:— "The heralds were so ignorant of their business, that, though pensioned for nothing but to register lords and ladies, and what belongs to them, they advertised in the newspaper for the Christian names and places of abode of the peeresses. The King complained of such omissions, and of the want of precedents: Lord Effingham, the Earl Marshal, told him it was true there had been great neglect in that office, but he had now taken such care of registering directions that *next coronation* would be conducted with the greatest order imaginable. The King was so diverted with this flattering speech that he made the Earl repeat it several times."

On the 4th of September, 1838, the King and Queen of the Belgians paid a visit to England. They landed at Ramsgate, and were escorted by Lord Torrington to the Queen at Windsor Castle, where they remained the guests of her Majesty. A fortnight later, a military review took place in Windsor Little Park, when the Queen appeared on horseback in the Windsor uniform, with the badge and ribbon of the Order of the Garter. She had King Leopold, in a Field Marshal's uniform, on her right, and Lord Hill, Commander of the Forces, on her left, followed by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Palmerston. The King and Queen of the Belgians left the Castle on the 20th, and embarked the following day for Ostend. It was a great delight to the English sovereign to have King Leopold as a visitor, for his advice on affairs of State was highly valuable.

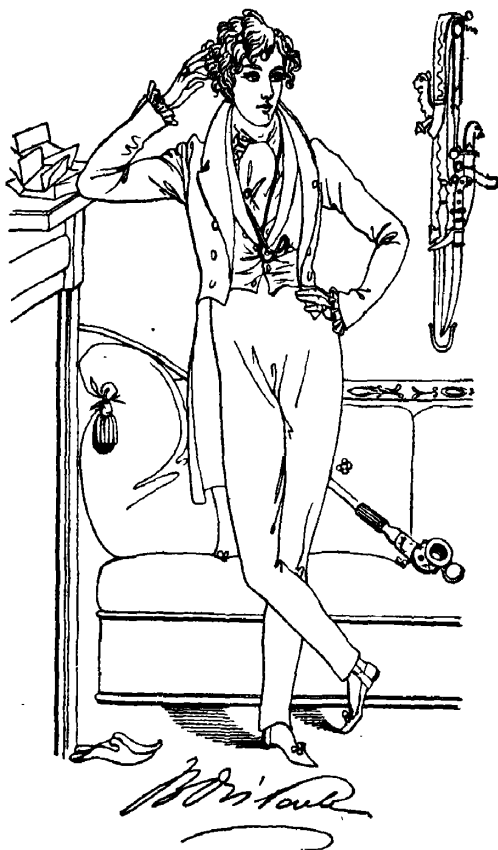
The year 1838 was signalised, among other things, by some events showing the rapid change which science was making in the habits of society. On the 23rd of April, the *Great Western* steamer arrived at New York, after a voyage of fifteen clear days. This famous ship, and the *Sirius*, whose voyage was simultaneous almost to a day, were the first vessels which had crossed the Atlantic by steam-power alone, sails having been used in combination with steam on previous occasions. The *Great Western* was in those days the largest steamer ever known, her tonnage being equal to that of the largest merchant-ships. She was built at Bristol, and sailed from that port on the 7th of April. When she entered the harbour of New York, she had still a surplus of one hundred and forty-eight tons of coal on board, and the problem was solved as to whether a steamer could

be constructed large enough to carry sufficient fuel for so long a voyage. The size, tonnage, and speed of this historic vessel have been greatly surpassed in later times; but the fact of a ship crossing the Atlantic in fifteen days was a very genuine astonishment to the people of 1838. Two years later (1840), the Cunard line of steamers was established at Liverpool, which soon entirely eclipsed Bristol as the great commercial port on the western side of England, and as the packet-station for the American service. Another interesting feature of the year 1838 was the opening of the London and Birmingham Railway throughout its entire length. The precise date was the 17th of September, and thenceforward the railway system progressed rapidly. The line in question, however, was not the first that had been placed at the disposal of the public. The original railway for the use of passengers was that constructed by Edward Pease and George Stephenson between Stockton and Darlington, and opened on the 27th of September, 1825. The next was the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, commenced in October, 1826, and opened on the 15th of September, 1830—on which occasion, Mr. Huskisson, a prominent statesman of the time, was accidentally killed. Nevertheless, the development of the system is associated almost entirely with the reign of Queen Victoria, and we hardly think of railways as belonging, even in their inception, to an earlier period.

The Parliamentary Session of 1838 came to a close on the 16th of August. Having taken her seat on the throne, the Queen was addressed by the Speaker of the House of Commons on the subject of the suspension of the constitution of Lower Canada (which had been set aside as a preliminary to the introduction of more liberal arrangements when the rebellion should be suppressed), and on some other matters of less general interest. Her Majesty gave the Royal assent to a number of Bills, and then proceeded to read the Speech, which presents nothing of importance. The Government were heartily glad to be free for some months from the criticism and the menaces of a Parliament not very cordially inclined towards Lord Melbourne and his colleagues. When the House of Commons reassembled after the General Election in 1837, Ministers found themselves with a majority of only twelve. Conservative support saved them from discomfiture on several occasions; but this very fact was not unnaturally considered fatal to their reputation as Whigs. The breach between the Cabinet and the advanced section of the party became wider and more impassable during the session of 1838: the recess, therefore, came as an immense relief. In addition to their troubles in the Lower House, Ministers had to encounter, in the other branch of the Legislature, the invectives of Lord Brougham, who had quarrelled with his old friends in consequence of not being reappointed to the Chancellorship in 1835. The affairs of Canada, moreover, had brought the Whigs into collision with Lord Durham, whose nature was almost as passionate and imperious as that of Brougham himself. Their demerits were probably not so great as their enemies tried to show; but the conduct of affairs was weak, and Tories and Radicals were alike dissatisfied, though often for the most diverse reasons.

A good deal of discontent, also, was growing up in the country itself. The price of bread was high; wages were low; trade was not prosperous; and the operation of the new Poor Law was considered unnecessarily harsh. In the autumn of 1838, meetings were held in various localities, at which some of the speakers addressed inflammatory language to the assembled people, who belonged to the artisan and labouring classes. A body of men had arisen, calling themselves Chartists. They demanded a Charter of popular rights, the six points of

NEWARK CASTLE.

which were Manhood Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments, Payment of Members, Abolition of the Property Qualification, and Equal Electoral Districts. Several of these objects have since been carried out, either wholly or nearly so; but, in the days of which we write, they seemed dangerous and visionary in the highest degree. The middle classes, who had carried the Reform Bill of 1832 with the assistance of the grades below them, considered that enough had been done when their own interests were satisfied. A reaction had set in, and the prosperous were afraid of advancing on to the paths of revolution. Even Lord John Russell declared against further organic changes, and, in the absence of any leaders of distinguished social status, the humbler orders took the agitation into their own hands. A sentiment of vague discontent arose very speedily after the

passing of the great measure which changed the representation. Bad harvests and general distress gave acrimony to the spirit of political discussion, and in the summer of 1838 a committee of six Members of Parliament and six working men, assembling at Birmingham, prepared a Bill embodying their views of what

MR. DISRAELI IN HIS YOUTH. (*After the Portrait by Maclise.*)

was required by the country in general, and the labouring classes in particular. This was the document which soon afterwards received the name of "the People's Charter"—on the suggestion, it is said, of Daniel O'Connell. The direction of the movement fell into the hands of the more violent members. Physical force was threatened; torchlight meetings were held; processions were formed, in which guns, pikes, and other weapons were openly displayed; and on the 12th of

December the Government issued a proclamation against all such gatherings. Chartism, however, was not destroyed by this measure. Some degree of truth pervaded its extravagance, and its influence has been felt in later days.

It is about this period, or a little earlier, that we become aware of two great names in modern statesmanship, one of which is still potent in the political world, while the other has but recently passed into the sphere of completed history. Mr. Gladstone—then a young man of twenty-three—was returned for Newark, in December, 1832, to the first reformed Parliament. He was then a Conservative, with the same High Church leanings which, in the midst of considerable changes on other subjects, he has manifested ever since. His ability, his mental culture, and his habits of business, attracted the attention of Sir Robert Peel, who, in his short-lived Administration of 1834-5, made him a Junior Lord of the Treasury, and afterwards Under-Secretary for Colonial Affairs; but it was not until the beginning of Victoria's reign that he became conspicuous. Probably no one—not even himself—could at that time have anticipated the greatness he was subsequently to achieve; but he was slowly maturing his powers, and acquiring that extraordinary knowledge of public affairs for which he has since been famous.

His rival, Mr. Disraeli, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield, did not enter Parliament until the latter half of 1837—the first Parliament of the reign of Queen Victoria. He was the son of Isaac D'Israeli, an author of distinction, the descendant of a family of Jews, formerly connected with Spain and Italy. Isaac having quarrelled with the Wardens of the Synagogue, his son Benjamin was brought up as a Christian from an early period of his life. By 1837-8, he had made a name for himself by a variety of novels, embodying those political and social ideas which afterwards influenced his conduct as a public man—a sort of Toryism, with an infusion of democratic sympathy. It was as a species of Radical, though with Tory support, that he first endeavoured to obtain a seat in the House of Commons; but a few years later he found no difficulty in displaying the Conservative colours without reserve. The inconsistency, though of course not susceptible of being entirely explained away, was hardly so extreme as might at first appear. Mr. Disraeli hated the Whigs, and objected to several features of the Reform Bill, as giving too much power to the middle classes, and too little to the working classes, and as tending in this way to the increased predominance of the great Whig families. He appeared, therefore, to be attacking the same enemy, whether from a Radical or a Tory platform. In a letter written on the 17th of January, 1874, this was the explanation given by Mr. Disraeli himself. "It seemed to me," he said, "that the borough constituency of Lord Grey was essentially, and purposely, a Dissenting and low Whig constituency, consisting of the principal employers of labour, and that the ballot was the only instrument to extricate us from these difficulties." Probably, Mr. Disraeli was consistent from his own point of view, and in his devotion to certain leading ideas; but it is equally obvious that he was resolved to get into Parliament, and that he addressed his appeal at different times to different supporters.

The future Lord Beaconsfield was thirty-three years of age when he entered the House of Commons as the Conservative Member for Maidstone. He was five years older than Mr. Gladstone, and began his Parliamentary career five years later; but, from the close of 1837 to the summer of 1876, when Mr. Disraeli was advanced to the Peerage, both were members of the Lower House, except during the short interval between Mr. Gladstone's retirement from Newark in 1846 and his election for Oxford University in 1847. The appearance of the representative for Maidstone did not create a favourable impression. He was a dandy, of the type existing in those days, with the addition of a certain Hebrew extravagance and gorgeousness. His long black hair, his sallow countenance, his bottle-green coat and white waistcoat, his profusion of rings and gold chains, his strange gestures and general exaggeration of manner, excited a sense of the ludicrous which was not fortunate for the new-comer. His first attempt at oratory had a disastrous termination. A few years earlier, O'Connell had patronised young Disraeli; but they afterwards quarrelled on political grounds, and, in reply to a savage attack on himself by the Irish agitator, Mr. Disraeli had declared that, as soon as he obtained a seat in the House of Commons, he would inflict on that demagogue such a "castigation" as would make him repent the insults to which he had given utterance. On the 7th of December, 1837, during an Irish debate, he rose to acquit himself of this engagement. The speech had been elaborately prepared, but was too high-flown for the taste of the House. Certain it is that there were frequent interruptions and bursts of laughter; but a good deal of the disturbance appears to have originated with the Irish followers of Mr. O'Connell. The new member struggled bravely for a long time against this ungenerous opposition, but at length gave way, in these memorable words addressed to the Speaker:—"I am not at all surprised, Sir, at the reception I have met with. I have begun several times many things, and I have often succeeded at last. Ay, Sir, and, though I sit down now, the time will come when you will hear me."

The great figures of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli have occupied such prominent positions during the reign of Queen Victoria, that it has seemed necessary to make special reference to their rise as politicians. At this period, both sat on the Conservative side of the House. But their Conservatism was of two very different orders; Mr. Gladstone's being more of the steady, orthodox kind, while Mr. Disraeli's shot forth into novelties and unexpected developments, touching on autocracy in one direction, and on democratic power in another. The term "Conservative," it may be here remarked, arose about the commencement of the Queen's reign, or at any rate not long before. Since 1832, also, it had been not unusual for certain enthusiasts of the opposite party to call themselves Liberals; but the older members of both bodies preferred the historic appellations of Whig and Tory. "Radical" was another term belonging to the same epoch; so that we find, at the beginning of the Victorian era, all the party catchwords which are still active in the political arena.

The loading events in the earlier months of 1839 were the occupation of the Aden, on the 20th of January, by the troops of the East India Company; the opening of Parliament by the Queen in person on the 5th of February; and the arrest by the Chinese Government, on the 7th of April, of Captain Elliot, the superintendent of British trade in China, who was compelled to deliver up opium to the value of £3,000,000. Aden is a town and harbour at the south-western extremity of Arabia. It was at that time a miserable collection of mud huts, containing not more than six hundred inhabitants, but is now, under English rule, a flourishing and populous place of trade, a coaling-station of the Anglo-Indian mails, and a singularly convenient position for communication with Asia and Africa. A British merchant-vessel having been shipwrecked off the coast of Aden, the barbarian natives of which plundered and ill-used the crew, a war-ship was despatched from Bombay in 1838, to oblige the reigning Sultan (a half-savage potentate) to make restitution. It is evident, however, that the East Indian authorities were rather glad of the incident, since it gave them a much-desired pretext for impressing on the petty sovereign of the country—with that persuasiveness which the presence of a ship-of-war so greatly facilitates—the desirability (from our point of view) of ceding Aden and the adjacent lands to the English. The Sultan agreed to the proposal, but afterwards endeavoured to break his promise, when he was compelled by force to submit.

Affairs of this nature have always their questionable side; but the Chinese war was much worse. An English factory was established at Canton in 1680, and several were in existence in 1839. A factory, in the Anglo-Indian sense of the word, is not a place of manufacture, but a place of trade. One of the principal trades we pursued at Canton was the trade in opium, which, having been grown in India, was smuggled into China, in defiance of the express prohibition of the Imperial Government. The use of opium ruined the health, and corrupted the whole moral nature, of innumerable Chinamen; but the culture and exportation of the poisonous drug yielded a large revenue to the Indian Government, as well as a great profit to the traders; and the reasonable wishes of the Chinese authorities were therefore to be disregarded. Frequent dissensions arose in consequence; and at length, in 1839, matters came to a crisis with the arrest of Captain Elliot, and the seizure of the opium over which he had control. A naval war, ultimately supported by a military force, soon afterwards broke out between England and China, and lasted, with brief interruptions, until the 29th of August, 1842, when a treaty of peace was concluded at Nankin, the Imperial sanction of which was received on the 15th of September. Amicable relations were thus re-established for a few years; but at a later period hostilities again broke out, owing to repeated misunderstandings between the British authorities and the Chinese Government. By the Treaty of 1842 (the formal ratifications of which were exchanged between the Emperor and Queen Victoria on the 22nd of July, 1843), it was provided that Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghae, should, in addition to Canton, be thrown open to the British, who were permitted to

maintain a consul at each of the five ports; and that the island of Hong-Kong should belong in perpetuity to England. We had succeeded by virtue of superior force; yet such triumphs yield nothing but a feeling of shame to any well-

THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, ST. JAMES'S PALACE.

informed Englishman whose mind is not vitiated by false reasoning or self-interest. The Chinese fought in defence of their cities with a heroism which would have called forth the generous praises of Plutarch; and the pitiable spectacle of brave men slaying their wives and children, and then themselves, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, should have burnt like red-hot iron into the consciences of the opium-mongers who provoked the war.

These were matters in which the Queen was not immediately concerned, though it would be unfitting to omit them from any account of her reign. But a complication had arisen in Jamaica which led to a Ministerial crisis in England, involving points of constitutional practice that were very important to her Majesty's position. Slavery had been abolished in Jamaica in the year 1834; but the troubles inseparable from that detestable system did not cease with its abrogation. The planters continued to be insolent and cruel. They evaded the new arrangements in every way they could, and placed themselves in systematic opposition to the Governors sent out from England, whose duty it was to see the laws enforced. The House of Assembly defied the Imperial Government, and ultimately refused to provide for the executive needs of the island until they were allowed to have their own way in all things. On the other hand, it is very probable that the negroes were often indolent, and sometimes presumptuous; though nothing is more surprising than the temper and self-control exhibited by the poor blacks on finding themselves suddenly invested with liberty. The Jamaica embroilment was made all the worse by the imprudence of Lord Sligo, who, while acting as Governor in 1836, committed a gross violation of the privileges of the Assembly. He was compelled by the Home Government to apologise, and soon afterwards gave place to Sir Lionel Smith, who, after a brief period of popularity, became as much at issue with the Assembly as his predecessors. The representative body refused to pass the most necessary laws, and expressed the greatest indignation at a Bill, sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament, for the regulation of prisons in Jamaica, where many cruelties were inflicted on the negroes. Nor was this all; for the unfortunate men of colour were frequently turned out of house and home, together with their families, and left to starve—a fate not absolutely impossible, even in the genial climate of a West India island. The state of things was becoming intolerable, and the Government of Lord Melbourne struck a venturesome blow.

A proposal was brought before Parliament in 1839 to suspend the constitution of Jamaica for five years, and to substitute during that period a provisional government appointed by the Home authorities. However regrettable in itself, the measure seems to have been justified by the circumstances; but the weakness of the Government invited attack on so favourable an opportunity for creating odium. The majority of twelve with which they commenced the new Parliament had by this time fallen even lower, and there was enough to say against their Jamaica policy to give the Opposition an excellent chance of success. The measure was indeed carried by a majority of five at the sitting of May 6th; but this was equivalent to a defeat, and the Ministry at once resigned. The announcement of their resolution was made on the 7th of May, and, on her Majesty sending for the Duke of Wellington on the 8th, she was advised by him to entrust the formation of a new Cabinet to Sir Robert Peel. Accepting this counsel, the Queen commanded the attendance of that statesman at Buckingham Palace, but at the outset encountered him with the discouraging remark that she

was much grieved to part with her late Ministers, whose conduct she entirely approved. She added, however, that she felt the step was necessary; that her first object was the good of the country; that she had perfect confidence in Sir Robert, and would give him every assistance in her power in carrying on the Government. Nothing was said on that occasion about the difficulty which afterwards arose, and the composition of the Cabinet proceeded without any material obstruction.

The next day, however, while talking over matters with his intended colleagues, Sir Robert Peel became for the first time aware that the person of the Queen was surrounded by ladies closely related to the Whig statesmen recently in office. This was very naturally considered as involving a special peril to the new Ministry; for, when it was remembered that the Queen had an avowed partiality for the ideas and political conduct of Lord Melbourne, it seemed almost inevitable that ladies so intimately connected with the Melbourne Government would use their position about her Majesty to prejudice and embarrass the incomers. In consequence of these apprehensions, Sir Robert Peel brought the subject before the notice of the sovereign on the same day (May 9th), and stated that, while no change would be required in any of the appointments below the rank of a Lady of the Bedchamber, he should expect that all of the higher class would at once resign. If such should not be the case, he should propose a change, although he thought that in some instances the absence of political feeling might render any alteration unnecessary. On the 10th of May, her Majesty wrote to the Conservative leader:—"The Queen, having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by Sir Robert Peel, to remove the Ladies of her Bedchamber, cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." A few hours later, Sir Robert addressed a communication to the Queen, relinquishing his attempt to form a Government, and recapitulating the circumstances which, in his judgment, rendered that attempt impracticable.

It is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that Sir Robert Peel was right in the view which he took of this matter. He could not have carried on the administration of the country under a perpetual liability to backstairs intrigues. Besides, it was the opinion of very high authorities on constitutional law that the appointments of the Royal Household are State appointments, and therefore dependent on the Ministry of the day. Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, however, advised her Majesty to the contrary, and it was the members of the late Government, sitting in council by a questionable stretch of powers that were then merely provisional, who arranged the terms of the letter which the Queen addressed to Sir Robert Peel on the 10th of May. The leader of the Conservatives became for a few days the most unpopular man in England. It was supposed by the Queen, and rather sedulously spread abroad by the Melbourne party, that Peel desired to remove *all* her personal friends and familiar attendants; but, as we have seen, this was far from being the case. The Whigs endeavoured to create a factitious sentiment on behalf

of the Queen by stating that the ladies whose dismissal Peel demanded were "the friends of her Majesty's youth;" whereas they appear to have been scarcely known to her until their appointment at the beginning of the new reign. That appointment was made on purely political grounds, and the Duchess of Kent was not consulted in the matter. The facts were afterwards made clear by the statesman chiefly concerned; but a great deal of unmerited odium had been incurred, and, in particular, Daniel O'Connell and Feargus O'Connor denounced Sir Robert in unmeasured language, while pouring out fulsome eulogies on the sovereign whose lawful authority they were a few years later to dispute. When the truth became known, a strong reaction set in, and there can be no doubt that what was called the Bedchamber affair was one of the causes of that temporary unpopularity of the Queen to which we have before adverted.

The Melbourne Government resumed office on the 11th of May, and lost no time in adopting a minute in the following terms:—"Her Majesty's confidential servants, having taken into consideration the letter addressed by her Majesty to Sir Robert Peel on the 10th of May, and the reply of Sir Robert Peel of the same day, are of opinion that, for the purpose of giving to the Administration that character of efficiency and stability, and those marks of the constitutional support of the Crown, which are required to enable it to act usefully to the public service, it is reasonable that the great officers of the Court, and situations in the Household held by Members of Parliament, should be included in the political arrangements made in a change in the Administration; but they are not of opinion that a similar principle should be applied or extended to the offices held by ladies in her Majesty's Household." Two years later (at the suggestion of Prince Albert), the question was settled by a compromise which substantially conceded what Sir Robert Peel had required. The restored Whigs introduced another Jamaica Bill, of a less stringent character, which they carried with the assistance, and under the correction, of the Tories; and the session closed in the midst of general distraction, and the errors of a feeble rule.

COBURG. (*After a Sketch by Prince Albert.*)

CHAPTER IV.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

English Chartism in the Summer of 1839—Riots in Birmingham—Principal Leaders of the Chartist Party—Excesses of the Artisans in Various Parts of Great Britain and Ireland—Chartist Rising at Newport, Monmouthshire—Conviction of Frost, Williams, and Jones—The Queen and Prince Albert—Early Life of the Prince—His Engaging Qualities—Desire of King Leopold to Effect a Matrimonial Engagement between Prince Albert and the Princess Victoria—First Visit of the Former to England—His Studies in Germany—Informal Understanding between Prince Albert and Queen Victoria—Difficulties of the Case—The Prince's View of the Matter in the Autumn of 1839—Second Visit to England, and Formal Betrothal—Letter of Baron Stockmar on the Subject—Announcement of the Royal Marriage to the Privy Council and to Parliament—The Appointment of the Prince's Household—Subjects of Difficulty and Dissension—Question of the Prince's Religion—Reduction of his Annuity by a Vote of the House of Commons—Progress from Gotha to England, and Reception at Buckingham Palace—Marriage of Prince Albert to the Queen at the Chapel Royal, St. James's.

N event of peculiar interest to her Majesty, and almost equally to the nation large, took place in the second half of 1839; but, before relating the rcumstances attending the Queen's engagement to Prince Albert, it will be sirable to pass in rapid review the state of the country at that period—a ate which might well have persuaded a young female sovereign of the need of aring her responsibilities with one of the stronger sex. The Government, as have seen, was extremely weak; Ireland, as usual, was giving the utmost uble; the Colonies were agitated; and England itself was almost on the

brink of revolution, owing to the distress existing among the labouring classes, and the incitements of the Chartists. The last of these dangers was the greatest of all. Hunger was preaching insurrection to thousands and tens of thousands of the poor and humble all over the kingdom; some few designing men, and scores of others who, however mistaken in their methods, were sincere and even noble in their aims, were thrusting the pike and the torch into the hands of maddened operatives; and the authorities, for a time, seemed paralysed. On the 14th of June, Mr. Attwood, Member for Birmingham, presented to the House a Chartist petition, signed, it was said, by 1,280,000 persons, and adopted at five hundred public meetings. It was at any rate sufficiently heavy to task the strength of twelve men to carry it out of the House; yet when Mr. Attwood, on the 12th of July, brought forward a motion to submit the grievances described in the petition to a select committee, he could obtain only forty-six votes, against 235 on the adverse side. On the 4th of July, a Chartist riot broke out in Birmingham, during which some policemen, sent from London, were severely handled. It was found necessary to call out the military, and for a time the disturbance seemed at an end. But on the 15th of the same month a much worse rising filled the whole town with consternation. Shops were sacked, houses set on fire in several localities, and the firemen obstructed and menaced in their attempts to extinguish the flames. Property was destroyed to the amount of nearly £50,000, and the vicinity which suffered most was afterwards described by the Duke of Wellington as presenting a worse appearance than that of a city taken by storm.

It was believed by superficial thinkers that these excesses would prove the death of Chartism; and, under this impression, the Attorney-General, Sir John Campbell, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England, made a speech at a public dinner at Edinburgh on the 24th of October. He even spoke of Chartism as a thing already extinguished, and considered that the punishment of the rioters had brought the whole matter to an end. But the movement was served by some men of zeal, earnestness, and intellectual capacity, and it had aroused the deepest feelings of countless men and women who had no voice in the government of the country, and who undoubtedly suffered in divers ways. One of the principal leaders of the party, but by no means one of the wisest, was the Irishman, Feargus O'Connor—an agitator by taste and profession, who nevertheless claimed to be descended from the old kings of Ireland. There were others who said that he was the grandson of one Conyers, an Essex farmer who settled in the sister island, and whose son thought it prudent to Hibernicise his name. If so, the redoubtable Feargus was not so Irish as he seemed; but, however this may have been, he preferred to throw himself into the vortex of English agitation, leaving the Irish work to O'Connell. More reasonable, more argumentative, and more profoundly sincere, were Thomas Cooper, a poet of some power and passion; Henry Vincent, an effective lecturer; and Ernest Jones, a writer for the periodical press. These were all men of decided

ability; and their advocacy of Chartist principles gave a more solid character to what might otherwise have passed off in effervescence.

On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the working classes, maddened by sufferings which their ignorance often led them to impute to wrong causes, committed many deplorable and guilty actions. At the direct incentive of the Trades-Unions, the factory hands sent threatening letters to the masters, fired the mills, made murderous attacks on such of their fellow-workmen as were willing to serve for lower wages, destroyed valuable machinery, and kept a large part of England, Scotland, and Ireland in perpetual terror. Chartism, by its assertion of political principles, whether right or wrong, did a certain amount of good, by giving another direction to all this turbulent socialism. Yet Chartism itself had its excesses, and, after the riots at Birmingham and elsewhere, the Government became alarmed. There were physical-force Chartists as well as moral-force Chartists; and at first the former were the more prevailing. The manufacturing districts were almost in a state of rebellion when, in the autumn of 1839, Henry Vincent was imprisoned at Newport, Monmouthshire, for delivering seditious speeches. There was at that time in Newport a respectable tradesman named John Frost, who had until recently been a magistrate of the borough, but whose use of intemperate language at a public meeting had caused his removal from the post. This dangerous egotist, or enthusiast, whichever he may have been, determined on making a bold attempt to rescue Vincent. He collected a vast body of armed men, marched seven thousand into the town on the 4th of November, while a great many more remained on the surrounding hills, and proceeded to the Westgate Hotel, where the magistrates were sitting.

The authorities knew something of what was about to happen, and had made as much preparation as they could. Thirty soldiers and some special constables were assembled in the building, and made a good defence. Frost's men fired into the hotel, and wounded the Mayor, Mr. Phillips, together with several others. The soldiers returned the fire, killed and wounded a good many, and struck such terror into the rest that, with the want of spirit usually displayed by English mobs, they fled in confusion, notwithstanding their immense superiority in numbers. Frost was soon arrested, together with two other ringleaders, named Williams and Jones, and some of their followers. They were tried in January, 1840, on a charge of high treason, it being evident that, over and above the rescue of Vincent, the conspirators intended to form a junction with the malcontents of Birmingham and other large manufacturing towns, and thus create a general rising. The three leaders were found guilty, and sentenced to death; but, owing to some informality in the proceedings, this was afterwards commuted to transportation for life, and even the milder punishment was subsequently curtailed. An amnesty having been granted to Frost, Williams, and Jones, on the 3rd of May, 1856, they returned to England in the September of that year, to find everything wonderfully altered since they left. Other

Chartist risings took place in the latter part of 1839 and the beginning of 1840, or were nipped in the bud by the vigilance of the authorities. The country was in a state of seething discontent, and it says much for the mingled leniency and firmness of the Government that the army was not called upon to suppress an insurrection.

While the working classes of Great Britain were thus starving and conspiring, and while the aristocracy (in the late summer of 1839) were amusing themselves with the theatrical jousts of the Eglintoun Tournament, her Majesty was advancing towards the most important event of her personal life. Her affection for her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, dated back some years; but it was not until 1839 that a matrimonial alliance was effected. The Prince was the second son of Duke Ernest I. of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (brother of the Duchess of Kent), and of his wife, the Princess Louise, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg. He was born at the Rosenau (a summer residence of his father, situated about four miles from Coburg) on the 26th of August, 1819. The future husband of the Queen was thus about a quarter of a year younger than herself; and at the time of the formal engagement he was but a youth of twenty. From his childhood he had given proof of an excellent disposition, and, as he gained in years, he became extremely intelligent and studious. It is easy to flatter a Prince, and many tongues are always ready to perform the task. But it seems to be the absolute truth to say of Prince Albert that his nature was manly, sincere, and affectionate; that his life was blameless and discreet; and that his intellect and acquirements were remarkable, even at an early age. Added to this, he was graced with physical beauty and pleasing manners; so that in more ways than one he attracted the attention of many observers.

When, in 1836, it became evident that the Princess Victoria must, in all human probability, succeed to the British throne, her uncle, King Leopold, was very desirous of effecting a marriage between his niece and his nephew. He well knew how terrible would be the weight of Imperial sovereignty on the head of a young, inexperienced girl, and he wished to lighten the burden by the constant advice and guidance of a conscientious husband. On this subject he consulted with his valued friend and private adviser, Baron von Stockmar, a man of great judgment and experience, and of a proportionate honesty and independence. Stockmar thought well of the young Prince, but would not commit himself to a positive opinion until he had seen more of him. A visit to Kensington Palace was subsequently arranged with the Duchess of Kent, and Prince Albert came to England, with his father and brother, in May, 1836. This was his first acquaintance with the country which he was afterwards to regard as almost his own; and it laid the foundations of the subsequent union. The Prince, it was obvious, had made a very favourable impression on the Princess. How far the former was affected could not as yet be ascertained; but he knew that the marriage was considered desirable, and he must of

necessity have been flattered by the possibility of such a future. About the same period, King Leopold made his niece aware of his wishes on the subject, and the answer of the Princess showed that *his* hopes were also her own.

During the next few years, Prince Albert pursued his studies in Germany,

PRINCE ALBERT.

chiefly at the University of Bonn. After keeping three terms there, and earning the highest praises from the several professors, he left in September, 1838, and in the ensuing months paid visits to Switzerland and Italy. Returning to his own country in the early summer of 1839, he was formally declared of age a little before the completion of his twentieth year. The Prince had all along continued to take a great interest in his cousin, and many were the rumours, both in Germany and England, that he was her affianced husband. But the statement was premature, for nothing had been

settled as yet. Still, though there was no formal engagement, it came to be gradually understood that the English Queen and the young Saxon Prince stood in a certain relation of mutual fidelity, though not of an absolutely binding order. William IV. had always been greatly opposed to the contemplated match, and formed various schemes for his niece's marriage, the most favoured of which had Prince Alexander of the Netherlands for its object. But there was now no hindrance in the way of the Queen's wishes, and everything conspired towards one result. The Dowager Queen Adelaide subsequently told her illustrious relative that the King would never have attempted to influence his niece's affections, had he known they were bestowed in any particular quarter. Yet a disagreeable impression had been produced, which could not be entirely obliterated at a later period.

Attached as she was to the Prince, the Queen desired to postpone the marriage for a few years, partly because of her cousin's extreme youth. The visit of Albert to Windsor Castle in October, 1839, however, decided the matter. It was indeed the desire and intention of the Prince himself to come to a definite understanding on the question. He considered, not unreasonably, that if he was to keep himself free, and to decline any other career which might seem likely, he ought to have some positive assurance that the engagement, of which so much had been said, would really be carried out. He even admitted in after life that he was not without some fear lest the Queen should be playing on his feelings. It must be recollected, however, that the position of her Majesty, as a sovereign, from whom the first advances must proceed, and yet as a woman, from whom a certain reserve is expected, was one of great difficulty. In the autumn of 1839, the Prince had resolved to declare himself free, if further postponement were required; but the course of events made it quite unnecessary that he should speak to any such effect. Her Majesty was unable to resist the combined force of the young Prince's good looks and fascinating manners. All previous hesitation disappeared, and, on the 14th of October, she informed Lord Melbourne of her intention. The Premier, we are told, showed the greatest satisfaction at the announcement, adding the expression of his conviction that it would not only make the Queen's position more comfortable, but would be well received by the country, which was anxious for her marriage.* "A woman," he observed, "cannot stand alone for any time, in whatever position she may be." On the following day, an understanding was come to between the parties chiefly concerned, and all that remained was the execution of the formal arrangements. A month later (November 14th), the Prince and his elder brother left London for Wiesbaden, where they found the King of the Belgians and Baron Stockmar awaiting them. This was a time of great letter-writing, and a communication from Stockmar to the Baroness Lehzen (one of the governesses of the Princess Victoria), dated December 15th, 1839, is particularly noticeable.

"With sincere pleasure," writes the Baron, "I assure you, the more I see

* Sir Theodore Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

of the Prince, the better I esteem and like him. His intellect is so sound and clear, his nature so unspoiled, so childlike, so predisposed to goodness as well as truth, that only two external elements will be required to make of him a truly distinguished Prince. The first of these will be the opportunity to acquire a proper knowledge of men and of the world; the second will be intercourse with Englishmen of experience, culture, and integrity, by whom he may be made thoroughly conversant with their nation and constitution. . . . As regards his future relation to the Queen, I have a confident hope that they will make each other happy by mutual love, confidence, and esteem. As I have known the Queen, she was always quick and acute in her perceptions; straightforward, moreover, of singular purity of heart, without a trace of vanity or pretension. She will consequently do full justice to the Prince's head and heart; and, if this be so, and the Prince be really loved by the Queen, and recognised for what he is, then his position will be right in the main, especially if he manage at the same time to secure the good will of the nation. Of course he will have storms to encounter, and disagreeables, like other people, especially those of exalted rank. But, if he really possess the love of the Queen and the respect of the nation, I will answer for it, that after every storm he will come safely into port. You will therefore have my entire approval, if you think the best course is, to leave him to his own clear head, his sound feeling, and excellent disposition."

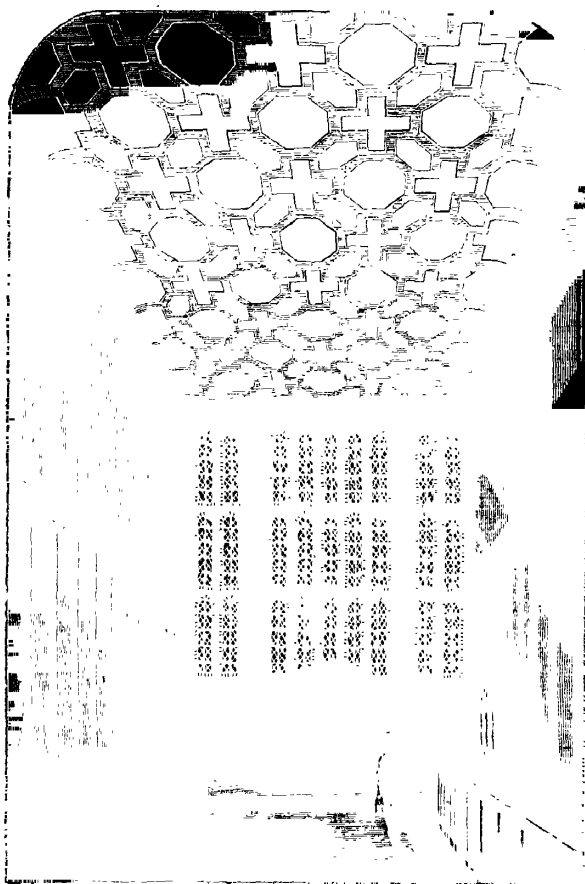
It was the original intention of the Queen to make the first notification of her contemplated marriage to Parliament; but she afterwards considered that the Privy Council was the fittest body for the purpose. The Council met on the 23rd of November at Buckingham Palace—an unusually large assemblage of eighty-three members. Wearing a bracelet with the Prince's portrait—which, as she subsequently recorded in her Journal, "seemed to give her courage"—Her Majesty read to the Council a declaration of her intention to contract a union, of which she declared her belief that it would at once secure her domestic felicity, and serve the interests of her country. Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha was indicated as the object of her choice; and the declaration concluded with the words:—"I have thought fit to make this resolution known to you at the earliest period, in order that you may be apprised of a matter so highly important to me and to my kingdom, and which, I persuade myself, will be most acceptable to all my loving subjects." When the Queen had finished reading, Lord Lansdowne rose, and asked, in the name of the Council, that Her Majesty's welcome communication might be printed. Leave was given, and the declaration was published in the next *Gazette*, whence it was copied into the newspapers. Some intelligence of the statement to be made to the Privy Council had found its way into the public mind; and, on leaving the Palace, Her Majesty was cheered with more than usual warmth.

The announcement to the Legislature was made in the Queen's Speech at the opening of the next session, January 16th, 1840. At the same time, Her Majesty expressed her conviction that Parliament would provide for such an

establishment as might appear suitable to the rank of the Prince and the dignity of the Crown. In the meanwhile, some difficulties had arisen with regard to various matters of detail. The settlement of the Prince's household was no very easy business. With admirable sense, Albert wrote to her Majesty on the

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

10th of December, 1839:—"I should wish particularly that the selection should be made without regard to politics, for, if I am really to keep myself free from all parties, my people must not belong exclusively to one side. Above all, these appointments should not be mere 'party rewards,' but they should possess some other recommendation, besides that of political connection. Let the men be either of very high rank, or very accomplished, or very clever, or persons who have performed important services for England. It is very necessary they should

be chosen from both sides—the same number of Whigs as of Tories; and, above all, it is my wish that they should be men well educated and of high character, who, as I have said, shall have already distinguished themselves in their several

INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL, ST. JAMES'S.

positions, whether it be in the army or navy, or the scientific world. I am satisfied you will look upon this matter precisely as I do, and I shall be much pleased if you will communicate what I have said to Lord Melbourne, so that he may be fully aware of my views."

These most reasonable suggestions were disregarded, and, without any consultation of the Prince's wishes on a matter which closely concerned himself,

3 post of Private Secretary was conferred on Mr. Ansón, who had long scharged the same functions for the Premier. This was evidently another tempt of the Whig Ministry to obtain a permanent influence over the Palace. ince Albert protested against the appointment, only to be told that the atter had gone too far for withdrawal. Fortunately, however, Mr. Anson owed, in the discharge of his duties, an entire absence of party predilections, gether with many positive qualities which won the high esteem of the Prince. question much debated at the time was as to whether the Queen's husband ould be made a peer of the realm, as had been done in the case of Queen ne's consort, Prince George of Denmark; but Prince Albert himself resisted the ggestion, which was certainly one of very questionable wisdom. The considera-n of precedence was also a knotty point. The Queen desired that her husband ould take precedence immediately after herself; but her uncle, the King of anover, refused to waive his right, and the Duke of Wellington, speaking on half of the Tory peers, declined to consent. The question was afterwards thdrawn from the Naturalisation Bill to which it had been attached, and s settled by an exercise of the Royal Prerogative, which, as a species of npromise, both political parties accepted. By letters patent, issued on the ı of March, 1840, it was provided that the Prince should thenceforth, "upon occasions, and in all meetings, except when otherwise provided by Act of rliament, have, hold, and enjoy, place, pre-eminence, and precedence next to · Majesty."

There were worse subjects of dissension, however, than those already ntioned. No sooner was the announcement of the Royal marriage made olic than sinister rumours arose that the Prince was a Roman Catholic. ers averred that he was an infidel. But the most damaging because the st definite charge was that of being a Papist; and this was strengthened the singular and very careless omission of any reference to the Prince's gion in the declaration to the Privy Council and to Parliament. King pold of Belgium saw the imprudence of giving the least opportunity for bt or cavil; but Ministers would not or could not recognise the danger. ates took place in both Houses in the discussion on the Address, and, the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington carried a motion for intro-ing the word "Protestant" into the Congratulatory Address to the Queen. was on this occasion that Lord Brougham, referring to some observations Lord Melbourne, made use of the memorable words:—"I may remark my noble friend is mistaken as to the law. There is no pro-icn as to marriage with a Catholic. It is only attended with a penalty, that penalty is *merely the forfeiture of the Crown.*" The Protestantism of ce Albert was in truth well known, and so was that of his family, with few exceptions. In a letter to the Queen, dated December 7th, 1839, the e said:—"There has not been a single Catholic Princess introduced the Coburg family since the appearance of Luther in 1521. Moreover,

the Elector, Frederick the Wise of Saxony, was the very first Protestant [Protestant Prince?] that ever lived." Still, it was remiss of the Government not to make the desired declaration, especially as some of the Prince's relatives had become Romanists. People generally have but little historic knowledge; and indeed the subject was one which history did not much avail to settle.

While the Lords were raising a question as to the Protestantism of the Prince, and making difficulties in the matter of precedency, the Commons were considering the position of the new-comer from a financial point of view. On the 24th of January, 1840, Lord John Russell moved "that her Majesty be enabled to grant an annual sum of £50,000 out of the Consolidated Fund for a provision to Prince Albert, to commence on the day of his marriage with her Majesty, and to continue during his life." Three days after, Mr. Joseph Hume, faithful to his character as a guardian of the public purse, moved as an amendment that £21,000, instead of £50,000, be voted annually to Prince Albert. He would even have preferred that no grant whatever should be made to the Prince during her Majesty's lifetime; but in this respect he had yielded to the wishes of his friends. Mr. Hume asked what was to be done with such a sum as the Government proposed to grant, and courteously remarked that Lord John Russell must know the danger of setting a young man down in London with so much money in his pockets. The amendment was lost by 305 votes against 38—a majority so enormous that it might well have discouraged any further opposition. Yet, on the very same evening, Colonel Sibthorp, a member of the Tory Opposition, moved that £30,000 should be the extent of the annuity, and, being supported by nearly all the Conservatives, as well as by the Radicals, and even some of the Whigs, he carried his proposal by 262 votes against 158. There was in truth a good deal to be said in favour of the smaller sum, though the suggestion roused Lord John Russell almost to fury, as if an actual personal affront to the Queen were intended. The country was in great distress; agriculture and manufactures were alike suffering; the poverty of large classes was extreme; taxation was oppressively heavy; and the revenue showed an ever-increasing deficit. Under these circumstances, the reduction of the annuity was essentially just and fair. The matter was decided on the 27th of January—the same day that the Government were so strenuously resisted in the House of Lords on the Precedency question as to see the necessity of separating it from the Naturalisation Bill. These circumstances induced in Prince Albert, for a short time, a fear lest his marriage to the Queen would not be popular with the English people; but he was soon undeceived on this point by the representations of his friends in England.

On the day following Colonel Sibthorp's successful amendment with respect to the annuity, the Prince, accompanied by Lord Torrington and Colonel (afterwards General) Grey, who had been sent to invest him with the insignia of the Garter, and conduct him ceremoniously to England, set out from Gotha,

accompanied by his father and brother. In the course of the journey, King Leopold was visited at Brussels, and the party then proceeded to Calais, where they were met by Lord Clarence Paget, commanding the *Firebrand*, in which the Prince and his companions were conveyed to the shores of Kent. They landed at Dover on the 6th of February, and met with a very hearty reception. This was repeated at Canterbury, and at every other place along the line of route,

COURTYARD OF ST. JAMES'S PALACE.

while at London the enthusiasm was marked and unmistakable. Buckingham Palace was reached on the afternoon of February 8th, when the Prince found her Majesty and the Duchess of Kent waiting at the door to greet him. In a little while, the Lord Chancellor administered the oath of naturalisation, and a banquet followed in the evening. The Prince was fairly settled in his new home.

The marriage was celebrated in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, on the 10th of February, 1840. An unusually large crowd assembled in St. James's Park and its approaches, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, which did not become sunny until after the return of the bridal party from the chapel. Prince Albert wore the uniform of a British Field Marshal, with the insignia of the Garter, the jewels of which had been presented to him by the Queen. On

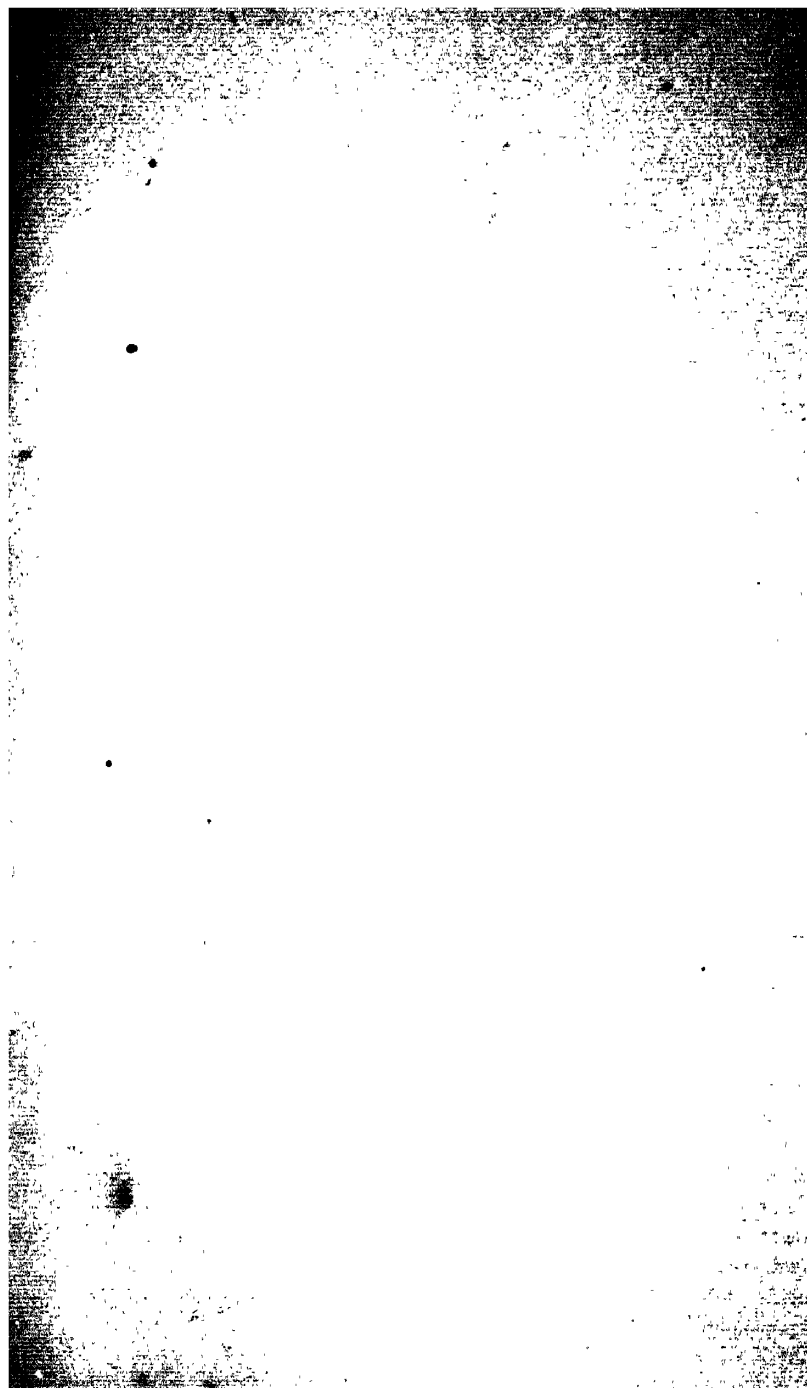
one side of the carriage sat the Prince's father, on the other side his brother; both in uniform. A squadron of Life Guards formed the escort to the chapel, and the bridegroom was loudly cheered. Her Majesty soon afterwards

DUKE ERNEST, OF SAXE COBURG-GOTHA, PRINCE ALBERT'S BROTHER.

followed, with the Duchesses of Kent and Sutherland. She looked pale and anxious, but smiled every now and then at little incidents occurring among the crowd. The somewhat dusky old palace was brightened up for the occasion by temporary decorations, and still more by the presence of splendidly-dressed ladies, picturesque officials, gentlemen-at-arms, yeomen of the guard, heralds,

pages, and cuirassiers. The altar of the Chapel Royal was set out with a great deal of gold plate, and four State chairs were provided for the Queen, Prince Albert, the Queen Dowager (Adelaide), and the Duchess of Kent. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London. All present admired the calm grace and dignified deportment of the Prince; but of course the great object of interest was the Queen herself. She looked excited and nervous, and, according to a letter from the Dowager Lady Lyttelton (one of the ladies-in-waiting), her eyes were swollen with tears, although great happiness appeared in her countenance. The Duchess of Kent is said to have been disconsolate and distressed; while the Duke of Sussex, who gave away the bride, was in the gayest spirits. The *John Bull*—a high Tory journal, edited by Theodore Hook, the motto of which was, "For God, the Sovereign, and the People!"—remarked that the Duke of Sussex was always ready to give away what did not belong to him. It should be understood that the sovereign whom Hook set up his paper to champion was George IV., and that therefore it was no great inconsistency to insult a Royal Duke who was also a Liberal, and the uncle of a Liberal monarch. The Royal Family, as we have seen, were not very popular with the Tories of that date. At the Queen's marriage, only two Conservative peers were present: the Duke of Wellington and Lord Liverpool.*

As her Majesty was returning to Buckingham Palace, it was observed that the paleness and anxiety of the morning had given place to a bright flush, and a more unrestrained and joyous manner. After the wedding breakfast, the newly-married couple left for Windsor, on reaching which they found the whole town illuminated. A cordial reception from the residents, and from the Eton boys, sufficiently declared the sentiment of affectionate respect with which the Queen and Prince were regarded in the Royal Borough.

* Lord Malmesbury's Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST YEAR OF MARRIED LIFE.

Difficulties of the Early Married Life of Prince Albert—His Unpopularity in Certain Quarters—Attempt to Suppress Duelling in the Army—Position of the Prince in the Royal Household—Want of Supervision in the Management of the Palace—Introduction of Reforms, on the Initiative of Prince Albert—Duties Assumed by the Prince—Domestic Life—Post Office Reform—Defective State of the Service Previous to 1840—Rowland Hill and the Penny Post—Opposition to the New Scheme—Introduction of the Lower Rate of Postage—General Features and Effects of the Change—Measure for the Protection of Children Employed in Chimney-sweeping—Attempt of Edward Oxford to Shoot the Queen—Appointment of Prince Albert as Regent under certain Eventualities—Life and Studies at Windsor—Birth of the Princess Royal—Devotion of the Prince to her Majesty—Christmas at Windsor (1840)—Christening of the Princess—Accident to Prince Albert—The Eastern Question: Turkey and Egypt—Removal of the Body of Napoleon I. from St. Helena to Paris—Rise and Development of the Agitation for Free Trade.

Having stayed three days at Windsor Castle, her Majesty and the Prince returned to Buckingham Palace. On the 28th of February the Duke of Coburg left for Germany, and his son had now to enter on the ordinary routine of life, such as life is in that exalted station. The position of the Prince was no doubt extremely difficult, and at first it appeared almost unbearably irksome. Nothing could surpass the mutual love and confidence of the newly-wedded pair, and, as regarded the great mass of the English people, the bridegroom was popular. But he was scanned with jealous dislike by a large section of the aristocracy; he had not the particular kind of disposition best fitted for overcoming that dislike; and some of the incidents which preceded his arrival in England were certainly of a nature to vex and discourage. On the whole, he bore his probation well; yet we now know that, in private, he used expressions of annoyance which showed how deeply he had been wounded. His letter to the Queen, complaining of the appointment of Mr. Anson as his Private Secretary, was rather querulous in tone, however just in argument. In another letter to her Majesty, written from Brussels on the 1st of February, 1840, he spoke of the vote on Colonel Sibthorp's amendment with respect to the annuity as "most unseemly"—which it clearly was not; and in May of the same year he wrote to his friend Prince Löwenstein that he was "only the husband, and not the master in the house." All these opposing facts and feelings boded evil for the future.

In some degree, the very virtues of Prince Albert's character stood in the way of his rapidly making friends, though a feeling of respect was not slow in arising. His manners were reserved and distant, and people mistook for haughtiness what was nothing more than the disinclination of a reflective and sequestered nature to enter heartily into the promiscuous and not always very sincere intercourse of what is called general society. He was considered cold and ungenial, and it is probable that to some he really was so. To those whom he truly loved, and whose natures were sympathetic with his own, he could be a

most delightful companion; but this, of course, was no compensation to courtiers who expected to find in him a facile man of the world, but whose frivolities repelled and wearied him. In truth, he was something of a formalist, and formalism is the quality, of all others, which generally makes Englishmen feel most uneasy. One of his favourite ideas was to promote the abolition of duelling in the British army by the substitution of courts of arbitration on questions of personal honour. The Duke of Wellington and other leaders gave some heed to this proposal; but it had no great prospect of success, and in time ceased to be talked about. Nevertheless, it must be allowed that the agitation of this subject by Prince Albert, in 1843, co-operated with other causes to put down the foolish and wicked practice against which his Royal Highness sought to make provision. When Queen Victoria ascended the throne, duelling was frequent. In twelve or thirteen years, it had almost entirely died out, killed by the ridicule and the awakened moral sense of all reasonable men.

The question of the Prince's position in the Royal Household was indisputably one of no little importance. The young husband possessed (as we find it stated by one well qualified to speak on the subject) "no independent authority by right of his position, and could exercise none, even within his own household, without trenching upon the privileges of others, who were not always disposed to admit of interference. This could scarcely fail to embarrass his position in the midst of a vast Royal establishment, which had inherited many of the abuses of former reigns, and where he found much of which he could not approve, but yet was without the power to rectify. And as behind every abuse there is always some one interested in maintaining it, he could not but be aware that he was regarded with no friendly eyes by those who were in that position, and who naturally dreaded the presence among them of one so visibly intolerant of worthlessness and incapacity." * The consequence was that the Prince sometimes found himself in collision with functionaries who would scarcely allow him any authority whatever, and especially with Madame Lehzen, then the Private Secretary of the Queen, who seems to have presumed too much on her Majesty's affection for her former governess. Confusion and extravagance, delay and discomfort, reigned within the Palace; the Queen and the Prince were equally inconvenienced and annoyed; yet, although some reforms were effected at an earlier period, it was not until 1844 that the system was radically altered.

There was in fact no master of the Royal dwelling, because there were too many masters. The control of affairs was divided by the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of the Horse; but no one of these was superior to the other two, and each acted in his department with entire independence. As their position was bound up with that of the Ministry, change was frequent, and an adverse vote in the House of Commons, on a question wholly political, would deprive the Queen of servants who were perhaps only just beginning to understand their work; for the appointments were made solely on party grounds, and

* Sir Theodore Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Vol. I.

without any reference to fitness for the post. The apportionment of functions and responsibilities was often most bewildering in its nicety and complex elaboration; so that particular matters would be left without any supervision whatever, because it was impossible to determine whose business it was to look after them. Baron Stockmar, who, early in 1841, had drawn up a Memorandum on the subject at the request of the Queen and Prince Albert, wrote, with a certain sense of humour in the midst of his grave exposition, that the Lord Steward found the fuel and laid the fire, while the Lord Chamberlain lighted it; that, in the same manner, the Lord Chamberlain provided all the lamps, while it was the duty of the Lord Steward to clean, trim, and light them. The commonest repairs, such as are required in every house, could not be executed without the order passing through so many hands that months frequently elapsed before the desired result could be effected. The state of things, indeed, was such that Dickens's Circumlocution Office can hardly be regarded as an exaggeration.

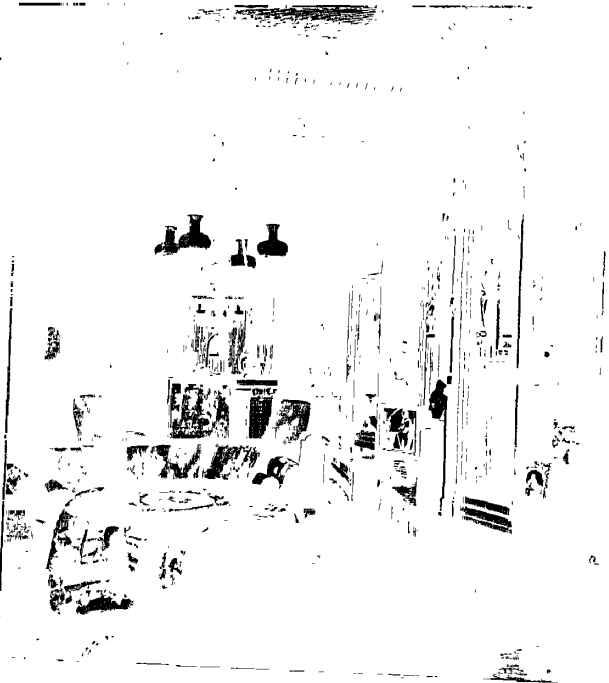
"As neither the Lord Chamberlain nor the Master of the Horse," said Baron Stockmar, "has a regular deputy residing in the Palace, more than two-thirds of all the male and female servants are left without a master in the house. They can come and go off duty as they choose; they can remain absent hours and hours on their days of waiting, or they may commit any excess or irregularity; there is nobody to observe, to correct, or to reprimand them. There is no officer responsible for the cleanliness, order, and security of the rooms and offices throughout the Palace." The laxity of the system was so extreme as to be attended by certain very positive dangers. During the years 1840-41, a young chimney-sweep was more than once discovered hiding in one of the apartments. "The boy Jones" became the talk of the town; but the incident was decidedly unpleasant, although the lad does not seem to have had any evil intent. No such circumstance could have happened with any proper system of supervision; but of system there was positively none. Yet it was a matter of the utmost difficulty to bring about a change in this chaos of incompetence and corruption; and Sir Robert Peel, when consulted on the subject in 1841, deprecated any reform which should seem to impair the authority of the great officers of State. Prince Albert, however, held resolutely to his purpose, and, about the close of 1844, the heads of the several departments were induced to confer on the Master of the Household absolute authority over the whole internal economy of the Palace. From that time forward the Royal dwelling was managed with intelligence and economy.

In relation to the State the position of the Prince was even more beset with thorns than in respect of his domestic arrangements. It was impossible that he should cut himself off from all interest in the great events of the time; yet he had no place in the Constitution, and it was most necessary that he should avoid even the semblance of interfering in the politics of the country on which he had been affiliated. His own idea was to constitute himself the Private Secretary

and confidential adviser of the Queen; and this was the position which, after a while, he actually filled. He read the foreign despatches which it is the duty of Government to submit to the sovereign before sending them out; he wrote notes for the guidance of her Majesty's judgment, and in many ways assisted the youth and inexperience of one who had been called, without much preparation, to the discharge of onerous duties. The suggestions of the Prince were not seldom accepted by Ministers; though of course it was necessary to regard them as coming from the Queen, as, indeed, by adoption they did. The domestic life of this period was cheered and exalted by reading, by music, by art, and by frequent visits to the theatre, especially to witness the plays of Shakespeare, then interpreted by a school of actors who in these days have scarcely any successors. Occasional visits to Claremont relieved the oppressive monotony of London existence.

A few weeks before the marriage of Prince Albert, a social and administrative reform had been begun in Great Britain, which must have possessed a very deep interest for his humane and liberal mind. For many years, the Postage system of the country had been in a state wholly inadequate to the requirements of modern civilisation. When a regular Post Office was established in the reign of Charles I. (all communication until then being occasional and precarious), the number of persons who could read and write was small, and the needs of the public were proportionably trivial. But in the middle of the nineteenth century it was imperative that the transmission of letters should be cheap, rapid, and facile. Facile and cheap it certainly was not, and before the full elaboration of the railway system there could be no rapidity in the modern sense of the term. Education was spreading; yet, to relatives and friends divided by a few miles, the expense of a letter was so great that, in many instances, people forbore from writing altogether, or resorted to a number of curious and dishonest tricks for sending and obtaining some sort of intelligence without paying for it. Within a small radius of Charing Cross, London, letters of moderate weight could be transmitted for twopence; but beyond these bounds the tariff was so high as to be prohibitory to all humble folk. The variations in the scale were determined not merely by distance, but also by the weight, and even the size of a letter. For transmission between London and Brighton the charge was eightpence, while nothing could be sent from London to Aberdeen under one shilling and threepence-halfpenny; and the letters so taxed were not to exceed a single sheet, or they paid extra. Peers, members of the House of Commons, and Cabinet Ministers, had the right of "franking," as the phrase was; that is, by writing their names on the outsides of letters, whether their own or those of other persons, they could secure their free conveyance. In the case of Ministers this privilege was without limits; in the other cases, the right was confined to a certain proportion of letters in the course of the year. The system of franking was bad in every way. It deprived the revenue of what was legitimately its due; it caused a large amount of petty vexation to the holders

of the privilege; it humiliated those who went begging for the favour; and it spared the very people who were best able to afford the expenses of the post.

No one requires to be told that, taking the whole mass of the population, there were but few persons sufficiently intimate with the great ones of the earth to obtain franks. The less fortunate were therefore driven to expedients of their own to evade a pressure which they were unable to bear. Illicit agencies for

PRINCE ALBERT'S MUSIC ROOM, BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

(From a Photograph by Mr H. N. King.)

the transmission of letters at a cheaper rate were formed in various parts of the kingdom, and these were much employed by mercantile and manufacturing firms, who saved largely by the device. People lower in the scale exercised their wits in a number of contrivances, which were often extremely ingenious, and which it is impossible either to defend, or seriously to accuse. Newspapers were marked with strange dots and other understood symbols, which conveyed a few general facts from the sender to the recipient. Sometimes two or three words were written on one of the margins; but this was very likely to be detected. A much safer plan was to despatch a blank sheet of paper duly

directed, the mere sight of which would sufficiently assure B, who received, that A, who sent, was alive and well. The letter could then be at once returned to the postman, on the plea that the postage could not be afforded. An incident of this nature came under the observation of Coleridge when wandering about the

MR. (AFTERWARDS SIR) ROWLAND HILL.

Lake district in the days of his early manhood; and there can be little doubt that the same thing was frequently done in many successive years. The evils of the Postal system were slightly mitigated by these stratagems, but only slightly; and, as a rule, the poor were almost entirely deprived of the knowledge of one another, if fifty miles or so separated the brother from the sister, or the mother from the son.

Nevertheless, the revenue suffered from the several schemes for evading

the high rates of postage. Between 1815 and 1835 the population of Great Britain increased thirty per cent.; education had made some progress; and travelling was so much more common that the stage-coach duty (though the railway system had begun by the latter year) had increased one hundred and twenty-eight per cent. Yet during the same time the receipts of the Post Office underwent no augmentation whatever, if, indeed, they did not fall off. It is clear, therefore, that the secret and illicit post must have enjoyed a good deal of patronage, though rather in the middle than the lower class. The objections to the Postal system were many and glaring. It was needlessly onerous, the average charge on every letter throughout the United Kingdom being as much as sixpence-farthing; it encouraged fraud; it hindered the natural intercommunication of the poor; it was capricious and uncertain in its operation; and it included a great deal of most offensive spying, to ascertain whether suspected letters contained more than the regulation number of pages. Still, owing to the force of habit, it survived years of obloquy, until a genius arose capable of organising a better method.

Mr. Rowland Hill (subsequently Sir Rowland) was the third son of Mr. Thomas Wright Hill, of Kidderminster, and afterwards of Birmingham, and brother of Matthew Davenport Hill, an eminent lawyer, politician, and reformer, whose name is identified with the more humane treatment of juvenile offenders. Delicate in health from his childhood, young Rowland showed a premature genius for figures, and a still greater genius for organisation. In 1833, when about thirty-eight years of age, he was appointed Secretary to the South Australian Commission, and was largely instrumental in founding the colony of South Australia. It was about this time that his attention was first directed towards the Postal system, and early in 1837 he published a pamphlet on "Post Office Reform: its Importance and Practicability." He had observed that the number of letters passing through the post bore a ridiculously small proportion to the number of the population. His mathematical mind induced him to make calculations as to the cost of conveyance; and he found that the expense of transit on each individual letter between London and Edinburgh—a distance of four hundred miles—was not more than the thirty-sixth part of a penny. Indeed, the cost was but little enhanced by distance; and Mr. Hill therefore came to the conclusion that, if the rates of postage were reduced to the lowest, if the despatch of letters were made more frequent, and the speed of conveyance were increased, the revenue would gain instead of lose, to say nothing of the social boon.

Starting from his well-ascertained datum, that thirty-six letters could be carried from London to Edinburgh at a cost of a penny, Mr. Hill strongly urged the desirability of adopting a uniform rate of postage within the limits of the United Kingdom. That this rate should not be more than a penny, followed naturally from the proved facts of the case, and from the obvious justice of giving the public the advantage of a cheapness which would actually benefit instead of

injuring the revenue. Nevertheless, the opposition to be encountered proved very serious and harassing. All the persons engaged in the old system were pledged to resist the new; and it appears to have been really thought that a Penny Post would entail such difficulties in its organisation as to be practically impossible. The Postmaster-General, Lord Lichfield, declared in the House of Lords that the proposed scheme was the wildest and most extravagant he had ever known. In the opinion of this official, and of several others, the necessary expenses would be absolutely overwhelming, while, owing to the immeasurable increase of correspondence, no building would be large enough to receive the clerks and the letters. This very argument, however, clearly implied that there was a public want which the existing system did not supply. On the other hand, many believed that there would be very little increase in the number of letters, and that there was, in fact, no real demand for any change whatever.

Some persons, from whom a greater liberality might have been expected, were as antagonistic to the scheme as if they had been Post Office officials. The Rev. Sydney Smith, who had been a reformer in his earlier days, but who was now getting old, spoke of the plan as "nonsensical," and as needlessly entailing a loss of a million to the revenue. Rowland Hill, however, was not a man to be deterred by any amount of difficulty. He had convinced himself, and ultimately he convinced others, that letters might be sent to any part of Great Britain and Ireland for the sum of one penny, and that yet there would be a profit of two hundred per cent. The uniformity of charge would in itself save a large amount of time and trouble; and if the postage could be paid in advance, there would be a still further gain in general convenience. The idea of a penny letter-stamp was suggested to Mr. Hill by a proposal put forth some years before by Mr. Charles Knight, the eminent author and publisher, who thought that the best way of collecting a penny postage on newspapers would be by the use of stamped covers. This plan was ultimately adopted for letters, and people at the present day, if they think at all upon the subject, are astonished how their forefathers could have gone on from year to year without a method at once so cheap, so simple, and so admirably adapted to the necessities of the case.

As Mr. Hill was not himself a member of Parliament, it was essential to his scheme that he should get a spokesman or two in that Assembly. He was well served by Mr. Warburton and Mr. Wallace, who frequently brought the subject before the attention of the House of Commons. In February, 1838, Mr. Wallace moved for a select committee to investigate and report upon the proposed scheme of postal reform; but, as the Government declared that the matter was under their consideration, the motion was not carried. Public attention, however, was by this time strongly directed towards the subject, and numerous petitions were sent up to Parliament from very influential bodies, praying that the law might be altered. The Melbourne Ministry began to see that the subject was one which must shortly be taken in hand, whether in a greater or a less degree. The natural

inclination was, of course, to treat it in the slightest degree possible, and various minor reforms were proposed, which only showed that the official position was getting insecure, but yet that there was a strong disinclination to sanction any radical change. At length, on the 5th of July, 1839, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in bringing forward the annual Budget at an unusually late period of the session, proposed a resolution declaring it to be expedient "to reduce the postage on letters to one uniform rate of one penny, charged upon every letter of a weight to be hereafter fixed by law; Parliamentary privileges of franking being abolished, and official franking strictly regulated; this House pledging itself at the same time to make good any deficiency of revenue which may be occasioned by such an alteration in the rates of the existing duties." The evidence obtained by a committee of the House had shown the absolute need and the entire practicability of Rowland Hill's plan. The demand for the adoption of that plan was now universal, and the Government could no longer resist a change which was supported by convincing reasons. The requisite Act of Parliament was rapidly passed, and the law received the Queen's sanction before the end of August.

Nevertheless, there was to be an intermediate period, during which the charge for postage would be at the rate of fourpence for each letter, half an ounce in weight, within the entire area of the United Kingdom. This was to save the Post Office from being deluged by a flood of penny letters, for which the officials would not be all at once prepared. But on the 10th of January, 1840, the postage was fixed at the uniform rate of one penny per letter not exceeding half an ounce in weight—a limit which in 1865 was widened to one ounce. Mulready, the painter, furnished a design for an official envelope, which, however, was found to be inconvenient, and was speedily laid aside. The affixed penny stamp was introduced on the 6th of May, and the system was then fairly launched—as fairly, that is, as official jealousy would suffer it to be. Franking was abolished with the introduction of the new method; and, although the Queen was still entitled to this privilege, she immediately relinquished it, with that good feeling which has always distinguished her Majesty's relations towards her people. The aristocracy, and others who had enjoyed the invidious right, found even the penny postage a serious addition to their expenses; but the merchant, the manufacturer, the tradesman, the middle classes generally, and the poor, were suddenly invested with a benefit of which they had long been unjustly deprived, and which proved of the highest value in all the ordinary transactions of life.

Another social reform in which her Majesty and Prince Albert must have taken the deepest interest was in some degree associated with the year 1840. On the 7th of August an Act of Parliament was passed with reference to the employment of children in the sweeping of chimneys. By the terms of this Act, it was made unlawful for master-sweeps to take apprentices under sixteen years of age, and no individual under twenty-one was to ascend a chimney after

July 1st, 1842. The law was made more stringent in 1864; but in the meanwhile it had done an immense amount of good. The barbarity of the system it supplanted was great indeed. Boys of tender years, whose ordinary treatment by their employers was of the roughest kind, were compelled, often by acts of extreme violence, to ascend chimneys for the purpose of brushing down the soot. Cases were known in which these poor little creatures were lost and stifled in the dark, cavernous, and winding passages which they had to thread. At the

RECEPTION OF THE QUEEN IN HYDE PARK AFTER THE NEWS OF OXFORD'S ATTEMPT ON HER LIFE. (See p. [illegible].)

best, the suffering was great, and entailed diseases of the joints, of the eyes, and of the respiratory organs. The system was wholly inexcusable, for the *ramoneur*, or jointed brush, now in general use, had been known for several years. It required an Act of Parliament, however, to enforce the introduction of this machine, and to protect the unfortunate children; though, in a very few years after the alteration, respectable householders wondered how they could have tolerated the abominable cruelty to which the climbing-boys were subjected.

Between the introduction of the new Postal system and the passing of the Bill for the protection of youthful sweeps, her Majesty had been exposed to a danger and an affront which she had probably never anticipated, though it has [illegible]

repeated several times since. On the 10th of June, 1840, the Queen was driving up Constitution Hill, in company with Prince Albert, when she was twice fired at by a pot-boy, seventeen years of age, named Edward Oxford. Her Majesty turned very pale, and, between the firing of the first and second shots, rose up in the carriage; but Prince Albert immediately pulled her down by his side. A pleasing impression was produced at the time by the thoughtfulness of the Queen in ordering the carriage to be at once driven to the residence of the Duchess of Kent, that her mother, who might have heard some rumour of the occurrence, should see that she was safe. On afterwards driving through Hyde Park, her Majesty had a most enthusiastic reception from the fashionable company in the Row. She was ultimately escorted home by a crowd consisting of all classes, and repeated shouts revealed the cordiality of the public feeling. On the offender being examined next day before the Privy Council, he said that, although there were many witnesses against him, they contradicted each other in several important particulars. It appeared that he belonged to a secret society called "Young England," the rules of which prescribed that every member should, when ordered to attend a meeting, be armed with a brace of loaded pistols and a sword, and should also be provided with a black crape cap, to cover the face. This society, however, does not seem to have had any wide ramifications, and was probably nothing more than an association of foolish young people, actuated as much by vanity as by malice. On the 10th of July, Oxford was tried for high treason in its most aggravated form, including an attempt on the very life of her Majesty. The defence was based on an allegation of insanity, though there can be little doubt that Oxford was not insane in any true sense of the word. He was ordered to be kept in a lunatic asylum during her Majesty's pleasure; but in 1868 he was set at liberty, on condition of going abroad. It is a discreditable fact that even members of Parliament applied for locks of his hair when it was cut off previous to his confinement. Many persons considered that he ought to have been hanged, and, when similar attempts were made some two years later, Oxford himself expressed an opinion that, had he been executed, there would have been no more shooting at the Queen. In this opinion he was probably right; but the extreme tenderness of the modern conscience forbade the execution of one whose criminal folly had, after all, effected no real mischief. After a while, Oxford seems to have recognised the wickedness of his act, which he attributed to inordinate vanity; and during his long confinement he learned the art of graining, and even taught himself some modern languages. His attempt, however, was a very grave evil, and, even supposing there had been no bullets in the pistols (as Oxford, perhaps truthfully, alleged), might have produced serious consequences. "My chief anxiety," wrote Prince Albert shortly afterwards, "was lest the fright should have been injurious to the Queen in her present state." One good effect was the increased popularity both of the Queen and of her husband, who were received with genuine enthusiasm whenever they appeared in public.

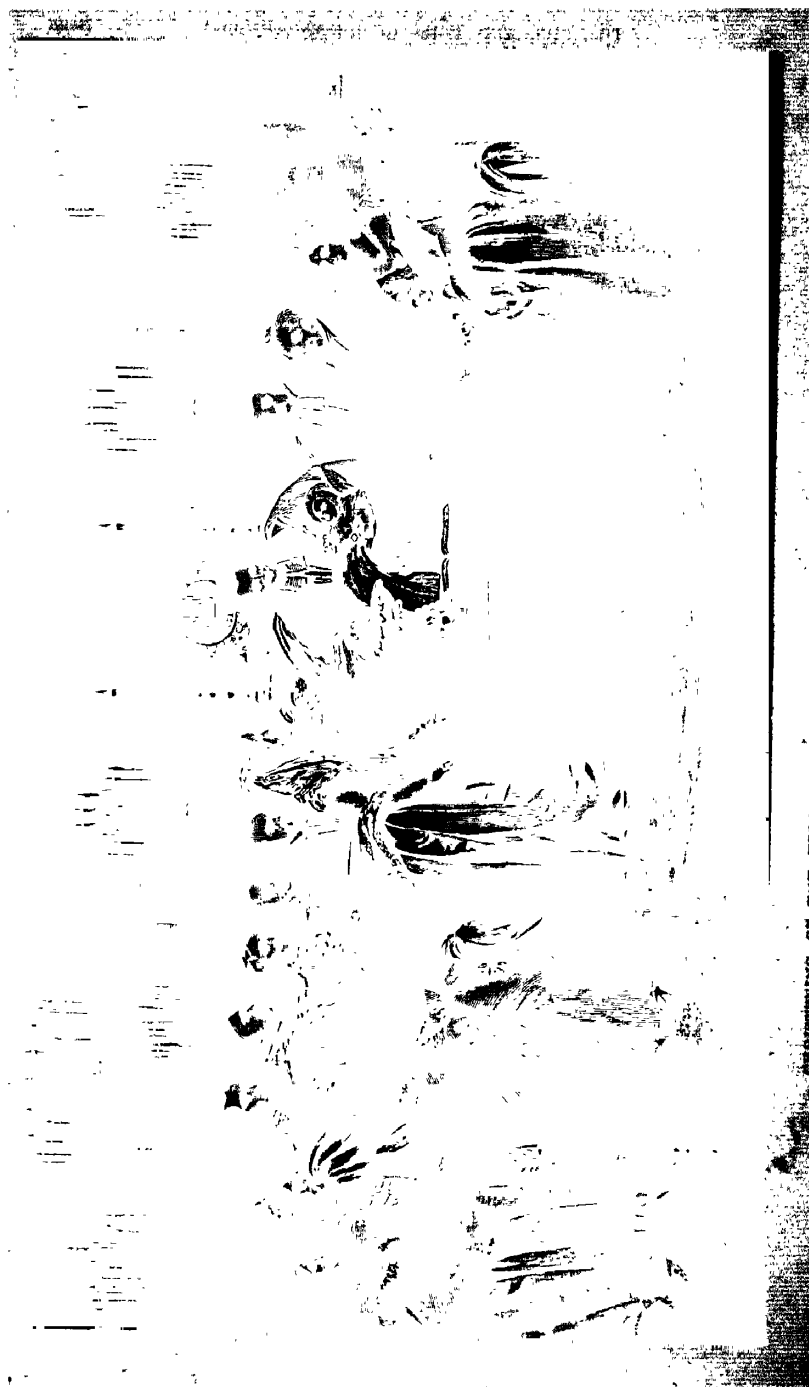
The condition of her Majesty in the summer of 1840 rendered it advisable that a Regency should be appointed, in case of her approaching confinement terminating in a manner which all would have deplored. The Queen's own wish was that Prince Albert should be named as Regent; but of course it was necessary to carry a Bill to this effect through Parliament, and it was feared that, as in the case of the Naturalisation Bill and the measure for granting an annuity, there might be some difficulties of a vexatious nature, unless an understanding could be previously arrived at with the leaders of the Opposition. The Duke of Sussex was known to dislike conferring this position on Prince Albert, and to favour the idea of creating a Council of Regency, in which he himself would be a prominent member. Baron Stockmar, therefore, opened communications with Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, and the matter was speedily arranged. A Bill appointing Prince Albert to the office of Regent in the case supposed was introduced into the Upper House on the 13th of July, and passed with no other dissentient voice than that of the Duke of Sussex. The measure was equally successful in the House of Commons, and it was generally agreed that the father, as the natural guardian of any offspring, was the fittest person to exercise supreme power in the name of the Royal infant, until he or she had attained the legal majority. On the other hand, there was the objection that the actual ruler of the country during many years would be a born foreigner; but, as this had happened several times before in the history of England, it was held to be no serious obstacle to an arrangement otherwise satisfactory.

On the 11th of September Prince Albert was made a member of the Privy Council, and, having been recently appointed to the Colonelcy of the 11th Hussars, he went out from time to time with a squadron of the 1st Life Guards in Windsor Park, in order to make himself acquainted with the forms of English drill, and the words of command. During the same autumn months he was much occupied with a series of readings on the laws and Constitution of England, under the care of Mr. Selwyn, a distinguished writer on jurisprudence. He and the Queen were then residing at Windsor, the green and woody surroundings of which were an endless source of delight to the Prince. But an event was now approaching which rendered a return to Buckingham Palace advisable. The London residence of her Majesty was re-entered on the 13th of November, and, during the same month, Baron Stockmar, who had left England for his home in Coburg at the beginning of August, returned to London at the urgent solicitation of the Prince, who desired to have that admirable friend and counsellor at hand during a period of natural anxiety. On the 21st of November, 1840, the Princess Royal was born, and, although the Prince was a little disappointed at the infant not being a son, the feeling was but momentary. His devotion to the Queen during her confinement was constant, and beyond all praise. He generally dined with the Duchess of Kent, refused to go out in the evening, and was always at hand if anything were required. "No one but himself," says a memorandum by her Majesty in an official work on the Prince's early life, "ever lifted her from

her bed to her sofa, and he always helped to wheel her on her bed or sofa into the next room. For this purpose he would come instantly when sent for from any part of the house. As years went on, and he became overwhelmed with work (for his attentions were the same in all the Queen's subsequent confinements), this was often done at much inconvenience to himself; but he ever came with a sweet smile on his face. In short, his care of her was like that of a mother; nor could there be a kinder, wiser, or more judicious nurse."* Her Majesty recovered so rapidly that the Court removed to Windsor Castle for the Christmas holidays. The Prince was always much interested in the ceremonies of that season, and it was now that the pretty German custom of setting up Christmas-trees, as a graceful means of distributing little presents both to old and young, was introduced into England. The Court returned to Buckingham Palace on the 23rd of January, 1841, and Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on the 26th. Her Majesty had but recently told the Prince that in former days she was only too happy to be in London, and felt wretched at leaving it; but that since the hour of their marriage she was unhappy at leaving the country, and could be content never to go to town. This pleased him, as showing an increasing solidity of mind, which found greater pleasure in the quiet yet joyous delights of the country than in the giddy amusements of the metropolis.

The baptism of the Princess Royal took place on the 10th of February, the first anniversary of the Queen's marriage, when the infant was christened Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa. The Prince, in writing, on the 12th of February, 1841, to his grandmother, the Dowager Duchess of Gotha, said that the christening had gone off very well. "Your little great-grandchild," he added, "behaved with great propriety, and like a Christian. She was awake, but did not cry at all, and seemed to crow with immense satisfaction at the lights and brilliant uniforms, for she is very intelligent and observing. The ceremony took place at half-past six P.M.; and after it there was a dinner, and then we had some instrumental music. The health of the little one was drunk with great enthusiasm." The sponsors at the christening were the Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha (represented in his absence by the Duke of Wellington), the King of the Belgians, the Queen Dowager, the Duchess of Gloucester, the Duchess of Kent, and the Duke of Sussex. Only the day before, the Prince had met with an accident, which might have proved fatal. He was skating on the ornamental water in Buckingham Palace Gardens, when a piece of ice, which had been recently broken, and had thinly frozen over again, gave way as he was passing across it. He had to swim for two or three minutes, in order to get out; but her Majesty, who was standing on the bank, showed great presence of mind, and afforded valuable assistance.

During the last two years, the Queen had been rendered anxious by

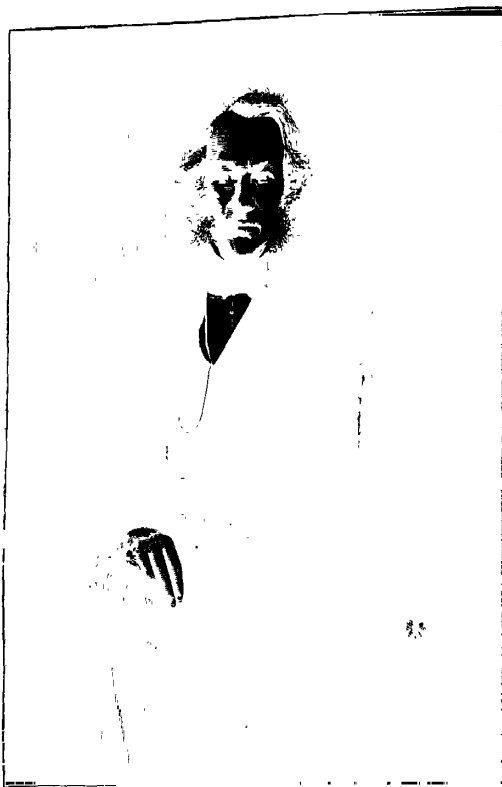
* The Early Days of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort; compiled, under the direction of her Majesty, by Lieut.-General the Hon. C. Grey. 1867.

complications in the East, which at one time threatened to involve us in a war with France. The Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, had for some years made himself almost independent of the Turkish Sultan, Mahmoud II., and had annexed the whole of Syria to his recognised dominions. He had an able, energetic, and martial son (or rather an adopted son) named Ibrahim Pasha, who repeatedly worsted the Ottoman forces, overran the larger part of the Turkish dominions in Asia, and even threatened Constantinople itself. After a while a compromise was effected, by which the Egyptians withdrew from their more advanced positions, but were suffered to retain the province of Syria. This arrangement was concluded in 1833; but, six years later, Mehemet Ali again rose against his suzerain. Mahmoud II. expired on the 1st of July, 1839, shortly after a great battle in Syria, which had ended in the discomfiture of his army, but of which he had not received intelligence at the time of his decease. A few days later the Capitan Pasha, or Lord High Admiral, Achmet, deserted to Mehemet Ali with the whole of the Turkish fleet, and the Ottoman Empire might have been rent into fragments, had it not been for the interposition of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, which, in July, 1840, gave Mehemet Ali to understand that he would not be permitted to proceed in his career of rebellion and conquest. Thus assisted, the young Turkish Sultan, Abdul-Medjid, pronounced the deposition of his Egyptian vassal. Beyrout was bombarded by a combined English, Austrian, and Turkish fleet, and captured in October. Other successes followed, and old Mehemet Ali made his submission to superior power. He was deprived of all his conquests, but permitted to retain Egypt; and thus a very difficult state of affairs was brought to a peaceful conclusion about the close of 1840. There had been no little danger of a rupture with France, owing to the very different views of the Eastern Question taken by that Power and by England. France dreaded the establishment of British influence in Egypt, where she desired to affirm her own superiority; and in the spring of 1840 M. Guizot was sent on a special mission to London, in the hope of composing matters. The Queen received him graciously; yet he has left an account of a dinner at Buckingham Palace, which confirms other descriptions as to the dulness and languor of those entertainments. His negotiations did not proceed very happily; but at length the clouds passed off, and, shortly after the birth of the Princess Royal, all menace of a European war had entirely disappeared.

A minor but still important incident, belonging to the same period, tended to the creation of a better feeling between England and France, and, in a not distant future, helped forward a striking change in the political condition of the latter country. In May, 1840, during the reign of Louis Philippe, the body of Napoleon I. was removed, by permission of the English Government, from the island of St. Helena to the dominions where the great conqueror had once held such brilliant, yet disastrous, sway. On the 15th of December the remains were buried with solemn pomp in the Hôtel des Invalides, in Paris. A magnificent monument has since been erected over the grave, and it cannot be

doubted that the enthusiasm awakened by the reception of the mighty soldier's ashes had much to do with the subsequent revival of the Napoleonic Empire.

A question of great importance, which had been growing up for years, was now acquiring a degree of prominence which renders it advisable that some notice should be taken of its rise and development. The Corn Laws of England had long operated not only as a serious interference with the trade of the country, but as an artificial aggravation of the price of food. From time to time, various attempts had been made to lighten the burden by making the tax dependent on the price of native wheat; but the injury to the populace was always considerable, and the benefit, if there was any benefit at all, was enjoyed simply by the landowners and the agricultural class. Strange to say, the great body of the people, who were chiefly interested in the matter, made little remonstrance during a long term of years, and it required the persistent efforts of an organised body to excite the necessary amount of opposition to an impost which did cruel injustice to the multitude. An association for obtaining the repeal of the Corn Laws was established in London in 1834, and other bodies, animated by the same intention, arose in different parts of the country. Still, their influence was but slight; and it was not until the work was taken up by men peculiarly fitted to carry on the discussion, that the country recognised the evils of a system which made the poor man's loaf dearer than it ought to be.

In 1804 a small landed proprietor near Midhurst, in Sussex, had a son born to him, who was afterwards the celebrated Richard Cobden. The boy was soon introduced to business life in London, and subsequently became a partner in a Manchester printed-cotton factory, for which he occasionally travelled. In this way he saw a good deal of the world, and, being a person of a singularly shrewd, penetrating, and reflective mind, he discerned the whole fallacy of the Protective system, and determined to devote his energies to a repeal of the Corn Laws. In 1838 he and some others brought the matter before the attention of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and from that time forward the question came into the first rank of public discussion. The following year, delegates were sent from the manufacturing districts to London, that their views upon the subject might be brought under the notice of the Legislature. At that time Cobden had no seat in the House of Commons; but the desired reform was ably supported in that assembly by the brother of the late Earl of Clarendon, Mr. Charles Villiers, who, so far as Parliament is concerned, may be described as the Father of Free Trade. On the 19th of February, 1839, Mr. Villiers moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee of Inquiry on the Corn Laws; and on the 12th of March he moved that certain manufacturers be heard by counsel at the bar of the House against the Corn Laws, as injurious to their private interests. Both motions were rejected by large majorities, and the delegates returned to the North, convinced that nothing would serve their cause but a systematic campaign, directed against the evils from which they suffered, together with the great majority of the people.

Hence the creation of the Anti-Corn-Law League, the constitution of which was adopted on the 20th of March, 1839, at a meeting in Manchester. The body thus formed was a sort of federation of all similar bodies existing in different parts of the kingdom. It was agreed that delegates from the different local associations should from time to time meet for business at the principal towns

RICHARD COBDEN.

(From a Photograph by Messrs W. and D. Downey.)

represented, and that, with a view to securing unity of action, the central office of the League should be established in Manchester; to which office should be entrusted, among other duties, those of engaging and recommending competent lecturers, and of obtaining the co-operation of the public press. The two chief leaders of the movement thus set on foot were Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright; but there were several others who lent valuable assistance to the cause. In particular, Captain (afterwards General) Perronet Thompson, a man of great literary power, published (originally in 1827, and again in later years) a "Catechism of

the Corn Laws," which placed the whole argument in a singularly lucid and compact form before the nation. Numerous tracts, written with similar objects, were printed in enormous numbers, and dispersed all over the country. Meetings were held in important towns, and lectures were delivered by a staff of paid assistants, of whom one of the principal was the late W. J. Fox, afterwards Member for Oldham—a journalist of distinction, a ready and effective disputant, and a speaker gifted with remarkable powers of persuasive eloquence. By the early part of 1841, the public mind had been to a considerable extent permeated by the ideas favoured by the League ; but a great deal still remained to be done before either party in the State could be convinced that the only proper course was to abolish the impost upon corn, and give the British people the benefit of foreign produce in those years of scarcity to which their variable climate so frequently condemns them. The sincerity with which capitalists in the commercial parts of England adopted Free Trade views was strikingly shown by the large sums of money subscribed every year for the maintenance of the League, and for the diffusion of its economic principles. It is true that the manufacturers had an interest in removing all restrictions upon trade, which at that time were numerous, and operated to the general disadvantage of commerce. But in their resistance to injurious enactments they were fighting the battle of the people themselves, and the reforms which began a few years later enhanced the prosperity of England, and materially lessened the menaces of discontent.

CHAPTER VI.

TROUBLES IN THE STATE, AND HAPPINESS AT HOME.

Growing Unpopularity of the Melbourne Administration—The Stockdale Case—Approaching Fall of the Government—Financial Embarrassments—Lord John Russell's Proposal with Respect to the Corn Laws—Defeat of the Ministry—General Election, and Conservative Majority—Views of Prince Albert—Settlement of the "Bedchamber" Question—Wise Counsel of the Prince and Baron Stockmar—Visits of the Queen to Places of Interest—Troublesome Loyalty—Launch of the *Trafalgar*—The Melbourne Government and Free Trade—Speech from the Throne on the Meeting of the New Parliament—Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government—Resignation of Ministers—Final Years of Lord Melbourne—Formation and Chief Objects of Sir Robert Peel's Administration—The High Church Movement in England—Disruption of the Church of Scotland—Lord Melbourne's Opinion of Prince Albert—Sir Robert Peel and the Prince—Public Appearances of the Latter in Connection with Social and Artistic Questions—Birth and Christening of the Prince of Wales—Meeting of Parliament for the Session of 1842—Splendid Festivities at Court—Attempts of Francis and Bean to Shoot her Majesty.

As the year 1841 advanced, the Melbourne Ministry, which had never occupied a strong position since the General Election of 1837, grew weaker and weaker. In many respects the Government was a good one. It carried through some excellent reforms, and was for the most part animated by a liberal and benevolent

spirit. Yet its administrative powers were faulty; it was repeatedly falling into awkward blunders; it was afflicted with continual deficits; it was unpopular, and it contrived to draw the Queen herself into the orbit of its own disfavour. Education was advanced, though in a very hesitating and tentative fashion; colonisation was promoted; some of the most elementary rights of married women were recognised by statute; the poor climbing-boys, as we have seen, were protected from the cruelty of being compelled to ascend chimneys; the Postal system was reformed; many other things were at least attempted. But people could not forget the mistakes and shortcomings of the Ministry, nor regard with enthusiasm a body of statesmen who often moved with reluctance, and sometimes moved not at all; who had a certain facility in offending others, and yet depended for their official existence on the precarious support of their opponents. As if to make matters worse, they got into a controversy with the law-courts, in consequence of an action brought by a publisher named Stockdale against the Messrs. Hansard, printers to the House of Commons, for issuing, in 1836, certain Reports on Prisons, one of which contained serious reflections on the plaintiff. The Court of Queen's Bench gave judgment in favour of Stockdale; the Government and the House of Commons championed the printers; a good deal of unseemly action and counteraction took place; and at length, in the spring of 1840, the matter was settled by a Bill affording summary protection to all persons employed in the publication of Parliamentary papers. In their main contention Ministers were probably right; but they conducted the dispute in a rather undignified manner, and the feeling of the public generally was very much against them.

The successes of the British fleet in the East, during the autumn of 1840, did little to restore the credit of the Melbourne Administration. In 1841 everything prefigured an approaching change; yet the Government clung to office with the utmost tenacity. Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on the 26th of January; and in a little while the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baring, disclosed a deficit of nearly two millions. It was thought to fill the gap by alterations in the timber and sugar duties (from which Mr. Baring hoped to obtain an increase of £1,300,000), and by whatever might accrue from Lord John Russell's contemplated modification of the Corn Laws. The House of Commons, however, rejected the proposals of the Finance Minister by a majority of 36 in a House of 598 members. Most people thought that after this the Government must needs resign. But, Lord John Russell having already given notice of his intention to move for a committee of the whole House, to consider the state of legislation with regard to the trade in corn, it was determined to try this last chance. The plan was to propose a fixed duty of eight shillings a quarter on wheat, and at the same time to diminish the rates on rye, barley, and oats. But the patience of the Opposition was now worn out. On the 24th of May Sir Robert Peel gave notice of a motion to the effect that the Government had lost the confidence of the House of Commons, and that their

continuance in office under such circumstances was at variance with the spirit of the Constitution. This was brought forward on the 27th of the same month; and the debates, after lasting several nights, came to a conclusion on the 4th of June, when 312 voted in favour of the motion, and 311 against. Government was thus left in a minority of one, and Lord John Russell promised to state, at the next meeting of Parliament, what course her Majesty's Ministers were prepared to adopt. In the meanwhile, he intimated the withdrawal of his motion on the subject of the Corn Laws. On the 7th of June he announced he intention of the Ministry to advise the dissolution of Parliament. The Jeneral Election took place during the summer, and the Conservatives obtained large majority.

Lord Melbourne had long foreseen the ruin of the Ministry, and probably ie secretly rejoiced at his approaching release from a task which had maniestly become hopeless. Before Baron Stockmar again left England, in the early art of 1841, the Premier told that distinguished German that his Cabinet was xposed to all sorts of dangers, and that he saw no guarantee for its stability. Ie conversed much with Prince Albert, and was most anxious that the Queen iould communicate to his Royal Highness everything connected with public fairs. Writing to his father, in April, 1841, the Prince observes:—"I study ie politics of the day with great industry. I speak quite openly with the inisters on all subjects, so as to gain information, and I endeavour quietly to of as much use to Victoria in her position as I can." He saw that Sir Robert ecl would soon be again called upon to form a Ministry; he knew that an ipleasant incident had occurred on a similar occasion in 1839; and he felt that e recurrence of any such catastrophe should by all means be avoided. There ust be no second collision between the sovereign and a leading statesman on a itter so unimportant from one point of view, yet so important from another, the position of a few Bedchamber women. Prince Albert therefore brought e subject under the notice of Lord Melbourne, and remarked that he was turally in a state of some uneasiness at the probable course of events; that sole anxiety was that the Queen should act constitutionally, and with more ieral applause than on the previous occasion; that it was his duty, and Lord lbourne's also, to prepare her Majesty for possible eventualities; and that an eement ought to be arrived at, as to what she should do under the circumnces.* The Prime Minister assented to these views, and it was settled that, uld there be a change of Ministry, the Queen would arrange that those of her ies should retire of their own accord whose removal might be requested by in-coming Cabinet, on account of their relationship to leaders of the Whig ty. It was the view of Prince Albert, and also of Lord Melbourne, that Robert Peel should be previously consulted. Negotiations were accordingly ned with that statesman, through the medium of the Prince's secretary,

* Letter to Baron Stockmar, May, 1841.

Mr. Anson; and when Sir Robert accepted office soon afterwards, the Duchesses of Bedford and Sutherland, and Lady Normanby, relinquished their posts.*

The time was one of great trial for the Queen; but she had now always at her side an adviser of much discrimination, of excellent sense, and of the highest honour. "Albert," wrote her Majesty, about this period, to her uncle, the King of the Belgians, "is indeed a great comfort to me. He takes the greatest possible interest in what goes on, feeling with me and for me, and yet abstaining

HATFIELD HOUSE.

as he ought, from biassing me either way, though we talk much on the subject, and his judgment is, as you say, good and calm." The Prince, in his turn, had an invaluable guide in Baron Stockmar, who frequently corresponded with him. In a letter written from Coburg on the 18th of May, 1841, the Baron says:—"If things come to a change of Ministry, then the great axiom, irrefragably one and the same for all Ministries, is this, namely, the Crown supports frankly, honourably, and with all its might, the Ministry of the time, whatever it be, so long as it commands a majority, and governs with integrity for the welfare and advancement of the country. A king who, as a Constitutional king, either cannot or will not carry this maxim into practice, deliberately descends from the lofty pedestal on which the Constitution has placed him to the lower one of a mere party chief. Be you, therefore, the Constitutional genius of the Queen. Do not content yourself with merely whispering this maxim in her ear when circumstances serve, but strive also to carry it out into practice, at the right time, and by the worthiest means."

* Sir Theodore Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

THE QUEEN AT THE LAUNCH OF THE "TRAFALGAR. (See p. 94.)

While awaiting the political crisis which every one saw could not be long in coming, the Queen and Prince Albert made several interesting excursions to various places in the country, such as Nuneham, Oxford, Woburn Abbey, Panshanger, Brocket Hall (the seat of Lord Melbourne), and Hatfield. On these occasions the Royal party were very well received by the country people, though the Queen, in her "Journal," rather complains of the crowding and pressing, and of the dust raised by the mounted farmers who, in their well-meant but somewhat inconvenient loyalty, furnished supplementary escorts. Englishmen, of course, are not to expect the privileges of a more favoured race, and southern roads are naturally more dusty than northern moorlands. But her Majesty was not much offended, and speaks of the people as "good" and "loyal," though, it would seem, a little troublesome. Among the places visited was the seat of the Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick; and on the 21st of June the Queen and Prince Albert went to see the *Trafalgar* launched at Woolwich. At the request of her Majesty the vessel was named by Lady Bridport, a niece of Lord Nelson, and the wine used was a portion of that taken from the great Admiral's flag-ship, *Victory*, after the battle of Trafalgar. Out of the five hundred people on board at the time of the launch, no fewer than one hundred had taken part in the ever-memorable action, and the scene altogether was of the most impressive kind. In a letter to his father, written on the following day, Prince Albert said that this was the most imposing sight he could remember. There were about five hundred thousand people present, the Thames being covered for miles with ships, steamers, barges, and boats.

The Melbourne Ministry, while struggling for existence to the very last, had contrived to offend both parties in the State by its half-heartedness. The lowering of the duties on cereals was to some extent a concession to the Free Trade party; but it did not go far enough to satisfy them, while at the same time it alarmed the agricultural interest. On the whole, it appeared as if the Government were gradually abandoning the Protective system, although, no farther back than 1839, Lord Melbourne had declared in the House of Lords that "the repeal of the Corn Laws would be the most insane proposition that ever entered the human head." Even Lord John Russell, who was much more a reformer than his chief, had very recently spoken of Free Trade in anything but respectful terms. Indeed, the Ministerial Whigs generally were disinclined to adopt the opinions of Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden; yet, in the early summer of 1841, they showed a remarkable tendency to advance in that direction. In the debate on the Sugar Duties, Lord Palmerston, referring to what were now considered the necessary measures for relieving British trade from the encumbrances which had hampered it, observed, in a spirit of political prophecy:—"I will venture to predict that, although our opponents may resist those measures to-night, for the sake of obtaining a majority in the division, yet, if they should come into office, those are the measures which a just regard for the finances and commerce of the country will compel them to propose." All this was a movement

in the right direction; yet people would not believe in its sincerity. They said it was only a trick to obtain votes, and to stave off a little while longer the inevitable downfall. Probably they were right. At any rate, their views prevailed at the General Election.

On the 15th of July, about the close of the Elections, Lord Melbourne reported to the Queen that the Conservatives would have a majority of seventy. In point of fact, it amounted to seventy-six, and even Lord John Russell preserved his seat for the City of London by so bare a success that, of the four members, he obtained the smallest number of votes, and narrowly escaped defeat. On the meeting of the new Parliament, which was on the 24th of August, the Royal Speech (read by Commission) contained the following significant passage:—"Her Majesty is desirous that you should consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn. It will be for you to determine whether these laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuation of supply; whether they do not embarrass trade, derange the currency, and, by their operation, diminish the comfort and increase the privation of the great body of the community." Amendments to the Address, however, were carried in both Houses by large majorities. These amendments pointed to the continued excess of expenditure over income, and declared that nothing could be done while the Government did not possess the confidence of the House or of the country. The adoption of the amendments could, of course, produce only one result. Everybody knew that the fate of the Melbourne Administration would be sealed as soon as Parliament met, and, now that an adverse vote had been carried, nothing remained but to resign. In her reply to the Address, the Queen expressed satisfaction at the spirit in which Parliament proposed to deliberate on the matters she had recommended to them, and said in conclusion:—"Ever anxious to listen to the advice of my Parliament, I will take immediate measures for the formation of a new Administration." On the night of the day when this message was sent to Parliament, the resignation of Ministers was announced to both Houses. Three days later—namely, on the 2nd of September—the Queen spent her last evening with the ladies of the Household who, by a political necessity, were now forced to retire. The dinner was a sad and silent one, and it is reported that tears were shed. Her Majesty had contracted a sincere friendship for these ladies; through all the years of her reign she had leant for support on the Ministers to whom they were related; and it was natural, even commendable, that deep regret should be both felt and shown. On the other hand, it was impossible for Sir Robert Peel to carry on his Government with such an adverse influence at head-quarters; and personal considerations were forced to give way before others of greater importance.

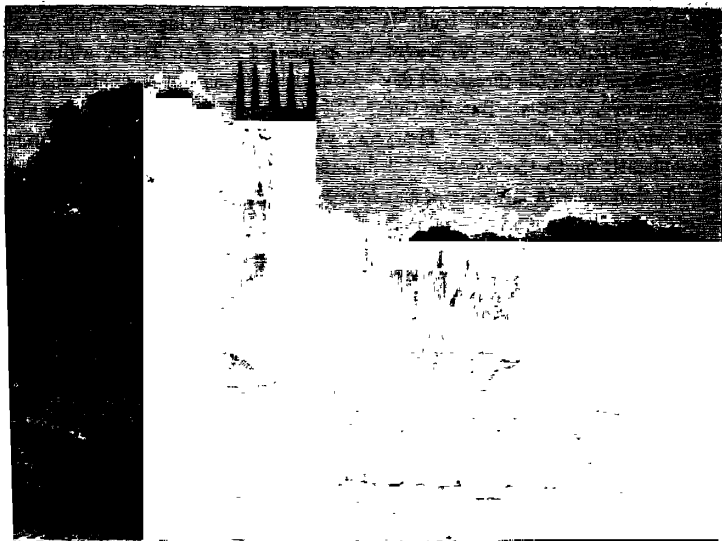
After his resignation of office in the late summer of 1841, Lord Melbourne disappears almost entirely from the history and politics of England. He had always been a somewhat indolent man, or at any rate a man with no devouring passion for work, no insatiable ambition of towering above his fellow-men

Moreover, he was now getting elderly, and there had been much in the last few years to make him weary of political distinction. Having ceased to be a Minister of the Crown, he turned his position as a member of the House of Lords to but little account. Casting the load of politics from his shoulders, for which, in

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

spite of his long official experience, he seems never to have had any warm regard, he passed the remainder of his days as a sort of recluse, fond of literature, and disposed to fleet away the time in studies which were elegant rather than profound. He had long been a widower; his only child, a son, had some years before died unmarried at the early age of twenty-nine; and the broken statesman had now few companions of a very intimate character. Whether his latter years were as lonely as some have represented, may be doubtful; but it is too likely that they were not cheered by the highest or the best kind of social intercourse. He died on the 24th of November, 1848, a little under seventy years of age;

and the title soon afterwards became extinct. Whatever his faults, it is generally acknowledged that Lord Melbourne had many amiable qualities. But his position in the history of England, though in some respects interesting, can never be regarded as illustrious.

In the new Administration Sir Robert Peel was First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Lyndhurst Lord High Chancellor, Sir James Graham Home Secretary, Mr. Goulburn Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Earl of Aberdeen Foreign Secretary, Lord Stanley Secretary for the Colonies, Sir Henry Hardinge Secre-

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD, FROM THE CHERWELL.

ıry at War, Lord Ellenborough President of the Board of Control, and the Duke f Wellington leader of the House of Lords, without office. These were the rincipal appointments, and they constituted a Government of considerable bility. The chief strength of the new Cabinet, however, lay in Sir Robert eel himself. During his former short-lived Government, in 1834-5, he had mbined the functions of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the xchequer. It was hoped that this arrangement would now be repeated; but e inferior office, as we have seen, was conferred on Mr. Goulburn. Still, it was ell known that Peel would be the directing financial genius of the Administra- on. His abilities as a financier were generally admitted, and have probably ver been surpassed. If the country was to be dragged out of the abyss of its er-increasing embarrassments, Peel was the man most likely to perform the

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feat. But the deficit was alarming, and, shortly after the reassembling of Parliament, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he must ask for a vote of £2,500,000, adding that he would in time state how he proposed to meet the existing deficiency. In the meanwhile, the distress of the working classes was becoming every day more intense, and in the manufacturing districts great dissatisfaction was expressed that Sir Robert Peel not only refused to adopt Free Trade in its integrity, but even repudiated Lord John Russell's project for a small fixed duty upon corn. Peel favoured what was known in those days as the Sliding Scale, by which foreign wheat was allowed to be imported at a variable duty,—greater when the price of home-grown wheat was low, and lower when the price was high. The truth is that neither the Whigs nor the Tories had made up their minds to accept the principles of Free Trade, while both sought to postpone the threatened day by contrivances more or less objectionable, and more or less futile. But the General Election had returned to Parliament a man who in the course of a few years was to carry the Free Trade banner triumphantly on to the Treasury benches themselves. Richard Cobden now sat for the first time in Parliament, and his "unadorned eloquence," as Peel afterwards called it, was soon to produce an immense effect upon the minds of those who heard him.

Among the many sources of agitation existing at that time, none was more remarkable, or in some respects more important, than the High Church movement, which had originated several years before, but which in 1841 was beginning to assume grave proportions. This turmoil of the religious mind had first shown itself in the University of Oxford towards the latter end of the reign of George IV. A number of enthusiastic young students—men of great mental power, and of unquestionable sincerity—began to be dissatisfied with the position, doctrine, and ceremonial of the Church for which they were being prepared, or which they had already entered. They considered that that Church had abnegated some of its most valuable functions; that it was lax in its ideas, somnolent in its teaching, forgetful of tradition, slovenly in its ritual, and indifferent to its authoritative powers. There had in truth been a good deal of dull and formal worldly-mindedness amongst the clergy for the last hundred years; but it must not be forgotten that this period of repose had had inestimable advantages in the softening of dogma, the development of toleration, and the growth of independent thought. To the Oxford ecclesiologists, however, these very circumstances were amongst the heaviest indictments which they brought against the Church as it was then constituted. They had grand visions of Apostolical succession, and certainly suggested, if they did not precisely state, that no one would be entitled to differ from the Church, if the Church were only reformed according to their ideas. Curious inquirers trace back the beginning of this movement to the lectures of Bishop Lloyd on the Prayer Book and the Council of Trent, which were delivered when he was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, about 1823. But, whatever impulse he may have given to subsequent

speculations, Dr. Lloyd does not appear among the leaders of the great movement which soon shook the religious world of England to its centre. Those leaders were the Rev. John Keble, author of "The Christian Year," and Fellow of Oriel; the Rev. J. H. Newman (afterwards Cardinal Newman); the Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude (who, with Newman, was also a Fellow of Oriel); the Rev. E. B. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christchurch; and the Rev. Isaac Williams, Fellow of Trinity, and author of "The Cathedral, and Other Poems." Cambridge contributed the services of the Rev. Hugh Rose; but, on the whole, the sister University was little affected by the new ideas.

The founders of the modern High Church were not long in using the press as the most effectual method of propagating their opinions. They issued a series of papers called "Tracts for the Times," of which ninety numbers were published between the years 1833 and 1841; and articles to the same effect were also published in the *British Critic*. These manifestoes produced an extraordinary effect on a large portion of the clergy, and a certain number of the laity; but at the same time they aroused the bitterest opposition amongst numerous classes of churchmen and churchgoers. It was alleged that some of the most distinctive doctrines of the Romish Church were ostentatiously paraded by the reformers as irrefragable and indispensable doctrines of the English Church; though, in some instances at least, these doctrines might be fairly inferred from the Articles and the Prayer Book. What perhaps gave more offence than anything else was the scorn and hatred with which the Tractarians, as they were soon called, repudiated the word "Protestant," as if it necessarily involved the most detestable of heresies. They called themselves "Anglicans," and would admit no other description. The most bigoted of Romish divines could hardly have regarded Luther with greater dislike than was manifested by the more extreme members of the school. The days of the Reformation were stigmatised by High Church enthusiasts as days of degradation and wickedness, and every form of Dissent was an invention of the devil. All these vagaries induced many persons, who argued rather through the medium of their alarm and anger than by means of their reason, to believe that the Tractarians were consciously and designedly preparing the way for a return to Roman Catholicism. With some, indeed—notably with Newman—this was the actual result of their speculations. But, as a body, the High Churchmen had no such intention. They had not the slightest wish to subject their Church to the orders of an Italian priest holding his court at Rome. What they really desired was to subject the whole of England—the State as well as the individual—to their conceptions of ecclesiastical predominance.

Most of the younger clergymen fell in with the Tractarian movement, as young men are generally disposed to fall in with anything new. A spirit of revivalism spread over the land. The writings of the Fathers, the ancient liturgies of the early Christian Church, the history and traditions of the Church in all ages, the lives of saints, the mediæval books of devotion and morals—all

JOHN KEBLE.

these were diligently disinterred from dusty shelves where they had long slumbered, and studied in the belief that they would shed a new and divine light on modern troubles and perplexities. Gothic architecture and art, of a purer type than had been known for nearly five hundred years, was cultivated as a means of influencing the public mind in favour of the strictest ecclesiasticism. Symbolical forms were interpreted in a deeply mystical sense, and gradually the conceptions of the reformers began to find their way, not merely into the churches, but into general literature, especially into poetry of a tender and emotional order. Then arose the battle of surplices, intonings, candles, and altars, which at first shocked, and afterwards exasperated, the average Englishman. It must be admitted, however, that the arguments of the Tractarians had sometimes an apparent cogency, which produced a great effect on such as were already half-disposed to be convinced. They urged with no little plausibility that the subjection of Church doctrine to the decision of a Lord Chancellor who might be a free-thinker, or a man of questionable life, was an absurdity and a scandal. But this was simply an argument against the existence of a State Church, and in that sense it was not put forth. If the Church is united with the State, it must be either as master or servant. To adopt the homely phrase of Dogberry, "An two men ride of a horse, one must ride behind;" and it is in the highest degree improbable that Englishmen will ever again consent to "ride behind" any ecclesiastical corporation in the world. Still, we may grant this truth without

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.
(From a Photograph by H. J. Whitlock, Birmingham.)

enying the earnestness, devo- ion, and moral purity of the 'ractarians — qualities which ave borne good fruit, and hich will be remembered to ıeir credit when Time has ɔliterated their follies.

In the early part of 1841, r. Newman published the lebrated "Tract No. 90," e object of which was to ow that subscription to the iirty-nine Articles need not ter a man from holding rious doctrines which are nmonly regarded as Romish. is was going a little too far the patience of the autho- es, and, on the 15th of rch, the Vice-Chancellor l heads of houses at Oxford sured the offending Tract, ι resolution which set forth That modes of interpreta- ι such as are suggested in said Tract, evading rather n explaining the sense of Thirty-nine Articles, and nciling subscription to n with the adoption of rs which they were de- ed to counteract, defeat object, and are incon- nt with the due observ- , of the statutes of the ersity." Next day Mr. man addressed a letter to Vice-Chancellor, acknow- ng himself as the author e Tract. Some time after,

ST. MARY'S, FROM THE HIGH STREET, OXFORD.

ɔsigned the Vicarage of St. Mary's, Oxford, and in 1845 he seceded to the ch of Rome. There cannot be a doubt that in his earlier years he had no tion of quitting the Church of England. Throughout the whole of his

career, he was thoroughly honest, conscientious, and self-devoted; but he had a mind of the acutest logical perceptions, and ultimately, though with great distress to himself, he came to the conclusion that the legitimate development of his opinions conducted him to Rome, and nowhere else. This conclusion being reached, he was not the man to tamper with his innermost convictions. His retirement from the Tractarian field concentrated additional power in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Pusey, who had long been the chief leader of the movement Indeed, the very word "Puseyism" attested the depth and breadth of his influence. Cardinal Newman died, full of years and honour, in 1890.

It is no secret that neither the Queen nor Prince Albert liked the extreme views of the Tractarians, but would have preferred a broader and more liberal interpretation of Church doctrines. But the movement was of course entirely independent of Royal influences, and the time was one of awakened enthusiasm in all matters appertaining to religion. In Scotland, as in England, men's minds were being agitated by conflicting views as to the proper character of a Church; and the dispute in the North terminated in a disruption of an important nature. A party had arisen in the Kirk of Scotland which desired, like the Tractarians in the Church of England, to emancipate the religious body from the control of the State in all matters of doctrine and discipline; but this was no easy task. An Act of Parliament had been passed in 1712, which subjected the power of the Presbytery to the control of the law-courts. Until then, the appointment of pastors had been with the Church-courts of Scotland; but now the minister was in many instances nominated by a lay patron, and the Presbytery thereupon admitted him as a matter of course, unless there was some flagrant objection which could not be evaded or overcome. The popular element in the Scottish Kirk was thus subordinated to aristocratic influence, and in time many sincere members of that body were so much disgusted as to secede from the Established Church, and form separate communions of their own. Matters had reached such a pass by 1834, when the "Evangelical," as opposed to the "Moderate," party had obtained the upper hand, that the General Assembly of the Kirk affirmed the right of each congregation to exercise a veto on any presentee, in accordance with a fundamental law of the Church, "that no pastor should be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people." This was the celebrated Veto Law, which soon became the subject of much controversy. The lay patrons, finding themselves deprived of what they considered their rights, resisted the ruling of the General Assembly, and appealed to the law-courts. Sometimes the decision was in favour of the one party, sometimes of the other; and at length the Strathbogie case brought the law-courts and the General Assembly into open conflict. The Presbytery of Strathbogie supported a certain minister who, in 1837, had been nominated for the parish of Marnoch. The General Assembly issued its edict that the minister was to be rejected. The majority of the local Presbytery still continuing defiant, seven of their number were, by the General Assembly, finally expelled from their places in the ministry

on the 7th of May, 1841; and, from that time forward, Dr. Chalmers, who had moved their expulsion, became the great leader of the reforming party. The controversy went on with increasing bitterness; the decisions of the Court of Session, upheld by the House of Lords, completely over-ruled the decisions of the General Assembly of the Kirk; and, on the 18th of May, 1843, nearly five hundred ministers of the Church of Scotland, under the leadership of their distinguished and eloquent champion, seceded from the Establishment, and began what was called the Free Church of Scotland. These ministers had no quarrel with the older body on matters of doctrine; but they would not submit to the dictation of lay patrons, or the control of the law-courts. Such, in brief, is the history of this memorable revolt.

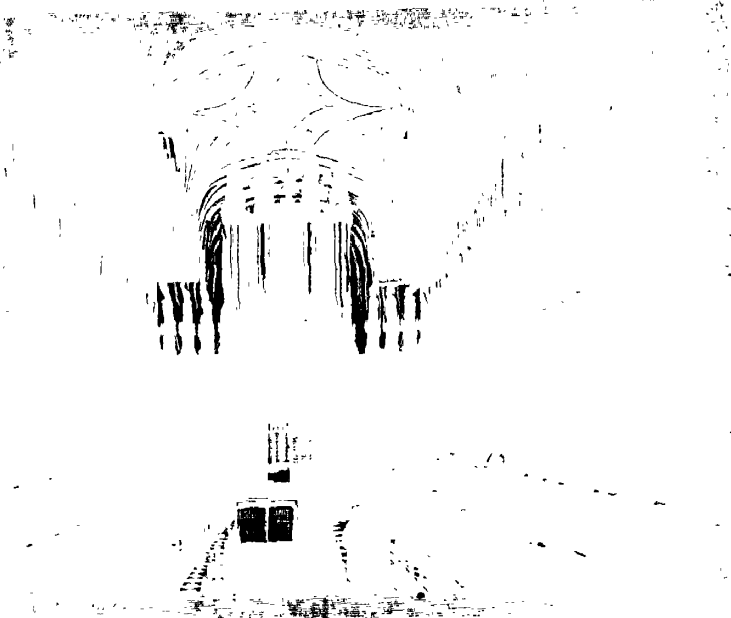
In the midst of so many perplexities, it was fortunate for the new Government, and also for the Queen herself, that they had an intermediary so highly qualified to fill the part as Prince Albert. In resigning the seals of office, Lord Melbourne felt that he left her Majesty in safe hands. He confessed that it was very painful to him to bid farewell to his Royal mistress. For four years, he remarked, he had seen her every day; but he added that it was now different from what it would have been in 1839. The Prince, he observed, understood everything, and had a clever, able head. Again, on the following day, when taking his final leave of her Majesty, he said:—"You will find a great support in the Prince; he is so able. You said, when you were going to be married, that he was perfection, which I thought a little exaggerated then, but really I think now that it is in some degree realised." In commenting on these opinions in her "Journal," the Queen writes:—"Nothing could exceed the Prince's kindness to the Queen at this (for her) trying time of separation from her old friend;" and in a letter to King Leopold she quotes the following written opinion of Lord Melbourne on his Royal Highness:—"Lord Melbourne cannot satisfy himself without again stating to your Majesty in writing what he had the honour of saying to your Majesty respecting his Royal Highness the Prince. Lord Melbourne has formed the highest opinion of his Royal Highness's judgment, temper, and discretion; and he cannot but feel a great consideration and security that he leaves your Majesty in a situation in which your Majesty has the inestimable advantage of such advice and assistance. Lord Melbourne feels certain that your Majesty cannot do better than have recourse to it whenever it is needed, and rely upon it with confidence."

It was natural and inevitable that Lord Melbourne should feel a deep regret in parting from her Majesty after so long an association. It was equally natural that Sir Robert Peel should approach the Court with something of nervous apprehension. He had opposed the Queen's wishes with respect to the Ladies of the Bedchamber; shortly afterwards, he had been mainly instrumental in procuring the curtailment of the Prince's income. Nevertheless, he was received by the Prince with an unaffected cordiality which immediately put him at his ease. Like Lord Melbourne, he soon formed a very high opinion of his

Royal Highness's abilities, and the new Minister was as willing as the old to keep the Prince well acquainted with the development of the national affairs. He was also desirous to take advantage of the Prince's known proficiency in art, by placing him at the head of a Royal Commission to inquire whether the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament did not offer a fitting occasion to promote

KING LEOPOLD

and encourage the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom. The position was accepted by his Royal Highness; and when Sir Robert Peel announced the fact to the House of Commons, he was gratified to witness (as he afterwards reported) the cordial satisfaction with which the intimation was received in every quarter. Prince Albert had very properly made it a condition of his accepting the chairmanship of this body that in the selection of its members there should be an entire exclusion of all party distinctions. The principle was carefully observed, and the noblemen and gentlemen thus brought together were appointed with the

single consideration of their fitness. This was the first of those numerous services to intellectual culture which Prince Albert rendered to his adopted country. He had now acquired an almost perfect command of English, though, when he came over to be married, in the early part of 1840, he knew but little of the language. The first of his speeches in public, however, had been delivered as early as the 1st of June, 1840, at a meeting to promote the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The speech was brief, carefully written beforehand, and committed

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

to memory; but the Prince was naturally very nervous in delivering it. On the 25th of June, 1841, he laid the foundation-stone of the London Porters' Association; so that he was now coming out into the light of publicity, to an extent from which he at first shrank, feeling himself a stranger in a strange land, and not being very confident as to the cordiality of the general sentiment. His acceptance, in October, of the Chairmanship of the Fine Arts Commission was another step forward in the direction to which he had recently been turning his thoughts. For several years Prince Albert did admirable service in educating the English mind to a higher sense of artistic beauty; and, in the fulness of time, the suggestion of Sir Robert Peel bore more ample fruits than he himself could have anticipated.

On the 9th of November, 1841, the Prince of Wales was born at Buckingham Palace. As on the occasion of her previous confinement, the Queen recovered rapidly, and was able to celebrate the first anniversary of the Princess Royal's birth on the 21st of the same month. On the 6th of December, the Court removed to Windsor Castle. Addressing the King of the Belgians on the 14th of December, her Majesty wrote:—"We must all have trials and vexations; but if one's home is happy, then the rest is comparatively nothing. I assure you, dear uncle, that no one feels this more than I do. I had this autumn one of the severest trials I could have in parting with my Government, and particularly from our kind and valued friend, and I feel even now this last very much; but my happiness at home, the love of my husband, his kindness, his advice, his support, and his company, make up for all, and make me forget it." Christmas was again spent at Windsor, and the New Year was danced in after a very jovial fashion. While the dance was yet proceeding, the clock struck twelve, and at the last stroke a flourish of trumpets was blown, according to the German custom. The Queen records in her "Journal" that this peal of instruments had a very grand and solemn effect, and that it caused a sudden agitation in Prince Albert, who turned pale, while the tears started to his eyes. He was thinking of his native country and his early days.

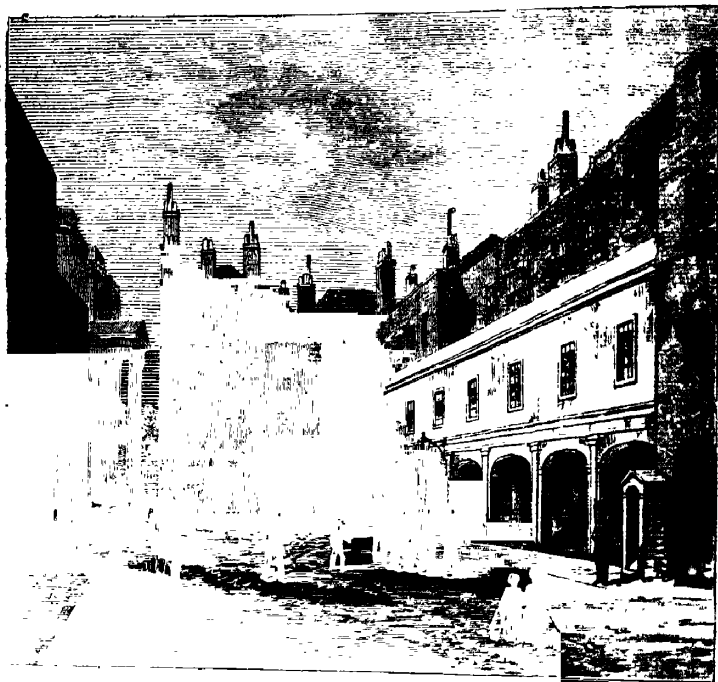
Shortly after the birth of the young Prince—namely, on the 4th of December, 1841—the Queen created him, by Letters Patent, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. The Letters Patent went on to say:—"And him, our said and most dear son, the Prince of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as has been accustomed, we do ennoble and invest with the said Principality and Earldom, by girding him with a sword, by putting a coronet on his head and a gold ring on his finger, and also by delivering a gold rod into his hand, that he may preside there, and direct and defend those parts." By the fact of his birth as heir-apparent, the Prince inherited, without the necessity of patent or creation, the dignities and titles of Duke of Saxony, by right of his father, and, by right of his mother, those of Duke of Cornwall, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Great Steward of Scotland.

The christening of the Prince of Wales took place on the 25th of January, 1842, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. In the midst of great pomp and splendour, the ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury with water specially brought from the river Jordan. The sponsors were the King of Prussia (Frederick William IV.); the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg, represented by the Duchess of Kent; the Duke of Cambridge; the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, represented by the Duchess of Cambridge; the Princess Sophia, represented by the Princess Augusta of Cambridge; and Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. King Frederick William was chosen as being the ruler of the chief Protestant kingdom on the Continent; but the leading politicians of Germany, France, and Russia, saw in the selection a degree of political significance which was doubtless entirely absent. Some among the Prussians themselves feared that the King

would take advantage of his presence in England to effect that Anglicanising of the Prussian Church which was dear to his heart. When his Majesty arrived in England, however, he proved to be nothing more than a stout, middle-aged gentleman, who could tell a good story very well, and who even consented to dance a quadrille with the Queen, though his person was little suited to such exercises, and his time of life was hardly favourable to their graceful performance. The names given to the infant Prince at his christening were Albert Edward. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a silver-embossed vessel, containing a whole hogshead of mulled claret, was brought in, and served out liberally to the company, that the health of the Prince might be drunk with due honour.

Before his departure, the King of Prussia attended the meeting of Parliament on the 3rd of February, 1842. An admirable description of this ceremony is given in a letter by the Baroness Bunsen, an English lady married to the celebrated Prussian scholar, at that time Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. This lady speaks of the Queen as being "worthy and fit to be the converging point of so many rays of grandeur;" and she adds that "the composure with which she filled the throne, while awaiting the Commons, was a test of character —no fidget, and no apathy. . . . Placed in a narrow space behind her Majesty's mace-bearers, and peeping over their shoulders, I was enabled to hide and subdue the emotion I felt, in consciousness of the mighty pages in the world's history condensed in the words so impressively uttered in the silver tones of that feminine voice—Peace and War, the fate of millions, relations of countries, exertions of power felt to the extremities of the globe, alterations of Corn Laws, the birth of a future sovereign, mentioned in solemn thankfulness to Him in whose hands are nations and rulers!"

These were the serious sides of royalty; but the young Queen, and her equally young husband, were not indifferent to the lighter graces of their position. A splendid new ball-room was added to Buckingham Palace, and a number of brilliant entertainments took place in that magnificent saloon. A *bal costumé*, on the 12th of May, 1842, is believed to have been the first ever given in England by a member of the House of Brunswick. On this occasion, her Majesty appeared as Queen Philippa, consort of Edward III., and Prince Albert as Edward III. himself. The Duchess of Cambridge was received in State as Anne of Brittany, accompanied by her Court; and, after dancing had been enjoyed for some hours, supper was served with surroundings of remarkable splendour. The salvers, vases, tankards, and jewelled cups, are described by writers of the period as of unusual cost and richness. A tent belonging to Tippoo Sahib was erected within the Corinthian portico adjoining the green drawing-room, and in the course of the evening this Oriental pavilion was used as a place for refreshment. Later in the season, a second ball of a similar character was given by her Majesty, in which the dresses were confined to the reigns of George II. and III. A grand banquet at Windsor Castle on the Ascot Cup day appears also to have been conspicuous for its lavish splendour. Luncheon had been previously served

in Tippoo Sahib's tent; but the dinner itself was in St. George's Hall, the ceiling of which was emblazoned with the arms of the Knights of the Garter, from the institution of that Order down to modern times, and also with portraits of the British Kings from James I. to George IV. Immediately opposite the Queen was a pyramid of plate, crowned by the tiger's head captured at Seringapatam, and comprising the "Iluma" of precious stones which Lord Wellesley, when Governor-General of India, presented to his sovereign. The display of gold

AMBASSADORS' COURT, ST JAMES'S PALACE.

plate, the brilliant light shed from numerous candelabra, the music furnished by two bands of the Guards stationed in a balcony, and the picturesque appearance of the Yeomen of the Guard, who stood on duty at the entrance, contributed to an effect which was truly regal in its pomp and grandeur. In the drawing-room, after dinner, the celebrated French actress, Madame Rachel, gave recitations from her principal performances; and the entertainment came to a close a little before midnight. In the then excited state of the public mind, some persons condemned these amusements, which they contrasted with the hunger and suffering to be found in other quarters; apparently not perceiving that the circulation of money must be an advantage to the community in general. But

COSTUME BALL IN BUCKINGHAM PALACE. (See p. 107.)

when the Queen and her ladies appeared in dresses of British manufacture, the agitation ceased, and it was admitted that trade and labour derived benefit from the outlay.

It was about the period of these gorgeous ceremonials that some other attempts were made (or apparently made) on the life of the Queen. The first of these occurred on Sunday, the 29th of May, when a young man, named John Francis, attacked the Royal party while returning from the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace. As they were driving along the Mall, near Stafford House, a man stepped out from the crowd, and presented a pistol at Prince Albert. The Prince heard the trigger snap, but the weapon missed fire. He turned to the Queen, and asked, "Did you hear that?" adding, "I am sure I saw some one take aim at us." No other person, however, seems to have been aware of the attempt, and it was considered advisable that the Queen and Prince Albert should drive out again on the following day. They went towards Hampstead, and, on their return, when approaching the Palace, were again shot at. A policeman was standing close by, and Francis was immediately seized. Strange to say, the second attempt was very nearly on the same spot as that of Oxford in 1840. The culprit was the son of a machinist at Drury Lane Theatre, and had for some months been out of employment. "A little, swarthy, ill-looking rascal," is the account which Prince Albert gives of him; but he conducted himself before the authorities with a good deal of spirit, or rather, perhaps, with a good deal of impudence. Having been found guilty of high treason, he was condemned to death; but the sentence was afterwards commuted to transportation for life.

The very day after the commutation became known—namely, July 3rd—a further attempt was made by a hunchback named Bean. As in the other cases, a morbid vanity appears to have been the feeling which prompted the act. Bean escaped at the moment, but was soon afterwards arrested, and, being tried for misdemeanour—not, like the others, for high treason—was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. The folly of charging such offenders with high treason, when it was quite certain that they would not be visited with the penalty of that offence, but with a much lighter punishment, uncertain, capricious, and variable in its nature and operation, had suggested a change of the law, and the Bill, which was in progress through Parliament at the time of Bean's attempt, received the Royal sanction a few days later. Sir Robert Peel, while consulting with Prince Albert shortly after the attempt, was so overcome by the sudden entry of her Majesty that he burst into tears, although usually a very self-contained man. The frequent repetition of such outrages was indeed a serious matter, and after the Francis affair the Queen admitted that for some time she had had a presentiment of danger hovering over her. On the occasion of Bean's attempt, her Majesty was not aware that anything had occurred until after her return to the Palace. Being informed of the fact, she calmly observed that she had expected a repetition of these attacks as long as the law remained unaltered by which they could be dealt with only as acts of high

[illegible]. The change in the law was doubtless advisable, since it is well known that it is not so much the severity as the certainty of punishment which deters the evilly-disposed; yet such acts will occur from time to time as long as [illegible] and envy remain passions of the human heart.

CHAPTER VII.

CONVULSIONS IN THE EAST.

Approaches to a Great Tragedy—State of Afghanistan—Position of Dost Mahomed in 1836—Mission of Captain Burnes to Cabul in 1837—Afghanistan, England, and Russia—Determination of the Governor-General of India to Restore Shah Soojah to the Afghan Throne—Garbling of Burnes's Despatches—Action of the Anglo-Indian Government against the Russians before Herat—British Invasion of Afghanistan in 1839—Difficulties, Dangers, and Successes of the Campaign—Cold Reception of Shah Soojah at Cabul—Operations in the Khyber Pass—Outbreak of Insurrections against the Restored Power—Actions with the British—Surrender of Dost Mahomed—Increased Turmoil among the Afghans—Massacre of November 2nd, 1841—Imbecility of General Elphinstone—Murder of Sir William Macnaghten—Agreement between the British Authorities and Akbar Khan—Retreat of the Army of Occupation—Horrors of the March, and Complete Destruction of the Army—Defence of Jelalabad by Sir Robert Sale—Operations of Generals Nott, Pollock, and Sale—Capture of Cabul—Release of the Prisoners, and Close of the War—Lord Ellenborough and the Gates of Somnauth—Murder of Stoddart and Conolly in Bokhara—Disturbed State of England in 1842—The Queen's First Visit to Scotland—Receipt of Good News from the East—Position of Prince Albert towards the State—Discretion of his Private Life—Extent of his Labours—Colonisation in New Zealand and New South Wales.

For some years there had been proceeding in the East a series of events which, in the early part of 1842, eventuated in one of the most tragical catastrophes of modern history. To the west of Northern India lies the independent kingdom of Afghanistan, or Cabul, as it is sometimes called after the capital city. The country is mountainous, barren, and austere; the people—to whom some attribute a Jewish origin, but who are certainly a very mixed race—are courageous, warlike, revengeful, predatory in their habits, yet not wanting in some manly virtues. They are Mohammedans of the Sunnite communion, and consequently regard the Turkish Sultan as the head of the Moslem world; yet their tolerance is so great that they allow several Persian Shiites to occupy high official posts, without any restriction on their distinctive rites. Afghanistan has from time to time been a conquering State. In the fifteenth century, it planted a dynasty on the throne of Delhi, which lasted until overthrown by the Mogul Baber in 1526. In the early years of the eighteenth century, it gave two monarchs to Persia, of which it had in ancient times formed a part; but the intruders were speedily expelled. The military genius of the Afghans, however, was not to be long kept down; and after the founding of the Durani dynasty by Ahmed Khan, in 1747, an immense Afghan Empire was rapidly created, which spread from Herat into Hindostan, and from the [illegible]

of the Oxus to the Arabian Sea. This dominion broke up early in the present century, and in 1836 the Ameer Dost Mahomed was ruling at Cabul over a territory not very extensive or important.

This somewhat petty sovereign had at his disposal a revenue of 1,400,000 dollars, and an army of 18,000 men. But his dominions were in a disturbed state, and, at the same time, he was at war with Lahore in the east, while, in the west, the Persians had attacked Herat, at that date ruled by one of the Durani princes. Dost Mahomed was therefore very desirous of securing the friendship of the British in India. Lord Auckland, then Governor-General at Calcutta, was disposed to enter into negotiations with the Ameer, conceiving that English power in the East was menaced by the intrigues of Russia, Persia, and Afghanistan. He therefore, in September, 1837, despatched Captain Alexander Burnes to Cabul, with instructions to discuss certain matters. Unfortunately, Captain Burnes was not authorised to promise Dost Mahomed the assistance which he required, to assume a position of independence towards Persia and Russia. Both these Powers were acting for the advancement of their own interests; and, although the Ameer had listened to their suggestions, he told the British envoy that he would much rather co-operate with England, if he could obtain the terms he needed. Burnes urged upon the Governor-General of India the policy of guaranteeing the integrity of the Ameer's realm, or at least of promising him a subsidy in case of attack. But Lord Auckland would do neither, while at the same moment ordering the distracted chieftain to abandon all negotiations with the rival Powers. The natural consequence was that Dost Mahomed again leant towards the liberal, though interested, offers of Russia; but even then he would gladly have considered the proposals of England, had any been made. The Governor-General, however, preferred to enter into a treaty with Runjeet Singh and Shah Soojah—the former a leader of the Sikhs, the latter a descendant of Ahmed Khan, who had once before ruled in Afghanistan, who had been expelled from the throne, and who was generally detested by the people. Runjeet Singh was to be maintained at Peshawur (to which the Afghans considered they had a claim), and Shah Soojah to be restored to the throne of Cabul with the assistance of an English army. A more unjustifiable, a more fatal, choice was never made.

In his despatches to Lord Auckland, Captain Burnes repeatedly expressed a strong opinion against the abandonment of Dost Mahomed; but these despatches, when published by the British Government long after the writer's premature and miserable death, were so shamefully garbled that they seemed, by implication, to show that Burnes had actually supported the very policy he strenuously condemned. The fact subsequently came out, and nothing like a defence—not even a decent palliation—could be offered. The English people were kept studiously in the dark as to these manipulations; indeed, they knew very little as to what was passing on the North-western frontiers of India and beyond. Yet those events were of the gravest character, and carried with them

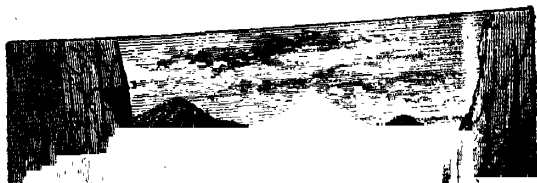
Auckland at Simla. On the 1st of October in the same year, a manifesto was issued by the Governor-General, which was virtually a declaration of war against Dost Mahomed. Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government of India, was appointed Minister at the court of Shah Soojah, before any such court existed; and he was to be helped in his operations by Sir Alexander Burnes, for the discredited envoy had now been made a knight. Unanticipated alterations of plan, consequent on the bad faith of Runjeet Singh, who at the last moment refused to allow a passage through his dominions, as he had promised, delayed the starting of the expedition, which did not get on its way until the late winter of 1839. The army, which was in three divisions, consisted of British troops, Afghans, and Sikhs; and it was encumbered with a large number of camp-followers and baggage-animals. The routes pursued were beset by all those difficulties which belong to a mountainous and rocky land. Numbers of men and camels were lost; the soldiers were disheartened by fatigue, and by the gloom of their surroundings; food began to fail; the supplies which were expected at Quetta, beyond the further end of the Bolan Pass, were not forthcoming; and the two principal divisions of the invading force, which had now effected their junction, pushed forward, in a half-famished state, and by a long and difficult defile, to Candahar, which was reached on the 25th of April. The city surrendered without a blow; but the army was now greatly reduced in numbers, and could not reckon more than 10,400 fighting men. Shah Soojah was proclaimed at Candahar, and Sir John Keane, who had command of the whole invading force, while attached more particularly to the Bombay column, then set out for Ghizni, two hundred and thirty miles distant from Candahar, which was itself more than a thousand miles from the points of departure.

Ghizni offered a determined resistance, but was taken by storm on the 23rd of July, when the son of Dost Mahomed, Gholam Hyder Khan, who held the command, was captured. Sir John Keane next pushed on to Cabul, where the fall of Ghizni had produced a feeling of such extreme consternation that the Ameer found himself unable to act against the enemy, and therefore fled with a few attendants to the mountain solitudes of the Hindoo Koosh, on the north-eastern boundary of Afghanistan. The English army, accompanied by Shah Soojah, entered Cabul on the 7th of August; but the demeanour of the people was cold, and the British were detested as strangers, as conquerors, and as Christians. On September 3rd, the invaders were joined by the third division, consisting for the most part of Afghans and Sikhs, under the orders of Colonel Wade, who had taken the fort of Ali Musjid (situated in a narrow part of the Khyber Pass) and the city of Jelalabad. It now seemed as if the Afghans were entirely subdued, and, in its *premature* satisfaction, the British Government showered honours on the persons principally concerned. Lord Auckland was made an Earl; Sir John Keane a Baron, with a pension of £2,000; and Mr. Macnaghten a Baronet. Other officials received inferior distinctions, and

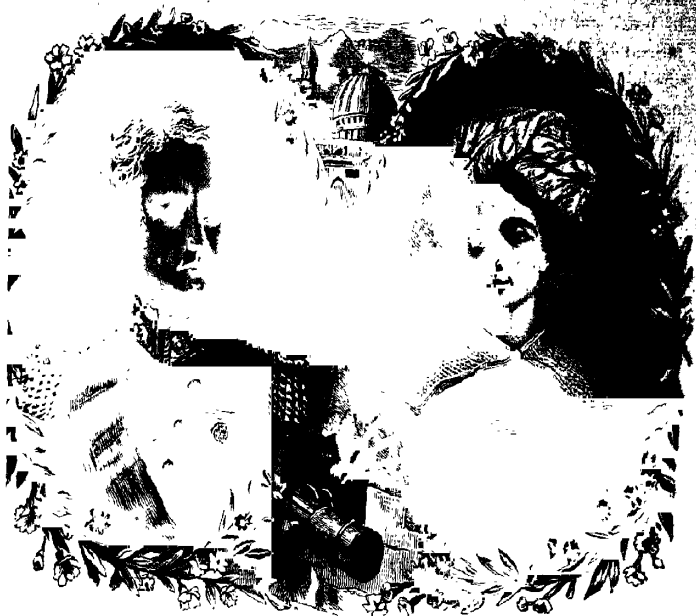
Shah Soojah created an Order of the Durani Empire, the insignia of which [illegible] bestowed on many English officers. Nevertheless, the people were [illegible] discontented, and surveyed with a sullen eye the military reviews and [illegible] ceremonials which it was hoped would reconcile them to the restored rule of Shah Soojah. They were *not* reconciled, for the new sovereign was regarded as the mere creature of the British authorities, whose pensioner he had been for many years, and by whom he was now forcibly imposed on a reluctant people, who had never invited his return.

The new settlement was believed to be so entirely safe that many of our troops were sent back long before the close of 1839, and the occupying force then consisted of 8,000 men, Europeans and Sepoys. As if inspired by some evil fate, the English officers wrote to India for their wives and children. In the spring of 1840, the British and Sepoy regiments were removed from the Bala Hissar (a fortified palace of great strength), and stationed in cantonments on the neighbouring plain, where they had scarcely any protection against the sudden attack of an enemy. These attacks speedily came. The country began to seethe with insurrection. British outposts were assailed, and, as the summer advanced, the fighting became serious. Dost Mahomed was again in arms, moving about rapidly from place to place, and sometimes gaining the advantage. In one of these encounters, he discomfited a British force under Sir Robert Sale, by whom he was attacked, on the 2nd of November, in the Purwandurrah valley. The disaster was chiefly owing to the misconduct of some Hindoo cavalry, who precipitately retreated, and sought shelter among the English guns. Everything was thrown into confusion, and Sale's force was only just able to cut its way back to Cabul. It might reasonably have been supposed that, after this brilliant success, Dost Mahomed (whose heroism and capacity have been warmly acknowledged by English writers) would have advanced with all his warriors to the capital. But he felt his inability to cope with such a power as England, and on the following day he rode up to the quarters of Sir William Macnaghten, introduced himself as the deposed Ameer, and delivered up his sword. When the British Minister had recovered from his surprise, he returned the sword, treated his prisoner with due honour, and, on the 12th of November, sent him to India under a strong escort. Again, apparently, had Fortune smiled upon the English cause.

But the insurrection against the authority of Shah Soojah still continued with unabated violence. In spite of this obvious danger, however, the British army of occupation was still further reduced in 1841, and the pension to native chiefs for abstaining from plunder was considerably lessened. The peril increased with every day; yet only a few of the military or civil officers could perceive its existence. Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes appear to have been perfectly contented with the existing state of things; though Sir Robert Sale, having been sent to quell an insurrection of the Ghiljies, found his communications with Cabul seriously threatened, and though Major Pottinger (Eldred Pottinger, the defender of Herat) warned Sir William of the danger

by which he was menaced. Sir John Keane having returned to England, the chief command of the British forces devolved on Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had previously led the Bengal column. Cotton was a man of approved ability, but

FORT ALI MUSJID IN THE KHYBER PASS

he was soon afterwards superseded by General Elphinstone—an old and infirm officer, whose nerves were quite unfitted to sustain the shock by which they were soon to be entirely shattered. Sir William Macnaghten having been appointed to the Governorship of Bombay, his position as British Minister at Cabul was conferred on Sir Alexander Burnes; but, owing to the disturbed state of the country, the former was unable to leave the Afghan capital, and consequently

fell in the massacre which shortly afterwards broke out. [illegible] flame of excitement on the morning of November 2nd—the very [illegible] on which Burnes had assumed his new functions, and when he [illegible] Macnaghten on leaving Afghanistan in a state of "profound tranquillity." [illegible] mob surrounded the residence of Burnes, threatened him and his [illegible] shot his military secretary, Lieutenant Broadfoot. One of the [illegible]

SIR ROBERT AND LADY SALE.

had sworn by the Koran that he would escort the brothers in safety to the fort, treacherously betrayed them to the rioters, by whom they were slain with knives. All the other inhabitants of the house, including women and children, were also murdered, and the edifice itself was burnt to ashes. General Elphinstone, who was in the cantonments with his troops, seems to have been utterly prostrated by the news, nor were any of his officers better prepared for the emergency. No steps were taken against the insurgents, and Elphinstone contented himself with saying that they must wait until the morning, and then see what could be done.

All he did when the morning came was to send urgent messages to Sir Robert Sale, who was then on his way to Jelalabad, to proceed as rapidly as possible to Cabul. Sir Robert, however, thought it a matter of such [illegible]

importance to keep open the communications with India, that he pursued his way to Jelalabad, and fortunately so, as was proved by after events. General Nott despatched three regiments to Candahar, in the hope of relieving the Cabul garrison; but the difficulties of the way and the severity of the weather were so great that they turned back, after accomplishing a portion of the distance. The cantonments at Cabul were now commanded by two guns, which the Afghans had planted on a neighbouring hill; and the British troops failed in an attempt to break out into the open country. The supplies of food ran short, and ultimately failed altogether; so that an agreement of some kind became an absolute necessity. The last act of Sir William Macnaghten was to open negotiations with the Afghan chiefs; but on the 23rd of December—a few days later—he was treacherously murdered by Akbar Khan, the eldest son of Dost Mahomed, who was now the leader of the insurrection. The two had entered into some rather obscure negotiations for making Akbar the Vizier and virtual master of Shah Soojah, and putting down the other chiefs. An interview was arranged for discussing this project; but a misunderstanding arose, and Macnaghten was shot by Akbar Khan, who afterwards, however, expressed great remorse for the deed. Shah Soojah appears to have acted with energy and good faith; but at the very commencement of the revolt his troops were overpowered by superior numbers, and he could now do nothing. The action of the malcontents was characterised by the utmost treachery. They had undertaken to furnish supplies, if the forts which guarded the cantonments were placed in their hands. The terms were accepted, but no food was forthcoming, while the possession of the forts by the enemy placed the cantonments wholly at his mercy. Matters therefore proceeded from bad to worse, and at length it was agreed that all the guns, excepting six, together with all the treasure, should be relinquished; that four officers should be put into the hands of the chiefs as hostages; and that 40,000 rupees, in bills drawn upon India, to be negotiated on the spot by some Hindoo bankers, should be paid to the Afghans. In exchange for these concessions, Akbar Khan promised to conduct the English regiments to Jelalabad; but he had not the power, even if he had the will, to make good his words. Our share of the agreement was honourably carried out to the minutest tittle; that of the Afghans was murderously broken.

The cantonments were quitted by the British troops on the 6th of January, 1842. The troops not unnaturally murmured at having to give up the guns and ammunition; but there was no help for it, and the doomed regiments filed out towards the desert in a condition little capable of successful defence against attack. The number of fighting men was not more than 4,500 (chiefly Asiatics); but they were accompanied by 12,000 camp-followers, including the wives and children of the officers. An inclement winter, with deep snow encumbering all the roads, added to the horrors of the time, and the Ghiljies began to attack the rear-guard immediately it had got clear of the cantonments. The fugitives entered the Khoord-Cabul Pass on the 8th of January, 1842, and attacks now

became frequent and unsparing. The Afghans were posted on [illegible] crags, and the English officers and troops began to fall rapidly. [illegible] women were carried away; many of the children were killed. Fatigue, [illegible] deprivation slew as many as the bullets of the lurking foe. [illegible] became mutinous, and intoxicated themselves with the stores of [illegible] they had violently seized. Ere long, all military discipline was lost. [illegible] thought only of themselves, and, disregarding the commands of their [illegible] hurried on towards Jelalabad as fast as horses, camels, or their own legs, [illegible] carry them. Several were frozen every night by the intense cold; and those [illegible] woke in the morning, woke simply to a prospect of despair. One gloomy and rugged pass succeeded another; but the relentless Afghans were stationed at every point, and their matchlocks brought down the scattered fugitives with unresting activity. More than once, Akbar Khan entered into communication with the English officers, and, upon receiving further hostages, made promises of assistance which were not fulfilled. Occasionally the British troops and the Sepoys made a desperate stand, and for a moment drove back their assailants; but, as day succeeded day, their numbers became fewer, and the spirit of resistance died within them. On the 12th and 13th of January, the force was reduced to a mere fragment; but, in proportion to the smallness of their numbers, the men seemed to recover the habits of discipline they had lost, and, standing close together, entered into hand-to-hand conflicts with the Afghans, in which the latter suffered severely. The position, however, was absolutely hopeless, and, in the course of January 13th, thirty soldiers—all who were now left, though the camp-followers still numbered two or three hundred—took up their station on the slopes of a hill, and fought with wonderful resolution until overpowered and slain. Setting aside the hostages, all were now exterminated—English, Sepoys, and camp-followers; all, with the exception of one man, who, wounded, and in a state approaching exhaustion, rode up to the walls of Jelalabad on that fatal 13th of January, still holding in his nerveless grasp a broken and unavailing sword. The survivor of the great catastrophe was Dr. Brydon, one of the medical officers, who had somehow managed to escape the massacre, and who conveyed intelligence of what had happened to General Sale and his gallant companions, then holding a position which in itself was desperate.

On one of the occasions when Akbar Khan held parley with the fugitives, he suggested that the ladies and children should be given up to him, and he undertook to convey them in safety to Peshawur. These terms were accepted, with the single modification that the husbands of the married ladies should accompany their wives. As the women and children could not have escaped massacre, or death from cold and fatigue, had they remained with the army, the arrangement was a wise one, as it offered them at least a chance of life. They were treated with some consideration, and ultimately rescued during the military operations of a later period. Two days later—namely, on the 11th of January—Akbar Khan again entered into negotiations with the English officers, and

demanded that General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson, should be given up to him as additional hostages. This was done, and the chief commander of the British forces went into captivity with his two subordinates. The treaty concluded by General Elphinstone and Akbar Khan, before the former quitted Cabul, contained an article stipulating that the English force at Jelalabad should march for Peshawur before the Cabul army arrived, and should not delay on the road. Information of this agreement was conveyed to Jelalabad by a band of horsemen, who, under cover of a flag of truce, pre-

THE REMNANT OF AN ARMY ARRIVAL OF DR BRYDON AT JELALABAD. (See p 119)
(*Sketch of the Picture by Lady Butler*)

sented themselves before the gates. They bore with them a despatch from General Elphinstone, ordering Sir Robert Sale to evacuate the country without delay. Sale was placed in a very difficult position; for Elphinstone was his superior officer, and yet to obey his orders, as by strict military duty he was bound to do, might entail the destruction of his whole force. He accordingly summoned a council of war, at which it was formally resolved that to obey such an order would be imprudent. The position, therefore, was held with splendid gallantry. The ruined fortifications had already been reconstructed, and every effort was now made to supply the town with food and fuel. It was known that an army under General Pollock was hastening to the relief of the garrison; but some time must elapse ere it could arrive, and in the meanwhile the situation

was fraught with peril. Akbar Khan, with a numerous army, had appeared before the walls; but Sale determined to hold out to the last. On the [illegible] of January, an earthquake shook the defences of the town into ruins; and had Akbar immediately assaulted the place, it is almost certain that he would have taken it. Probably, the unexpected convulsion inspired him with awe, and, as the English at once set to work to repair the damage that had been done, they were soon in a position to repel attack. In the early part of April, food and ammunition began to fail, and the spirited commander determined on active operations. On the 7th of the month the Afghans were attacked and driven off. With the remnant of his disheartened army, Akbar fled towards Cabul, leaving in our hands a vast amount of stores. Pollock was with difficulty forcing his way through the Khyber Pass; on the 16th of April he arrived at Jelalabad; at the same time, General Nott and Major (afterwards Sir Henry) Rawlinson were holding Candahar; but Colonel Palmer, after a gallant defence, was forced to surrender Ghizni to the Afghans. In the same month which witnessed the relief of Jelalabad, Shah Soojah was assassinated by the adherents of his elder brother—a man, like himself, far advanced in years. The position of Nott at Candahar was precarious, but, when at length relieved, he was able to join Sale and Pollock in an advance on Cabul, where they resolved to avenge the injuries of their countrymen. The chief command was in the hands of Nott, who showed himself a thoroughly capable officer. His first proceeding was to retake Ghizni, and on the 17th of September all three divisions effected their junction at Cabul. It is lamentable to be obliged to add that the city was pillaged by our infuriated soldiers, though perhaps not with the sanction of their commanders, and that needless destruction and slaughter marked the path of the avenging army.

DOST MAHOMED.

AKBAR KHAN.

The English prisoners, including the women and children, had during their captivity been frequently moved about from place to place, often in the most terrible extremities of weather, and under circumstances of great hardship; but when the British army arrived at Cabul, they were on their way back to

that city. General Elphinstone had died on the 23rd of April; the other members of the party were alive and well. On the 12th of October, the invaders left Cabul, and again, as on the occasion of their advance, passed through defiles still rendered terrible by the whitening bones of their comrades. The greater part of Jelalabad was destroyed, together with the fortifications; Ali Musjid, in the Khyber Pass, was blown into the air; and Afghanistan was entirely evacuated by our troops before the close of 1842. The policy of Lord Auckland was now completely reversed by his successor, Lord Ellenborough, whose term of office had commenced on the 28th of February. In announcing the withdrawal of the British forces from Afghanistan (which he did in a proclamation dated from Simla on the 1st of October), Lord Ellenborough observed that "to force a sovereign upon a reluctant people would be as inconsistent with the policy as it is with the principles of the British Government." That, no doubt, was the only just position to assume; but it should have been assumed three or four years earlier, and England would then have been spared one of the greatest and most humiliating disasters in the long course of her history. Our interposition had entailed infinite misery on ourselves and on the Afghans, and it had been absolutely unproductive of any good whatever. The country which we had taken under our protection, and from which we had been ignominiously expelled, was now in a state of anarchy, and, as that anarchy was of our own creation, it behoved us to do something towards the restoration of order. Dost Mahomed was set at liberty by the Anglo-Indian Government; and he whom we had refused to recognise in 1838, whom we had driven forth in 1839, and whom we received as a prisoner in 1840, was in 1843 restored to the throne which he seems to have had a legitimate claim to fill. His reign was thus divided into two parts, and the division is marked by a wide river of human blood.

After a tragedy, it was formerly the custom to play a farce. One might almost suppose that the principle involved in this theatrical usage had influenced the mind of Lord Ellenborough in a certain exploit which he performed, in a very demonstrative spirit, shortly after the conclusion of the Afghan war. When Sultan Mahmoud took the Hindoo city of Somnauth, in 1025, he carried away with him the gates of the vast temple dedicated to the god Soma, the idols of which he had shattered and cast down. These trophies were taken to the Imperial city of Ghizni, from which Mahmoud ruled his wide possessions; and there they had remained, or something like them had been preserved, during a period of more than eight hundred years. Lord Ellenborough was a man of great ability, but of somewhat grandiose and theatrical tastes, even in the management of practical affairs. He therefore determined to bring back the so-called Gates of Somnauth to the place whence they had been originally removed. The act would have been foolish enough, even had the genuineness of the gates been entirely beyond dispute, which was very far from the case. The Mohammedans could not but have felt insulted by the restoration of

anything connected with a gross idolatry, formerly [illegible] illustrious of Moslem sovereigns; while the Hindoos [illegible] their ancient disgrace and humiliation. These considerations [illegible] absent from the mind of Lord Ellenborough, or disregarded by him; [illegible] 16th of November, 1842, he issued a sonorous proclamation to all [illegible] chiefs, and people of India. "My brothers and my friends," he [illegible] victorious army bears the gates of the Temple of Somnauth in triumph [illegible] Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahmoud looks upon the [illegible] of Ghizni. The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The [illegible] the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, [illegible] the proudest record of your national glory,—the proof of your superiority [illegible] over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, princes and chiefs [illegible] of Rajwarra, of Malwa and Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious [illegible] successful war. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit [illegible] of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored [illegible] Somnauth." On the 14th of January, 1843, the gates were carried [illegible] in state, under a canopy of crimson and gold; but the proceedings [illegible] created great annoyance in England, and were made the subject of [illegible] Parliamentary debates.

Again we must revert to tragedy, for it is impossible to pass over, [illegible] events of this period, some terrible circumstances which occurred in Bokhara, and of which two of our own countrymen were the victims. Colonel Stoddart had been sent a few years previously to the Persian camp before Herat, to insist that Persia must abandon the siege of that important position. Thence he proceeded on some official business to Bokhara, where, after a time, the Ameer became suspicious of his designs, and threw him into prison. At a later date, Captain Arthur Conolly was sent into the same country, but, after making a vain attempt to procure the liberation of Stoddart, was himself confined in a subterranean dungeon, where he and his fellow-sufferer were kept in complete darkness, without being allowed to change their clothes, or to wash themselves, and with a very insufficient supply of food, which was let down to them once in four or five days. The Ameer suspected the two strangers of being spies in the employment of his enemies, and their case was considerably prejudiced by the refusal of the Indian and Home Governments to recognise the captives as official agents. Conolly had in the first instance gone to Khokand, where he was engaged in endeavouring to effect the release of slaves; but Lord Ellenborough declared that he had no knowledge of his mission to that country having been authorised, and he added that that unfortunate officer had been expressly instructed by the President of the Board of Control *not* to go to Khokand, so that, it was remarked, he in all probability owed his misfortunes to the direct transgression of those orders. How far these statements are to be accepted as absolute truth, appears somewhat doubtful; but at any rate the adoption of such a tone was ill calculated to obtain the release of the prisoners from a [illegible]

[illegible] the Ameer of Bokhara. Appeals, it is true, were made to his good [illegible], but unfortunately he did not possess any, and the condition of the prisoners became progressively worse. Under these circumstances, Dr. Wolff, a German Jew who had been converted to Christianity, courageously undertook an expedition to Bokhara, in the hope of delivering the prisoners. On arriving in that country, however, he heard they had already been put to death. The

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

double execution seems to have been in the summer of 1843, some time before Dr. Wolff even set out on his expedition. The heroic missionary was himself imprisoned for a considerable time, but at length obtained his release, and came to England in 1845, when he was enthusiastically received by all who had watched his fortunes with mingled admiration and alarm.

While Afghanistan was distracted by a vengeful war, the general state of England continued even worse than in the earlier part of the year. Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of August, 1842, by the Queen in person, and in the Speech from the Throne her Majesty expressed a hope that the members of the two Houses "would do their utmost to encourage, by example and active exertions, that spirit of order and submission to the law without which there

... no enjoyment of the fruits of peaceful industry, and no advance in the ... of social improvement." Sedition was indeed becoming more ripe every day. In the manufacturing towns, mills were violently entered by disorderly mobs, their machinery was destroyed, and those who were willing to work were compelled to abandon their labours. Manchester was in so disturbed a state that a regiment of the Guards was despatched thither to overawe the malcontents; and in many of the northern towns collisions, attended by bloodshed and loss of life, occurred from time to time. The demand of the workpeople was for increase of wages; but political ideas also were mixed up with the purely social question. The Chartists joined the discontented artisans, and for a while the Government was seriously alarmed. But the arrest of the leaders struck terror into the rest, and, as the autumn advanced, the worst of the danger was at an end. In the west of Scotland, however, disturbances continued for some time longer; yet it was at this period that the Queen and Prince Albert paid their first visit to the Northern Kingdom.

It had been intended by the Royal couple to visit Belgium in the autumn of 1842, to meet there some members of the family of Louis Philippe. This design, however, was frustrated by the unhappy death of the Duke of Orleans, who was killed by an accident on the 13th of July. The Duke was the favourite brother of the Queen of the Belgians, and the sad event threw both Courts into the deepest mourning. Her Majesty and Prince Albert were profoundly afflicted by the casualty, and, being unable to visit Belgium, resolved to turn their faces towards Scotland. Notwithstanding the turbulence of the Scottish working classes in the manufacturing cities, the reception given to the Queen and her husband was of the most enthusiastic character, and the journey of 1842 became a precedent for many later years. The Royal yacht was accompanied by a squadron of nine vessels, in addition to which were the Trinity House steamer and a packet. The voyage was slow and tedious, and her Majesty suffered a good deal from the roughness of the sea. She was much struck by the first appearance of the Scottish coast, which she describes as "dark, rocky, bold, and wild." At half-past six on the evening of August 31st, they passed St. Abb's Head, and her Majesty records that "numbers of fishing boats (in one of which was a piper playing), and steamers full of people, came out to meet us, and on board of one large steamer they danced a reel to a band. It was a beautiful evening, calm, with a fine sunset, and the air so pure."* As the Royal yacht proceeded up the Frith of Forth under the gathering darkness, the neighbouring heights were seen to be lighted with beacon-fires, to which the yacht responded by sending up rockets and burning blue lights. The Royal party landed at Leith on the 1st of September, and drove in a barouche to Edinburgh, with which both the Queen and Prince Albert were greatly pleased. The various historical monuments and buildings in the Scottish capital, and the objects of

* Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands.

interest in the neighbourhood, proved sources of great delight to the royal visitors; and Prince Albert, writing to the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha on the [illegible] of September, shortly after the return to Windsor, says:—"Scotland has made a most favourable impression upon us both. The country is full of beauty, of a severe and grand character; perfect for sport, and the air remarkably pure and light in comparison with what we have here. The people are more natural, and marked by that honesty and sympathy which always distinguish the inhabitants of mountainous countries who live away from towns. There is, moreover, no country where historical traditions are preserved with such fidelity, or to the same extent." Although the stay of the Royal visitors was not very long, they entered the Highlands, and at every point were received with the warmth which Scotsmen are not slow to exhibit when their national pride is delicately touched.

When the Queen first entered Edinburgh, there had been a slight mistake, which occasioned some inconvenience. It was expected that her Majesty would be received by the Lord Provost and magistrates of the city; but, owing to a misconception as to the hour of landing, they were not there. To make up for the disappointment thus occasioned, the Queen re-entered the city on the 3rd of September, when she was received in state by the authorities. The route, which was crowded with sight-seers, was from Holyrood, up the Canongate and High Street, to the Castle, and then by the Earthen Mound and Princes Street to Dalmeny Park, the seat of the Earl of Rosebery. On the same day, the foundation-stone of Victoria Hall, designed for the use of the General Assembly of the Kirk, was laid in honour of her Majesty's visit; and on later days the seats of some of the Scottish nobility were visited by the Royal party, when a great deal was seen of the Highland clans and their feudal usages. The Queen sailed from Granton Pier on the 15th of September, and a letter was addressed to the Lord Advocate by the Earl of Aberdeen, in which the latter was instructed to say:—"The Queen will leave Scotland with a feeling of regret that her visit on the present occasion could not be farther prolonged. Her Majesty fully expected to witness the loyalty and attachment of her Scottish subjects; but the devotion and enthusiasm evinced in every quarter, and by all ranks, have produced an impression on the mind of her Majesty which can never be effaced." The journey was in many respects a memorable one; and shortly after the return of her Majesty and the Prince, they received intelligence of the fall of Ghizni and Cabul, of the rescue of the prisoners in Afghanistan, and of the conclusion of peace with China. The news reached them on the 23rd of November at Walmer Castle, which had been placed at their disposal by the Duke of Wellington. It was the desire of the Queen that a Chinese and also an Afghan medal should be struck, and distributed throughout the armies. Lord Ellenborough however, had already, though without due authority, issued medals to the Indian army, and all that her Majesty could now do was to confer honours on the combatants in China.

The interest of Prince Albert in English politics continued to increase with every year, and the Queen leant proportionately on his judgment for direction in affairs of State. The Prince never obtruded his advice, yet it was none the less a subtle influence, pervading the mind of his consort, and operating for good in many ways. The Ministry of Sir Robert Peel was even more inclined than that of Lord Melbourne to admit this influence: and as early as 1842 suggestions were made that, in the event of the Duke of Wellington's death, the office of Commander-in-Chief should be conferred upon the Prince. Baron Stockmar, whose judgment was frequently appealed to on such matters, both by the Royal Family and the Government, was consulted on this subject; but the project met with his entire disapproval. It was one of many instances showing the good sense possessed by that devoted friend of the Prince and of her Majesty. The occupation of such a post by a foreigner would not unreasonably have offended the susceptibilities of the English nation. The Prince himself saw the wisdom of the Baron's advice, though it would seem that there was occasionally a little sensitiveness in his own mind as to the light in which he was regarded by Englishmen generally. His secretary, Mr. Anson, has recorded that one day, about this period, the Prince, in reading Hallam's "Constitutional History," copied out and sent to him a passage concerning William III., which runs:—"The demeanour of William, always cold, and sometimes harsh, *his foreign origin* (a sort *of crime in English eyes*), etc., conspired to keep alive this disaffection." In talking over this matter with the Prince, Mr. Anson observed that a laudable and natural jealousy of foreigners prevailed in the minds of Englishmen, but that he did not think any such feeling existed towards the Prince himself. His Royal Highness fully admitted this view, and acknowledged the kindness with which he had been received in England. Yet it is difficult to understand why he should have made so pointed an extract, unless he had thought that it contained, by reflection, some kind of reference to his own case.

In one respect especially, the example of Prince Albert was of the greatest value to the whole nation. He maintained a high character for honour and purity in the Court, and thence, by a species of moral contagion of the better kind, throughout the circles with which he was immediately connected. From the very commencement of his career in England, he determined, not merely that his actions should be free from reproach, but that his whole conduct should be so strictly governed as to render reproach impossible. This noble resolve has been well described by General Grey, who, in his interesting work on the early life of the Prince, writes:—"He imposed a degree of restraint and self-denial upon his own movements which could not but have been irksome, had he not been sustained by a sense of the advantage which the Throne would derive from it. He denied himself the pleasure—which, to one so fond as he was of personally watching and inspecting every improvement that was in progress, would have been very great—of walking at will about the town. Wherever he went, whether in a carriage or on horseback, he was accompanied by his equerry. He

paid no visits in general society. His visits were to the studio of the artist, to museums of art or science, to institutions for good and benevolent purposes. Wherever a visit from him, or his presence, could tend to advance the real good of the people, there his horses might be seen waiting; never at the door of mere

LORD JOHN RUSSELL. (*From the Statue by Sir J. E. Boehm, R.A.*)

fashion."* To this testimony may be added that of her Majesty, who has recorded that he would frequently return to luncheon at a great pace, and would always come through the Queen's dressing-room, where she generally was at that time, with that bright, loving smile with which he ever greeted her; telling where he had been—what new buildings he had seen—what

* Early Years of the Prince Consort.

studios, &c., he had visited. Riding for mere riding's sake he disliked, and said, "It bores me so!"

By this date his time was fully occupied, for he had undertaken many duties, and was obliged to see many people. In the autumn of 1842 he undertook some of the duties of the Privy Purse, which until then had been discharged by the Baroness Lehzen; and it was about this time that he began to give serious attention to that reorganisation of the Royal Household which has already been described. The demands upon him had indeed become so incessant that he was often obliged to sacrifice his hasty rides. In the December of the same year her Majesty writes to Baron Stockmar to the effect that measures should be taken "to prevent his being besieged in London by so many unnecessary people. His health is so invaluable, not only to me (to whom he is more than all-in-all), but to this whole country, that we must do our duty, and manage that he is not so overwhelmed with people." The Prince was in fact a working man in the truest sense of the word. His life was one of almost incessant toil, and the pleasures with which he lightened and relieved it were those of an intellectual inquirer, who could be satisfied with nothing that was frivolous or base.

In the existing distress at this period of our history, much attention was given to colonisation. On the 28th of April, a meeting was held in London under the Presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a view to raising funds for sending out Bishops to our distant possessions, and a large sum of money was obtained for that purpose. On the same day the preliminary expedition of the second colony to New Zealand sailed under the command of Captain Wakefield, and the colony itself was to be formed on the principle laid down by Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, which provided that the land-produce fund should be applied to the purpose of obtaining labour. Scarcely anything was known of New Zealand until 1769-70, when it was circumnavigated by Captain Cook, and found to be insular, and not continental, as had been supposed. Very little was done in the way of colonisation until 1839, when a New Zealand Company was established, and the town of Wellington was founded. On the 13th of February, 1841, a dinner was given to Lord John Russell, then Colonial Secretary, to celebrate the foundation of England's most recent colony; and in subsequent years the settlement made excellent progress, though often exposed to attack from the Maories. In 1842 a law received the Royal Assent conferring a representative Government on New South Wales; and, from this time forward, the colonies of Great Britain wisely received from the Home Administration and Legislature a greater amount of attention than had been previously bestowed.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Renewed Popularity of the Queen—Services of Prince Albert—A Volunteer Poet Laureate—Birth of the Princess Alice—The Whig Deficit, and how Sir Robert Peel dealt with it—The Income Tax, and Reduction of Duties—The Sliding Scale—Advance of Free Trade Principles—Assassination of Mr. Drummond—The Question of Criminal Insanity—Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Cobden—Disturbances in South Wales: "Rebecca" and her Daughters—Condition of Women in Mines and Collieries—Lord Ashley and the Factories Act—Opinion of the Queen and Prince Albert on the Qualities of Sir Robert Peel—Levees held by the Prince—The Frescoes for the Houses of Parliament—Encouragement of Fresco-Painting by the Queen and Prince Albert—The Summer House in the Gardens of Buckingham Palace—Visit of her Majesty and the Prince to Louis Philippe at the Château d'Eu—The Duke of Wellington on the Necessity for a Council of Regency—Designs of France on the Succession to the Spanish Throne—Dishonest Engagement of the French King—English Opinion completely Misled—Royal Visits to Belgium, to Cambridge, and to the Midlands—The Prince as a Fox-hunter—Model Farming—Events in India: Wars in Scinde and Gwalior.

A VERY important and very happy result of Prince Albert's influence was seen in the revived popularity of the Queen after a few years had passed. In 18[illegible], as the reader is aware, the feeling with which her Majesty was regarded by a wide section of the people revealed a danger of no inconsiderable magnitude, and threatened to give a peculiarly acrid character to political discussion. By 1842 this sentiment had very nearly disappeared; and the change was largely due to the companionship and advice of the Queen's consort. We must not forget, however, the excellent guidance which the Prince himself received from Baron Stockmar; and although Englishmen cannot but have felt a little jealous that their political and social state was so much influenced by foreigners, they must have been none the less grateful for the fact, let it come how it might. For the improved state of public feeling Prince Albert obtained no credit at the time. The people knew very little about him, and the aristocracy, who had opportunities of seeing his Royal Highness, considered him somewhat cold and haughty. The opinion was not altogether unwarranted, though it proceeded from a misapprehension. A certain reserve of manner resulted almost inevitably from the severe moral restrictions which the Prince laid upon himself; but who would not purchase so great a gain at the cost of a few external attractions, not necessarily associated with the higher virtues?

During the first few years of her reign the Queen had not the benefit (such as it is) of those poetical eulogiums which are reasonably to be expected by a court which maintains a Poet Laureate. Although Southey, the then holder of the office, did not die until 1843, his mental state had for some years been such as to render all intellectual work impossible. In this interregnum of Parnassus, Leigh Hunt—who, a generation earlier, had been imprisoned for libelling the Prince Regent, but who was converted to courtliness by the liberal developments of modern times—addressed some verses to the Queen, in the earliest of which, with the quaint familiarity of his genius, he commends her Majesty for [illegible]

"the ripe Guelph cheek, and good, straight Coburg brow," which were held to be significant of "pleasure and reason." The poet afterwards alludes to the recent birth of the Princess Royal in lines of touching beauty. Still speaking of the Queen herself, he writes:—

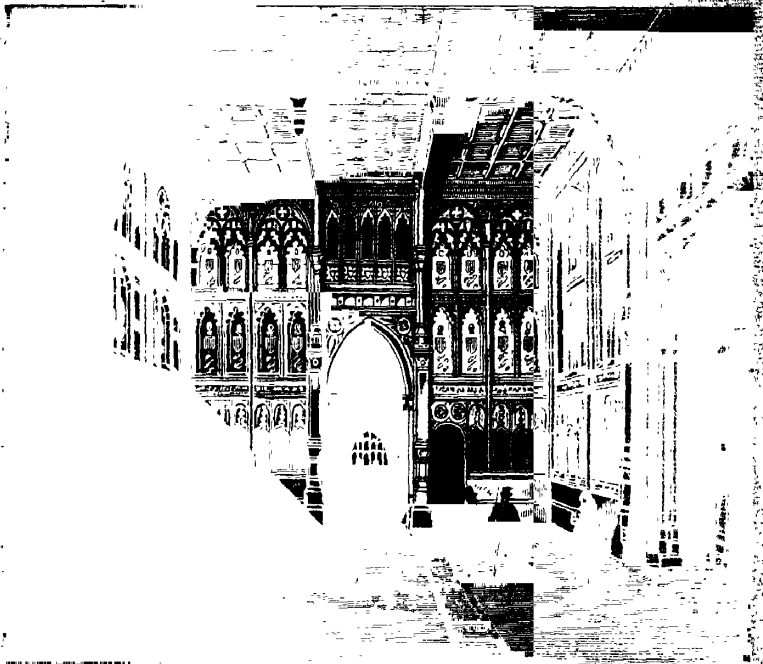
> "May her own soul, this instant, while I sing,
> Be smiling, as beneath some angel's wing,
> O'er the dear life in life, the small, sweet, new,
> Unselfish self, the filial self of two,
> Bliss of her future eyes, her pillow'd gaze,
> On whom a mother's heart thinks close, and prays."

Another poem, more particularly addressed to the Princess Royal, "Three Visions occasioned by the Birth and Christening of the Prince of Wales," and some "Lines on the Birth of the Princess Alice" (which occurred on the 25th of April, 1843), appeared in due succession. But the poetical interregnum came to an end in the spring of 1843, when, owing to the death of Southey, Wordsworth succeeded to the post; and the volunteer lyrist was heard no more on such topics. His few courtly poems are singularly pervaded by that profound faith in the speedy coming of a kind of golden age of peace, wisdom, health, gentleness, and universal prosperity, which characterised the earlier years of the present century, and especially the mind of Leigh Hunt, but which, in the disappointments and gathering melancholy of the present day, wears an aspect at once mournful and tender. The conclusion of the poem to the Princess Alice is worth quoting, because of the sad failure of its aspiration, combined with its remarkable truthfulness in other respects. Still harping on that wondrous age of human perfection which seems as far off as ever, the poet exclaims:—

> "Thee, meantime, fair child of one
> Fit to see that golden sun,
> Thee may no worse lot befall
> Than a long life, April all;
> Fuller, much, of hopes than fears,
> Kind in smiles and kind in tears,
> Graceful, cheerful, ever new,
> Heaven and earth both kept in view,
> While the poor look up, and bless
> Thy celestial bounteousness.
> And, when all thy days are done,
> And sadness views thy setting sun,
> Mayst thou greet thy mother's eyes,
> And endless May in Paradise."

Shortly after the birth of the Princess Alice the Queen wrote to the King of the Belgians:—"Albert has been, as usual, all kindness and goodness. Our little baby is to be called Alice, an old English name, and the other names are to be Maud (another old English name, and the same as Matilda), and Mary, as she was born on Aunt Gloucester's birthday. The sponsors are to be the King

of Hanover, Ernestus Primus (now the Duke of Coburg), poor Princess Sophia Matilda, and Feodore; and the christening [is] to be on the 22nd of June." The ceremony went off very well; but the King of Hanover arrived too late to be present. In after years the Princess Alice became the wife of the Grand Duke of Hesse, and was well known for her intelligent benevolence and charity. She died on the 14th of December, 1878.

Unfettered by indirect influences, the Government of Sir Robert Peel was

LOBBY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

now acquiring the confidence of the country by the masterly way in which its chief handled the great questions of the hour. One of the first things to be dealt with was the financial deficit left by the Whigs, which had reached the alarming total of more than ten millions for the previous six years. This was met by the creation of an Income Tax of sevenpence in the pound; and in the memorable statement which Sir Robert Peel made to the House of Commons on the 11th of March, 1842, a confident expectation was held out that the proceeds of such an impost would not merely fill up the deficit, but yield a surplus such as would enable the Ministry to reduce the taxes on commodities to an immense extent. All incomes below £150 were to be exempt from the [illegible]

rather the revived, tax; but no distinction was made between the precarious income resulting from trades, professions, and employments, and that derived from the much more assured source of landed and other property. This was regarded by the professional and mercantile classes as an injustice; but though the tax was not popular, most persons were compelled to admit that they saw no other way out of the difficulty. Sir Robert Peel argued that the maximum of indirect taxation had been reached, and that to accumulate further duties on the necessaries and luxuries of life would be productive of the greatest injury to trade, while to reduce them would operate as a stimulus to manufactures and to commerce. If, then, indirect taxation was shut out by the very circumstances of the case, a tax on income was all that remained. Such an impost, amounting to no less than ten per cent. on the income of the country, was cheerfully borne during the war with Bonaparte; yet people thought it hard that, with no war at all, they were to be subjected to the same vexatious demand, though at the much lower rate of something less than three per cent. It was understood at the time that the tax was not to last beyond three, or at the most five, years; but in fact it has never been taken off to this day, though varying in amount from time to time. We must never forget, however, that its existence, unpleasant and objectionable as it is in some respects, has enabled successive Governments to remove many millions of taxation, which hampered trade, and seriously enhanced the price of necessaries. In the year now passing under notice (1842), Sir Robert Peel reduced the Customs duties on 750 out of 1,200 articles, and entirely abolished the duties on some minor foreign commodities. The reduction of indirect taxation in the ensuing three years was about £12,000,000.

While thus opening a new and in many ways better prospect to the country, the Premier still clung to Protectionist measures with regard to foreign corn. On the 9th of February—a month before the introduction of the new Tariff—he brought forward his Sliding Scale, by which the duties on foreign wheat, oats, and barley, rose or fell according to the cheapness or dearness of what was grown at home. The arrangement gave satisfaction to no one. Mr. Cobden and his followers would accept nothing but absolute freedom of trade; the landed proprietors were content with nothing short of absolute Protection; and between these two extremes were the Whigs, who preferred—for the present, at least—the low fixed duty which they had proposed the year before. Nevertheless, Peel carried his Sliding Scale, for he had a good party vote at his back. The members of the Anti-Corn-Law League, however, had the greatest cause for rejoicing, for it was evident that matters were moving in the direction of Free Trade. People began to talk of the Corn Laws as doomed, and even Sir Robert Peel, in his speech of March 11th, when introducing his Tariff proposals, observed:—"I believe that on the general principle of Free Trade there is now no great difference of opinion, and that all agree in the general rule that we should purchase in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest." He still held

back from applying this rule to corn; but no one could doubt how his mind was tending, and some four years later he began that beneficent course of Free Trade legislation which Liberal Governments afterwards perfected. The Leaguers acquired fresh spirit from the prospect of approaching triumph, and renewed meetings were held, both in London and the provinces.

In the early part of 1843 a very painful incident occurred, which excited the liveliest sympathy of the Queen and Prince Albert, and which for a time seemed to place the life of Sir Robert Peel in jeopardy. On the 20th of January, a man named Daniel McNaughten shot Mr. Edward Drummond, the private secretary of the Premier, as he was passing along Whitehall between the Admiralty and the Horse Guards. The unfortunate gentleman expired on the 25th of the same month, and some were found to maintain that the fatal issue was due more to the bleeding ordered by his medical attendants than to the effects of the pistol-shot. However this may have been, it is certain that the practice of phlebotomy decreased shortly after this melancholy event, and has never since regained the position it once held in medical practice. McNaughten, on being seized, and conveyed to the nearest police-station, declared that the Tories had been persecuting him for many years, and that that was his justification for committing the act. From this expression, and some others to which he gave utterance, it was inferred that his intention was to shoot Sir Robert Peel, and that he mistook Mr. Drummond for the First Minister, to whom the secretary seems to have borne some slight resemblance. The public mind was much excited by what appeared to be a deliberate attempt to make the head of the Government personally responsible for a supposed, and doubtless an imaginary, wrong. Taken in conjunction with the recent attacks upon the Queen, the crime was thought by many to reveal a widespread conspiracy against the deepest principles of social order, and the alarm in Court circles, and amongst the members of the Administration, was naturally very great. Of course there was exaggeration in this feeling; matters were not really so bad as they appeared. But for some time it was considered necessary that Sir Robert Peel should be guarded by policemen in plain clothes, and measures were taken to protect the Court. Alluding to the assassination in a letter to King Leopold, dated January 31st, the Queen observes:—"Poor Drummond is universally regretted. Indeed, I seldom remember so strong an interest (beginning with ourselves) being taken in, and so much feeling so generally shown towards, a private individual. People can hardly think of anything else. I trust it will have the beneficial effect of making people feel the difference between complete madness, which deprives a man of *all* sense, and madness which does *not* prevent a man from knowing right from wrong." This distinction does not seem to have been present to the minds of the jury before whom McNaughten was tried early in March. They returned a verdict that the prisoner was "Not guilty, on the ground of insanity;" and he was ordered to be kept in confinement during her Majesty's pleasure. The public, however, were greatly

"REBECCA" RIOT IN SOUTH WALES. (See p 138)

discontented with this finding; and the general question, as to what was to be considered the standard of irresponsible mania, was submitted to the whole of the Judges, who were desired to answer the question, "If a person under an insane delusion as to existing facts commits an offence in consequence thereof, is he thereby excused?" The answer was given on the 19th of July, 1843,

LORD ASHLEY (AFTERWARDS EARL OF SHAFTESBURY).

when an unanimous opinion was pronounced, that he was equally liable with the person of sane mind.

Lady Peel was made very ill by the terrible event of January; and the habitual equanimity of Sir Robert himself underwent some disturbance. This was seen on the 16th of February, during the debate on Lord Howick's motion for a Committee of the whole House to consider the reference in the Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament (February 2nd) to the long-continued depression of manufacturing industry. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Cobden said that he held Sir Robert Peel personally responsible for the existing lamentable and dangerous state of affairs. The words were not well chosen; but the Premier, who was out of health at the time, and suffering from anxiety

and sorrow, passionately leapt to the conclusion that Mr. Cobden was uttering a thinly-veiled incentive to his assassination. The distinguished Free Trader denied the imputation, received a direct contradiction from his adversary, and ultimately explained, in the midst of great confusion, that what he meant was that the right honourable Baronet was responsible by virtue of his office. The time was one of abnormal excitement, and great allowance must be made both for Peel and Cobden, but especially for the former. Only a few weeks later, Mr. Goulburn, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, applied at Bow Street Police Office for a warrant to arrest a retired officer of the navy, who had threatened to shoot him.

The unsettled condition of the country was shown by some disturbances which occurred about this time in South Wales. The small farmers in that portion of the Principality complained much of the heavy road-taxes which had been recently imposed. The tolls were often so onerous as to absorb the profit arising from the commodities which these humble people took to market. A number of gates had been set up, which were generally believed to be beyond the provisions of the law; and as these were destroyed with impunity, many people resolved to make a crusade against *all* toll-gates, wheresoever they might be found. In a wild and thinly-peopled country like Wales, authority is necessarily weak; and the conspirators against the gates were able to carry out their projects with less interference than would have been encountered in many other parts of the island. But it was considered advisable that these operations should take place after dark, and the winter of 1842-3 was rendered memorable by a series of successful attacks upon the toll-bars, attended by circumstances which were at once picturesque and alarming. The leader of the movement called himself "Rebecca," from a strange misapplication of a passage in Genesis, and dressed himself in women's clothes. Several of his followers were similarly disguised, and those who preserved their proper character as men wore masks over their faces. In the middle of the night the toll-keepers were aroused by a disorderly mob, armed with guns, and bearing torches, saws, and hatchets. Not only were the gates cut down and thrown on the adjacent land, but the toll-houses also were destroyed, and the occupants obliged to finish their night's rest, if they could finish it at all, in the open field, or on the bleak hill-side. So general was the support given to these rioters that the police and soldiery were frequently baffled in their endeavours to come up with them. But at first no personal outrages were committed. Unfortunately, however, a much worse spirit afterwards set in. Some Chartist emissaries were sent into South Wales; political ideas, having reference to the abolition of tithes, of Church rates, and of the existing Poor Law, were mixed up with the original objects of the association; and in the autumn of 1843 incendiarism and murder marked the progress of this disorderly band. At the same period, however, the gang were severely handled by the military; and when some exemplary punishments had been passed upon the principal rioters, a more lawful state of mind began to set

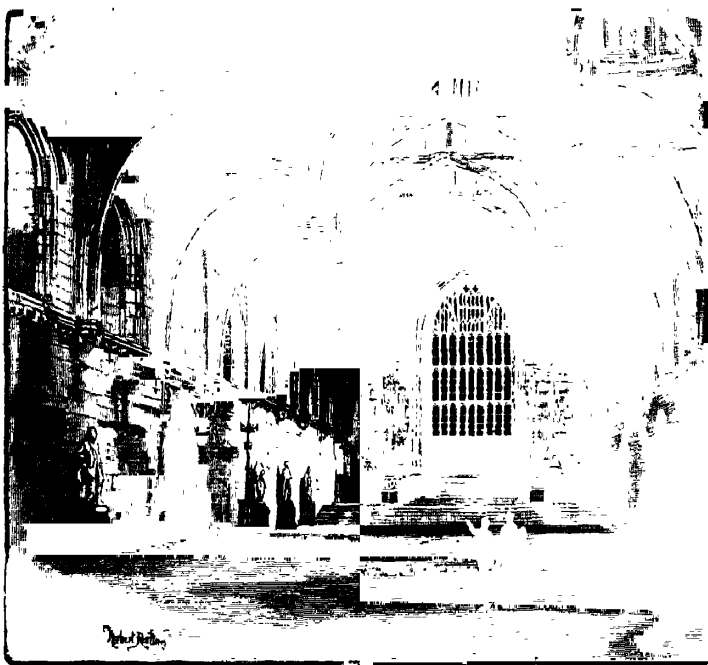
in. The Government, on the other hand, showed a disposition to leniency, and in the following year an amended Turnpike Act for South Wales removed the grievances which had been the original excuse for the outbreak.

The greatest sufferers are usually silent; it is others who discover their miseries, bring them into the light of day, and procure their amendment. Such was the case with the workers in mines and collieries, an inquiry into whose state was conducted by a Commission, whose report was published in the early part of 1842. It appeared from this report that, in some of the coal-mines, women and girls were employed as beasts of burden. By means of a chain passing between the legs, and connected with a belt strapped round their waists, they were compelled to drag to and fro, on hands and knees, and often for fourteen or sixteen hours a day, trucks heavily laden with coal, through passages too low to permit of these persons going upright. They were nearly naked, their clothing consisting of nothing more than a pair of trousers made of sacking. Their bodies were encrusted with the grime of the coal-dust, and many were completely unsexed, and presented chests that were as flat as those of men. By far the greater part of their lives was passed underground, in the black and cavernous recesses of the mine; and the morality of these unhappy creatures was equal to their physical degradation. Children were also employed, and treated with even greater brutality. Overworked and beaten by their cruel taskmasters, these children grew up stunted and diseased, and it was evident that nothing but widespread ruin, both of body and soul, could result from a system so monstrously opposed to all the laws of nature. The statesman who procured the Commission of Inquiry was Lord Ashley, afterwards still more famous as Earl of Shaftesbury; and it was he who subsequently introduced and carried the Mines and Collieries Act, by which women and girls were forbidden to be employed in any form of mining or colliery labour, and the employment of boys was not to be permitted under the age of ten years. Moreover, the term of apprenticeship was limited, and the Secretary of State was empowered to appoint Inspectors of Mines and Collieries, that the provisions of the Bill should not be evaded by those interested in defeating them. The Act was passed in 1842, but did not come into operation until 1843. Its effect was unquestionably good; yet it was found difficult to restrain many women from continuing the work to which they had been accustomed, and which perhaps they could not readily exchange for anything better. The Mines and Collieries Act was a measure in which we may be certain that the Queen, as a woman and a mother, took the deepest interest, and it is equally beyond question that the benevolent and clear-seeing mind of Prince Albert was also enlisted on behalf of sufferers of so peculiar and helpless an order.

It was at this time that great attention began to be paid to social as apart from political questions. Lord Ashley devoted a good deal of pains to effecting a limitation of the daily labour of women and young persons in factories. He ultimately obtained from the Government, in 1844, a Factories Act which threw

some protection around children who had previously been employed to an extent, and for a number of successive hours, terribly injurious to their physical and moral health. It was the desire of Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, to engraft upon this Bill certain provisions for the education of young persons engaged in the large manufacturing establishments of the country; but, owing to the opposition of the Dissenters, who feared that the influence of the Church would be unduly extended, it was found necessary to abandon the proposed clauses. Even with respect to the main objects of the Bill, there was considerable opposition; for the bigoted adherents of political economy would not tolerate a measure which interfered with what they regarded as the right of contract between the employers and the employed. Their principle was doubtless a good one in the main; but children are so much under the influence of others that some departure from the rule was necessary in their case, especially as it was well known that the evil and the suffering were great. The more bitter opponents of Lord Ashley argued that he ought to look nearer home: that the peasantry on his father's estates, to which in due course he would succeed, were in a worse condition than the female and juvenile operatives in the factories; that the aristocratic reformer knew nothing about manufacturing life; and that in truth there was not much to complain of. But the fact that the agricultural labourers on the lands of Lord Ashley's father were poor and miserable, was no reason why Lord Ashley should not interest *himself* in another class of sufferers; while, as to the condition of the children in the seats of manufacturing industry, there could be no question, to any impartial mind, that it was such as to render the interposition of the law imperatively necessary. The general principle has since been extended in many other Acts of Parliament, even to the protection of women; and the bitter opposition of former times has become less and less. It is now admitted that special circumstances call for special legislation; that care for the young has even yet been insufficiently carried out; and that to sacrifice tender lives to economical theories is little better than to repeat in another form the Hindoo worship of Juggernaut. Some slight extension of the time devoted to education was introduced into the Act of 1844, in place of the more complete provision which it was originally intended to make; and the effect of this arrangement was found to be good, though a still further application of the system would unquestionably have been better.

As the session of 1843 advanced, the Queen and Prince Albert conceived a yet higher opinion of the great qualities exhibited by Sir Robert Peel. Her Majesty described him to the King of the Belgians as "a man who thinks but little of party, and never of himself." The Prince, with his remarkable keenness of judgment, anticipated that it would not be long ere Peel would quit the Conservative party, or the Conservatives, in the main, would desert him. In a Memorandum of Mr. Anson's, dated April 30th, 1843, we read:—"The Prince said yesterday, that Sir Robert Peel was certainly far from popular with the Conservative party. He, for his part, had the greater confidence in Sir Robert

for the very cause to which he attributed the want of confidence with which his party regarded him. It was that Sir Robert was determined to adopt his own line, and not to be turned aside by the fear of making political enemies, or losing support. He was determined either to stand or fall by his own opinion; and the Prince felt that in such a man's hands the interests of the Crown were most secure." In little more than three years it was seen that Peel did in truth "fall" by devotion to what he considered necessary to the well-being of the

WESTMINSTER HALL.

country. By his conversion to Free Trade he lost the support of the Conservative party, and was expelled from office by a combination which placed him at a hopeless disadvantage. That he would once more have risen to the head of affairs, had not an accident cut short his life, cannot be doubted; but, with the change of Ministry in 1846, his official existence came to a close.

The state of her health precluded the Queen from opening Parliament in person on the 2nd of February, 1843, and for the same reason she was unable to hold the usual spring levees. These were accordingly held by Prince Albert, as the representative of her Majesty; but some members of the Court were so much annoyed at the arrangement, which they regarded as an unwarrantable

assumption of Royal functions by the Prince, that they absented themselves from these ceremonial gatherings. The speedy recovery of the sovereign after the birth of the Princess Alice soon enabled her Majesty to occupy once more her proper position at the head of the Court, and the general opinion of the public was quite in favour of the step which had been temporarily adopted. This left Prince Albert free to devote himself with the greater application to his duties as head of the Royal Commission on the Fine Arts, which had been appointed with reference to the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament. In the summer of 1843, several cartoons, on subjects illustrative of English History and Poetry, were exhibited in Westminster Hall, and prizes were offered for the best productions. The collection excited great interest, and large numbers of persons thronged the magnificent old structure, to scan the designs submitted by the competitors. Those which were ultimately selected have been executed in fresco for the two Houses; but, owing either to climate, or to a bad preparation of the colours, or to both causes combined, these fine works have greatly decayed during the short period since their execution. Prince Albert took a keen interest in fresco-painting, and caused a summer-house in the garden of Buckingham Palace to be decorated in this manner. The result was a series of eight pictures in illustration of Milton's "Comus." The artists were Sir Edwin Landseer, Maclise, Uwins, Eastlake, Leslie, Sir William Ross, Dyce, and Stanfield; and the progress of their work was closely watched by her Majesty and the Prince. Mr. Uwins, in a letter to a friend, written on the 15th of August, 1843, gives a very interesting account of the impression produced on his mind by the Queen and her gifted consort. "The Queen," he observes, "is full of intelligence, her observations very acute, and her judgment apparently matured beyond her age. It has happened to me in life to see something of many Royal personages, and I must say, with the single exception of the Duke of Kent, I have never met with any, either in England or on the Continent of Europe, who have impressed me so favourably as our reigning sovereign and her young and interesting husband. Coming to us twice a day, unannounced and without attendants, entirely stripped of all State and ceremony, courting conversation, and desiring rather *reason* than obedience, they have gained our admiration and love. . . . . Our peaceful pursuits are in accordance with the scene; and the opportunity of watching our proceedings seems to give a zest to the enjoyment of these moments snatched from State parade and ceremony. Here, too, the Royal children are brought out by their nurses, and the whole arrangement seems like real domestic pleasure."

On the 28th of August—the very day after the prorogation of Parliament—the Queen and Prince Albert embarked at Southampton, to spend a short time with the King of the French, who was staying at Château d'Eu, near Tréport. The voyagers sailed in their new yacht, *Victoria and Albert*, which was only just finished, but of which we have heard much in later years. For a couple of days they cruised about the Isle of Wight, and along the coast of Devonshire, and

then, crossing the Channel, arrived at Tréport on the evening of September 2nd. Louis Philippe came off in his barge to welcome the distinguished visitors, and was accompanied by several members of his family, by M. Guizot, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, by Lord Cowley, the English Ambassador at Paris, and by several officers and others. The English party were rowed ashore in the French barge, over which the Royal Standards of France and England floated in genial companionship. The reception of the Queen was such as almost to overpower her with emotion, and the whole visit appears to have yielded her Majesty the deepest satisfaction. The determination of the Queen and Prince Albert to cross over to France appears to have been unknown to the English Ministers until shortly before the time of starting. There were, of course, some rumours of such an intention; but even in the highest quarters they were disbelieved. In his "Journal," published in 1857, Mr. Raikes asserts that the whole affair "was a wily intrigue, managed by Louis Philippe through the intervention of his daughter, the Queen of the Belgians, during her frequent visits to Windsor with King Leopold, and was hailed by him with extreme joy, as the first admission of the King of the Barricades within the pale of legitimate sovereigns." The Duke of Wellington observed to Mr. Raikes, "I was never let into the secret, nor did I believe the report then in circulation, till at last they sent to consult my opinion as to forming a Regency during the Queen's absence. I immediately referred to precedents as the only proper guide. I told them that George I., George II. (George III. never went abroad), and George IV., had all been obliged to appoint Councils of Regency; that Henry VIII., when he met Francis I. at Ardres, was then master of Calais, as also when he met Charles V. at Gravelines; so that, in these instances, Calais being a part of his dominions, he hardly did more than pass his frontier—not much more than going from one county to the next. Upon this I decided that the Queen could not quit this country without an Act of Regency. But she consulted the Crown lawyers, who decided that it was not necessary." In days like our own, when the Government of the country is substantially conducted by the Queen's responsible Ministers, a Council of Regency, if the sovereign is to be absent only a few days, seems entirely unnecessary. The most questionable part of the visit to France in 1843 was the secrecy in which it was involved until shortly before the time of departure.

The Queen's stay in France, which lasted not more than five days, terminated on the 7th of September. Although courtly writers give one to understand that the only object of the Queen and Prince Albert was to make the personal acquaintance of the French King and his family, with whom they had long maintained cordial relations through the medium of correspondence, it is evident that at least one matter of politics was discussed between the two sovereigns and their Ministers. Louis Philippe was known to entertain a design to marry one of his sons to the Queen of Spain, or to a Spanish Princess, in the hope of renewing that connection between the two countries which has long been an alluring dream of French diplomacy. The project was regarded in England with

THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO FRANCE. (See p. 143.)

the utmost disfavour, and somewhat strained relations had ensued. On her visit to France, the Queen was accompanied by her Foreign Minister, the Earl of Aberdeen, and the matter was talked over by her Majesty, Prince Albert, and Lord Aberdeen, on the one hand, and the French monarch and M. Guizot on the other. In a letter to Baron Stockmar, written shortly after the return to England, Prince Albert states:—"Little passed of a political nature, except

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

the declaration of Louis Philippe to Aberdeen that he would not give his son to Spain, even if he were asked; and Aberdeen's answer, that, excepting one of his sons, any aspirant whom Spain might choose would be acceptable to England." We know now that the French King's promise was shamefully broken a few years later; but there was no reason at the time to disbelieve his word. England was not unnaturally disquieted by the prospect of an alliance between France and Spain; France, with equal reason, objected to the Queen of Spain marrying a Prince of the House of Coburg, which was the idea favoured by the English Court. Accordingly, a compromise was arranged by Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot, when it was settled that the French King should renounce all pretensions

on the part of any of his sons to the hand of the Queen of Spain; that the sovereign of that country should choose her husband from the descendants of Philip V., so as equally to exclude the Coburgs; and that, as regarded the contemplated marriage of the Duc de Montpensier, youngest son of Louis Philippe, with the Infanta Donna Maria Louisa, sister of the Queen of Spain, no such union should take place till the Queen was married, and had had children; in consideration of which promise, the Queen of England waived all objections to the marriage of Montpensier. The whole transaction seems to have been rather irregular; for negotiations of this nature are generally conducted between Cabinet and Cabinet, acting, of course, through their respective Foreign Ministers. In the present instance, however, the Queen's visit was kept secret as long as possible, and the negotiation was then settled by Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot quietly talking it over in a French château. The English visitors seem to have been effectually blinded and lulled to sleep by the wily courtesies of the French monarch; and we have the authority of Prince Albert that Lord Aberdeen was "thoroughly satisfied with everything, and made himself much liked." A few years later, he made himself "much liked" in Russia, with which country we were about to go to war on questions of gravity and moment. But for the present no one perceived how cleverly we had been tricked, and Lord Brougham wrote effusively to Prince Albert about "the admirable effects produced by the late excursion to France, and the sure tendency of this wise measure to create the best feelings between the two nations." The Prince himself believed that such would be the case; yet, the very next year, a war between France and England became imminent.

On returning from France, her Majesty and the Prince made a short stay at Brighton, and then started for Belgium on a visit to King Leopold. Leaving Brighton in the Royal yacht on the 12th of September, they arrived at Ostend on the 13th, and, after a six days' tour in Belgium, during which Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp were visited, returned to Windsor Castle on the 21st of September. "The old cities of Flanders," writes Prince Albert to Baron Stockmar, "had put on their fairest array, and were very tastefully decorated with tapestries, flowers, trees, pictures, &c., which, combined with the numerous old monuments, churches, and convents, and the gay crowds of people, produced a most peculiar effect. Victoria was greatly interested and impressed; and the cordiality and friendliness which met us everywhere could not fail to attract her towards the Belgian people." The travels of the Royal couple were now over for a time, and on the 25th of October Prince Albert accompanied the Queen to Cambridge, where his Royal Highness received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. Both were greeted with marked cordiality, and the Queen afterwards wrote with much satisfaction of the enthusiasm shown by all classes at that famous University, and particularly by the undergraduates. In a letter dated the 4th of November, Professor Sedgwick gave a lively account of the visit paid by the Royal party to the Woodwardian Museum. "The Queen," he said,

"seemed happy and well pleased, and was mightily taken with one or two of my monsters, especially with the Plesiosaurus and gigantic stag. The subject was new to her; but the Prince evidently had a good general knowledge of the old world, and not only asked good questions, and listened with great courtesy to all I had to say, but in one or two instances helped me on by pointing to the rare things in my collection, especially in that part of it which contains the German fossils. I thought myself very fortunate in being able to exhibit the finest collection of German fossils to be seen in England. They fairly went the round of the Museum; neither of them seemed in a hurry, and the Queen was quite happy to hear her husband talk about a novel subject with so much knowledge and spirit. He called her back once or twice to look at a fine impression of a dragon-fly which I have in the Solenhofen slate. Having glanced at the long succession of our fossils, from the youngest to the oldest, the party again moved into the lecture-room." The visit to Cambridge lasted only three days, and on the 28th of October the Royal party were back at Windsor.

In the latter days of November the Queen and Prince Albert visited Sir Robert Peel at Drayton Manor, the country seat of that statesman. While staying here, the Prince made a visit to Birmingham on the 20th of the month. Owing to the turbulent character of that town, where the principles of Chartism were in the ascendant, and riots had occurred but recently, Sir James Graham and some members of the Government considered it imprudent for his Royal Highness to venture into such a vortex of extravagant opinions. The Prince, however, was not unaware that his greatest enemies were to be found rather in the upper and official circles than among the populace; and he therefore did not fear throwing himself upon the hospitality of the Birmingham people. "The Mayor, who accompanied the Prince in the carriage," wrote Mr. Anson on the same day, "is said to be a Chartist, and to hold extreme views. He said that the visit had created the greatest enthusiasm;—that it had brought into unison and harmony opposite political parties, who had shown the deepest hatred towards each other; and that it had been productive of the happiest results in Birmingham. He also said he would vouch for the devoted loyalty of the whole Chartist body. The Queen had not more loyal subjects in her dominions." From Drayton Manor the Royal party proceeded to Chatsworth, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, and afterwards to Belvoir Castle, belonging to the Duke of Rutland. In the Belvoir neighbourhood the Prince distinguished himself in the hunting-field, though he had no great inclination for that kind of sport. It had been thought that his Royal Highness, as a scholar, and a man much given to retirement, was scarcely possessed of sufficient spirit to face the perils of the chase. He had therefore fallen a good deal in the estimation of men who consider that the larger part of human virtue is comprised in the ability to preserve a good seat on horseback, and to clear a five-barred gate with complete indifference as to what may be on the other side. His performances in the vicinity of Belvoir Castle completely re-established him in the estimation of

these persons, and, as Baron Stockmar afterwards observed, such a reputation was not without practical value while fox-hunting continued to be an English national pursuit. The Prince rode boldly and well, and, while some others were thrown, kept his saddle to the last.

One of the favourite studies of Prince Albert was that of agriculture—a science which he found in a very backward state in England, and which he did much to improve. The growing of crops and the rearing of live stock engaged

CHATSWORTH HOUSE, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

much of his attention, and he established a model farm in Windsor Park, which showed how much may be effected by intelligent supervision, and a systematic application of those scientific principles which modern times have placed at the disposal of enterprising men. At the chief agricultural shows, his name soon became familiar as a constant and often successful exhibitor, and nothing gave him greater pleasure than any notable achievement in this field of human industry. Speaking of the model works in Windsor Park, a contemporary writer observed that "the most practical man could not go that pleasant round, from the Flemish farm to the Norfolk, and so back again by the Home and the Dairy, without learning something wherever he went." The farm at Windsor was established about the end of 1840, and the Prince always took the greatest

interest in the working of his establishment. On the 30th of October, 1843, he wrote to Baron Stockmar that the prices of cattle were up again, and that he had netted a very good return from his auction in the Park. Since the death

LORD GOUGH. (*After the Portrait by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A.*)

his Royal Highness the farm has been continued with equal zeal by the ueen; and the Prince of Wales has also shown an intelligent interest in rsuits and experiments calculated to raise in no slight degree the productive wers of the country.

While the Queen was gaining a more extended knowledge of her home

dominions, and Prince Albert was interesting himself in many departments of science and art, some events were passing in India, to which brief reference should be made. During the Afghan war of 1838–9, the Anglo-Indian Government intimated its intention to take temporary possession of Shikarpoor, in Scinde, an independent State in the north-west of the Peninsula. The Ameers of Hyderabad and Mizpoor thereupon assented to a treaty which placed them under the control of Calcutta; but the people themselves never agreed to this sacrifice, and the British Residency at Hyderabad was attacked in the early part of 1843. Hereupon, the British envoy, Sir Charles James Napier, marched a large military force against the malcontents, routed them at Meeanee on the 17th of February, and, by a further victory on March 24th, completed the subjugation of Scinde. During the next two years the country continued in a state of extreme agitation, owing to the depredations of certain marauding tribes in the west; but these brigands were hunted down, and at length entirely extirpated, by the conqueror of Scinde, whose unresting energy and fiery resolution procured from him, from his half-admiring adversaries, the title of "the Devil's Brother." The administration of the province has greatly improved since then; but it may be questioned whether its annexation was not an act of high-handed power, which the concomitant circumstances were insufficient to justify.

In the latter part of the same year, another war broke out in Asia. The State of Gwalior, situated in Central India, had been under our protection since 1803; but the death of the native sovereign, in 1843, produced a degree of anarchy which led to the interposition of the British Government. Lord Ellenborough made a public announcement that he could "neither permit the existence of an unfriendly Government with the territories of Scindia" (the reigning family in that part of Hindostan), "nor that those territories should be without a Government capable of coercing its own subjects." This was on the 20th of December; on the 29th, the army of Gwalior, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, Commander-in-Chief, and in presence of the Governor-General, defeated the native forces at Maharajpoor. On the same day, the left wing of the army, under Major-General Grey, defeated the enemy at Punniar; and the strong fort of Gwalior, sometimes called "the Gibraltar of the East," was taken by our soldiers. By a treaty concluded in January, 1844, the native dynasty was permitted to retain 9,000 troops of its own, in addition to a large contingent under British authority; but some forty years later Gwalior was restored to its native prince Scindia.

CHAPTER IX.

IRELAND, RUSSIA, AND FRANCE.

O'Connell and the Agitation for Repeal of the Union—Early Life of the Agitator—Character of his Oratory—Question as to the Purity of his Motives—The "Repeal Year" (1843)—Methods by which O'Connell worked on Irish Opinion—Open-air Gatherings on the Repeal Question—Extravagant Speeches of O'Connell—Crowning of the Liberator on the Hill of Tara—Prohibition of a proposed Meeting at Clontarf—Arrest of the Chief Agitators—Trial, Condemnation, and Sentences—The Convictions annulled by the House of Lords—Release of O'Connell, and Final Years of his Life—Effect of the Prosecution on the Government of Sir Robert Peel—Death of Prince Albert's Father—Visit of the Prince to Saxe-Coburg-Gotha—His Presents to the Queen on her Birthday (1844)—Visits of the King of Saxony and the Emperor of Russia to England—Appearance and Manners of the Emperor—Political Objects of Nicholas in Visiting London—His Designs on Turkey—Memorandum of Agreement between the Czar and the English Government—Jealousy on the Part of the French—Ministerial Crisis in the Summer of 1844—Sir James Graham and the Opening of Letters at the Post Office—Disagreement with France with Respect to the Island of Tahiti—The Pritchard Affair—Queen Pomare and Queen Victoria—Anxieties of the English Court as to the Maintenance of Peace—The Ashburton Treaty with the United States.

IRELAND, always more or less disturbed, was excited nearly to the point of rebellion in 1843, owing to an agitation for the Repeal of the Union which had been originated by Daniel O'Connell, one of the most remarkable men of that epoch. O'Connell belonged to a good but impoverished family in Kerry, and was brought up as a lawyer. But Nature had designed him for little else than a political agitator, and the demand for Roman Catholic Emancipation, which began to acquire force in the early part of the present century, drew him into the whirlpool of public life. Whatever his faults and errors, he was unquestionably a devoted son of the Church to which he and his family belonged; and the Romanists of this realm suffered at that time from many unjust disabilities. In a few years he became the leader of the movement; and when the Act of 1829 was passed, O'Connell was regarded by the great mass of the Irish people as a hero who could always lead them to victory. When a very young man he was opposed to the union of the English and Irish Legislatures, and in 1841 he renewed an earlier agitation in favour of repealing that arrangement. As long as the Whigs were in power, or nearly so, O'Connell kept the national excitement within reasonable bounds; for he hoped to extort a good deal from a party which depended on extraneous support, and he was prepared to take less than his full demand, in the belief that an instalment in one year would prepare the way for complete payment in another. But, when it became evident that Sir Robert Peel would soon be Prime Minister, it was considered that nothing could be obtained except by means of an agitation carried to the extreme verge of legality, and apparently, if not really, threatening to pass beyond it.

The aims of O'Connell were far more national than political. He was studying in France when the great Revolution broke out, and its horrors made such an impression on his mind that he returned to his own country "half a Tory at heart." His views were never what might be called Radical or democratic

though in many respects liberal; but he was a consummate demagogue—that is to say, a man gifted with a marvellous capacity of exciting, swaying, and controlling the mobs which were at once the sources and the subjects of his power. To these results, his commanding figure, expressive countenance, and splendid voice, contributed not a little. It may be doubted if there has ever been so accomplished an agitator in the modern world: those of the ancient republics spoke to much smaller audiences. One secret of his success (so far as he can be said to have succeeded) lay in the complete harmony which existed between himself and the majority of the Irish people. His face declared him to be an unmixed Celt, of the Hibernian variety; and not merely his face, but every throb of his nature. Passionate, impulsive, violent in thought and in expression, boastful, wayward, pathetic, and humorous, he drew from all these qualities a species of eloquence peculiarly suited to the audiences he addressed. In the open air, on a bleak hill-side, he would bring together thousands of half-barbarian peasantry, and play upon them, as a master plays upon an instrument. He had the almost unparalleled gift of stimulating his hearers to the very brink of some mad outbreak, and of restraining them at the last moment. It must be recorded to the credit of O'Connell that he always repudiated and condemned the resort to physical force, and that he did actually avoid it. Yet the turmoil he created was almost as distracting as civil war, and the gigantic failure of the Repeal movement was written in gloomy characters all over Ireland.

O'Connell had sat in the Imperial Parliament since 1829; and even in the House of Commons his fervid and headlong eloquence was often most impressive. But his greatest triumphs belonged, doubtless, to what may be called the platform order of oratory. The champion of Repeal had an unexampled command over the vocabulary of abuse; though it must be admitted that some of his opponents were not far behind in this effective accomplishment. Not only was O'Connell in the habit of referring, in general terms, to "the base, brutal, and bloody Saxon" (by whom, it may be necessary to explain, he meant the English people), but he attacked particular individuals with a ferocity of invective which was frequently more ludicrous than terrible. Unquestionably he had some of the characteristics of a great orator; yet his style was often tawdry, and his sentiment overwrought. Partly, perhaps, by virtue of these very characteristics, he acquired such an influence over the Roman Catholic Irish that there were but few things they would not have done, or abstained from doing, at a word from him. How far he was an honest man is a subject which has been much disputed. It seems impossible to doubt that he loved his country, however imprudently; but it is also very difficult not to believe that he loved himself quite as much. In order to carry on his agitation he called for the formation of a fund which came to be termed the Repeal Rent, and which was derived almost entirely from the weekly contributions of the poverty-stricken cotters of Ireland. These payments went into the hands of the Liberator, as O'Connell was fondly called; and it was asserted by many that the larger part was expended by him

on his own gratifications. His advocates defend him in this respect by saying that he gave up a magnificent practice at the bar for the sake of conducting the Repeal movement, and that therefore he had a moral claim to some other source of income. But this is surely making patriotism easy, and even pleasant, after a fashion never before dreamt of by patriots of exalted character. It would appear also that in some instances O'Connell wrung their contributions from

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

the peasantry by absolute coercion, and that his ordinary dealings with his own tenants were particularly bad, since he acted as a "Middleman," who appropriated three times as much rent as he paid to the head-landlord.* It is no answer to such statements to say that O'Connell died poor, for the Repeal Rent—long the chief source of his income—had dwindled to nothing for some few years before his death.

At the beginning of 1843 the Liberator declared that that year was [illegible]

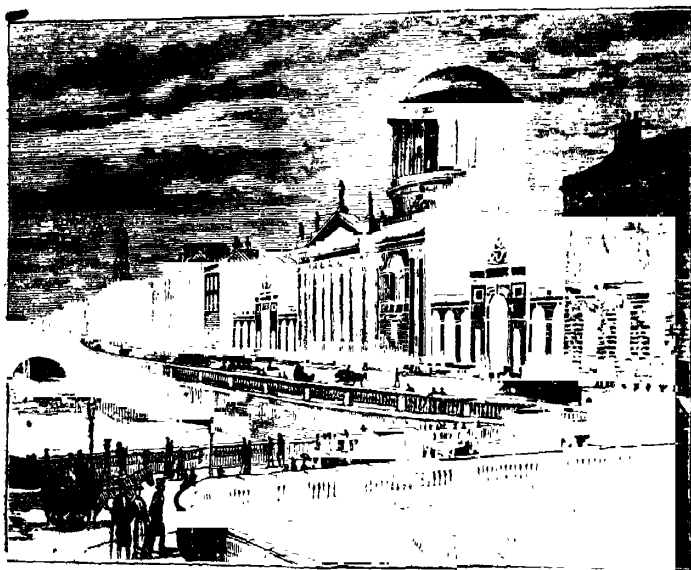
* Harriet Martineau's History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace.

should be "the Repeal Year." He had for several months been endeavouring to strike a blow at British commerce by directing his followers to refuse all articles of British manufacture, and by setting an example in the garments which he himself wore. But this had very little effect; for the poor, who form the majority in Ireland, could not afford to indulge their national antipathies at the cost of higher-priced and probably inferior goods. It was therefore necessary to hold open-air meetings on a gigantic scale and in quick succession, though in 1843 the arch-agitator was about sixty-eight years of age. O'Connell not unfrequently touched on the land question which has given so much trouble in more recent times, and flattered Irish agriculturists with the hope of obtaining farms at no great sacrifice on their own parts. But the main object of his life, after the achievement of Roman Catholic Emancipation, was the passing of a measure for Repeal. The methods he pursued were sometimes not a little puzzling to English minds. While using language towards the British Parliament and the British people which looked like an indirect incentive to rebellion, notwithstanding its saving clauses, O'Connell would pour out the most flattering homage to the Queen; even prophesying that the time would come when her Majesty would gladly fly from her Tory enemies, and seek refuge among her faithful Irish—with a view, it would seem to have been implied, of ruling England from Ireland. All this nonsense pleased those who listened to it; but it was only so much byplay. The real agitation was far more serious; at one time it looked formidable. From the spring to the autumn of 1843, numerous meetings (generally on Sunday, that more might attend) were held in various parts of Ireland, at the bidding of O'Connell, and with the sanction of the priesthood of all grades. They were attended by enormous numbers, several of whom had marched, in a semi-military fashion, many miles from their homes. It is said that at some of these gatherings no fewer than a quarter of a million persons were present; and it was remarked as singular that, during the agitation, crime became almost extinct. This was partly due to the sweet, persuasive exhortations of the Apostle of Temperance, Father Mathew, who had recently produced a most remarkable effect in checking drunkenness in Ireland, and causing many thousands to take the pledge of total abstinence. But it must in some degree be ascribed to the fact that the minds of the humbler classes were occupied by serious thoughts of a political character, and influenced by an excitement which left room for no other. The exultation of passion had for a time superseded the insane fury of the whisky-bottle.

At the open-air meetings the speeches of O'Connell were characterised by his most effective style of popular oratory. The unapproachable excellence of Ireland, the unexampled baseness and cruelty of England, were the themes on which he principally dwelt. All the miseries of his native land would be removed as soon as an Irish Parliament was once more sitting on College Green. That event would be brought about in not more than a year; and then the golden age of Ireland would begin. A good many picturesque but rather theatrical

accessories were introduced on these occasions. Banners, showy decorations and exciting music, accompanied the march of the peasantry, and at an unusually large meeting on the hill of Tara—a spot where the ancient kings of Ireland used to be elected—O'Connell himself was crowned with a species of semi-regal cap. This was on the 15th of August: on the 8th of October an immense meeting was to be held at Clontarf, three miles from Dublin. But the Government now thought that matters were proceeding to a dangerous length. They had already passed an Arms Act for Ireland, by which great restrictions were laid on the possession of deadly weapons; they had concentrated large bodies of troops in the disaffected country; and, by a proclamation issued on the 7th of October, they forbade the contemplated assemblage. It was certainly a wise resolution. In spite of his repeated declarations that nothing was to be done of an illegal nature, O'Connell had of late used several expressions well calculated to stir up an excitable people like the Irish to rebellion and civil war. There was unquestionably no slight danger of an outbreak, and it was high time for the "base, brutal, and bloody Saxon" to show that his patience had a limit.

Had the meeting been held, it is not improbable that a collision would have taken place between the populace and the soldiery. O'Connell, however, at once issued a proclamation of his own, declaring that the orders of the Lord Lieutenant must be obeyed, and that the people must return to their homes. Why the meeting was not forbidden by the Government until the very day before it was to be held, is a State secret which has never been explained. The people were already coming in from all the country round, and, as a large military force was massed together on the spot, it is wonderful that a sanguinary combat did not ensue. Some members of the Repeal Association stationed themselves on the roads approaching Clontarf to turn back as many as they could; but several arrived on the early morning of the 8th, and speedily found themselves between close lines of troops. The mandate of the Liberator, however, was obeyed with marvellous alacrity, and the meeting (such as it was) dispersed without any untoward event. The Government had at length done what it ought to have done before; and it was now resolved to take a further step—namely, to prosecute the chief agitator and his colleagues. O'Connell, his son, and eight others, were arrested on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling. Nothing could exceed the dismay of the Liberator at the prospect which now opened before him. He issued addresses to the people, passionately exhorting them to observe the utmost forbearance and moderation, and seemed to consider that his pacific words would utterly obliterate the effect of the inflammatory language he had used only a few weeks before. In point of fact, they nearly obliterated himself. The Repeal Association broke up into two camps. One, consisting of the older members, clung to their accustomed leader; the other, composed of all the youthful and fiery spirits, formed a new combination, which was afterwards known as that of "Young Ireland," and which openly declared its intention to rebel at the very earliest opportunity.

The proceedings against O'Connell and his associates commenced formally on the 2nd of November, 1843, in the Dublin Court of Queen's Bench; but the actual trial did not begin until the 16th of January, 1844. Owing, it would seem, to some error, the jury consisted entirely of Protestants, who, as a rule, were not likely to have much regard for the author of Roman Catholic Emancipation; but whether this circumstance, however unfortunate and objectionable, had any real effect upon the verdict, it would be somewhat dangerous to pronounce. The trial did not terminate until the 12th of February, nor was

THE FOUR COURTS, DUBLIN.

sentence passed before the 30th of May, 1844. With one exception, all the prisoners were found guilty, and sentences of varying severity were pronounced. O'Connell was condemned to one year's imprisonment, to pay a fine of £2,000, and to enter into security and recognisances, in the sum of £5,000, for his good behaviour during a term of seven years. The others were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, together with a fine of £50, and were ordered to find securities for the same period as their leader, in the sum of £1,000. They were removed to the Richmond Penitentiary at Dublin. The Liberator issued a proclamation to the Irish people, commanding them to keep perfectly quiet; but at the same time he transmitted a writ of error to London, in order that the legality of the sentence might be reconsidered. The Lords, to whom the appeal was made, referred the matter to the twelve Judges; the Judges were not

agreed as to the technical points involved; and the question went back again to the Lords. The decision now rested with four Law Lords, three of whom

OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN.

—Lords Denman, Cottenham, and Campbell—voted that the judgment of the Irish Court should be reversed. The only dissentient was Lord Brougham; but his single vote was, of course, inoperative. O'Connell, therefore, had gained a legal triumph, and he was released from prison in the midst of a popular ovation. The decision of the Lords was pronounced on the 4th of September,

by which time, O'Connell and his friends had already undergone a considerable portion of their imprisonment. They had been treated with great leniency, however, and O'Connell was allowed to see his admirers in jail to an extent which appears to have positively injured his health. Certain it is that he was never again the vigorous man he had been; but this result was probably owing in a much greater degree to disappointment, and humiliation of spirit. His power had passed away from him. Younger and more energetic men were taking his place; the English Government had shown its power to handle the agitator firmly; age was creeping upon him; and he did little more during the remainder of his days. In the latter part of 1846 his health and spirits were so completely broken that he could not endure any allusions to his beloved Ireland and her future. Early in 1847 he commenced a journey to Rome, where he desired to close his career in the very bosom of the Church to which he had always been attached. His mind was tortured by many painful memories, for in his earlier years his life had been open to reproach in more ways than one. An overmastering dread of death now came upon him, and one of his last fears was that he should be buried alive. His earnest desire to reach the Eternal City was denied him. He could get no farther than Genoa; and there he expired on the 15th of May, 1847, leaving behind him a great, but on the whole not a happy, reputation.

It was feared by many persons in England that the trial and conviction of O'Connell would raise such a tumult amongst the Irish party in the Legislature, and their Liberal allies, as to endanger the existence of the Government. This proved not to be the fact; but it was certainly a reasonable forecast, and it was the view formed by Baron Stockmar, who from his German home watched with interest the progress of events in England and Ireland. In a letter to Prince Albert, dated November 27th, 1843, he says:—"It is an old principle with me, to form no judgments at a distance upon matters which lie far away from my sphere of observation. Consequently, I can only express mere feelings in so far as personal matters are concerned. The news of the O'Connell trial took me by surprise, and threw me into an uneasy state of mind, that set me thinking, not so much what might ensue from a favourable or unfavourable issue to the prosecution, as what the Ministry are to do with their victory, supposing them to get one. To my thinking, victory is likely to prove more dangerous than failure; and apprehensions seized me, which I still entertain, that this trial may very possibly lead to a speedy termination of the Peel Ministry." Not only was this anticipation falsified, but the Government gained in strength from its virtual triumph over O'Connell. Measures of a really beneficial character to Ireland were passed about this period, and for a time the disaffection of the country underwent considerable abatement.

In the early part of 1844 a great affliction fell upon Prince Albert. His father died on the 29th of January, and, although such an event had been anticipated for some time past, the shock was none the less on that account.

The grief of the Queen was almost equal to the Prince's own, and a deep gloom settled down upon the Royal circle. On the 4th of February Prince Albert wrote to Baron Stockmar:—"God will give us all strength to bear the blow becomingly. That we were separated gives it a peculiar poignancy. Not to see him, not to be present to close his eyes, not to help to comfort those he leaves behind, and to be comforted by them, is very hard. Here we sit together, poor Mamma, Victorie, and myself, and weep, with a great, cold public around us, insensible as stone. To have some true, sympathetic friend at hand would be a great solace. Come to us in this time of trouble, if come you can. . . . . The world is assuredly not our true happiness; and, alas! every day's experience forces me to see how wicked men are. Every imaginable calumny is heaped upon us, especially upon me; and although a pure nature, conscious of its own high purposes, is and ought to be lifted above attacks, still it is painful to be misrepresented by people of whom one believed better things." On the 28th of March the Prince left England for his father's small dominions, in order to assist his brother Ernest in commencing his duties as the reigning Duke. It was the first time that he and the Queen had ever been parted since their marriage, and both felt the separation acutely. Two days before the Prince's departure the Queen of the Belgians reached Buckingham Palace, to spend a brief time with the English sovereign during the period of her solitude; and King Leopold himself arrived a few days later. On the 11th of April the Prince was back again at Windsor. He records in his diary that he arrived at six o'clock in the evening, in the midst of "great joy."

The Queen's birthday was approaching even before the Prince left England; and the latter had already given orders for the preparation of two gifts to her Majesty, which he knew would be very acceptable. On the 5th of March Prince Albert asked Mr. Eastlake, the painter, if he could execute by the 24th of May a little picture of angels, such as he had introduced into his fresco in the pavilion of Buckingham Palace Gardens. He promised to do the picture by the time mentioned, although he was already at work on one for her Majesty. The other present was a miniature portrait of the Prince himself, by Thorburn, taken in armour, in accordance with a wish frequently expressed by the Queen. The portrait is a full-length, and is said by her Majesty to give the Prince's real expression more than anything that she knew. "During the fatal illness, and on the last morning of his life," she writes on the 20th of December, 1873, "he was wonderfully like this picture." The lower part of the face was done in half an hour, and the whole character and aspect are extremely noble. The two pictures were presented to the Queen on her birthday, at Claremont, where the Royal couple were staying.

The King of Saxony was at this time expected at Buckingham Palace, and he arrived there on the 1st of June. Only two days before, her Majesty and the Prince had been somewhat surprised at hearing that the Emperor of Russia was on his way to visit the English Court, and that he might be looked for at almost

moment. He reached London on the night of June 1st, and remained until the following morning at the Russian Embassy. Next day he was brought by Prince Albert to Buckingham Palace, where he became the guest of her Majesty, though he again went to the Embassy at night, having resolved for the present not to occupy the apartments prepared for him at the Palace. On the 3rd of June he was escorted by Prince Albert from the Slough Station to Windsor Castle, whither the Court had now removed.

The habits of this Northern potentate were in some respects remarkably simple and austere. All through his life he slept on a leathern sack, stuffed with hay or straw. The sack thus filled was stretched upon a camp-bed, and the Emperor never intermitted this custom, even when on a visit to foreign Courts. He produced a very marked impression on the Queen and Prince Albert, and the former, writing to her uncle, the King of the Belgians, on the 4th of June, observes of the Emperor:—"He is certainly a very striking man, still very handsome; his profile is beautiful, and his manners most dignified and graceful; extremely civil, quite alarmingly so, as he is so full of attention and *politesse*. But the expression of the eyes is severe, and unlike anything I ever saw before. He gives Albert and myself the impression of a man who is not happy, and on whom the burden of his immense power and position weighs heavily and painfully. He seldom smiles, and, when he does, the expression is not a happy one. He is very easy to get on with." Lady Lyttelton says in one of her letters:—"The only fault in his face is that he has pale eyelashes, and his enormous and very brilliant eyes have no shade; besides which, they have the awful look given by occasional glimpses of white above the eyeball, which comes from his father Paul, I suppose, and gives a savage wildness, for a moment, pretty often."

He and the King of Saxony were delighted with Windsor, and the Emperor said that the English Court was conducted on the noblest scale of any Court he had ever seen, everything being done without effort, and as if it were the ordinary condition of affairs. The Autocrat of the Russias abounded in gallant speeches to the British sovereign, and pleased her much by his high praises of Prince Albert. Her Majesty was at first a good deal opposed to the visit, seeming to entertain some vague feelings of apprehension on political grounds; but, after a few days, she conceived a sentiment of friendship for him, and in writing to King Leopold expressed her conviction that he was truthful and sincere. She did not regard him as very clever, and she saw that his mind was far from cultivated. The arts, which were so dear to her own husband, he regarded with entire want of interest, and confined his attention solely to politics and military affairs. He showed much alarm about the condition of the East, and professed the greatest anxiety to be on good terms with Great Britain. Speaking of sovereign rulers to her Majesty, he made use of an expression which was very remarkable as coming from him; being to the effect that in modern times all princes should strive to make themselves worthy of their position, so as to reconcile people to the fact of their being princes. This

does not seem much in accordance with the ideas or practices of the Czar Nicholas; but his discernment may have taught him what his position, his passions, or his habits, did not allow him to carry out.

The Russian Emperor and the King of Saxony attended Ascot Races on the 4th of June, and witnessed a review in Windsor Park on the 5th. Every evening, a great dinner was served in the Waterloo Room at Windsor Castle.

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS.

Visits were likewise paid to the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, at Chiswick, and to the Opera; and the Emperor seems to have been really much pleased by his reception. There can be no doubt that he had a political object in coming to England. Turkey was engaging much of his attention, as it had done in earlier years, and he was deeply desirous of carrying out the traditional policy of Russia, as it had been formulated from the days of Peter the Great. He saw that Turkey was in an impoverished and weakened state, partly in consequence of his own acts, and those of his predecessors; and he thought the time had come when some approach should be made towards an understanding with England as to what should be done with the Sultan's inheritance when he could no longer hold it for himself. With this view, he talked a good deal with

Prince Albert, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Aberdeen. His desire to propitiate the good opinion of the English Government and people was most evident; but the events of later years showed but too plainly with what objects he pursued these conciliatory efforts. The cordial relations which had long existed between England and France were viewed by Nicholas with great distrust and jealousy; for he feared—what, in fact, afterwards occurred—that the two Powers might combine to restrain his ambition in the East. He wished to break up the good feeling between England and France, but met with no encouragement in this respect from Sir Robert Peel. He said that he did not covet an inch of Turkish soil for himself, but that he would not allow anybody else to have one. This, of course, was spoken with reference to France, who had undoubtedly, a few years before, shown a disposition to establish herself in Syria and Egypt. Sir Robert Peel replied by answering that no Government should be created in Egypt too powerful to close the passage across that country to the commerce or the mails of England.

The conversation with the English Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs took the ultimate form of a Memorandum drawn up by Count Nesselrode by order of the Emperor after his return to St. Petersburg. Being transmitted to England, this document was deposited in the secret archives of the Foreign Office, but made public some ten years later, at the period of the Crimean War. "Russia and England," said the Memorandum, "are mutually penetrated with the conviction that it is for their common interest that the Ottoman Porte should maintain itself in the state of independence and of territorial possession which at present constitutes that Empire, as that political combination is the one which is most compatible with the general interest of the maintenance of peace. Being agreed on this principle, Russia and England have an equal interest in uniting their efforts in order to keep up the Ottoman Empire, and to avert all the dangers which can place in jeopardy its safety." The Memorandum then went on to observe that the Porte had a constant tendency to extricate itself from engagements imposed upon it by treaties concluded with other Powers; that it hoped to do so with impunity, because it reckoned upon the mutual jealousy of the Cabinets; that, when coming into collision with any one of the Powers on this account, it relied on the others to espouse its quarrel; that it was essential not to confirm the Porte in this delusion; and that every time it failed in its obligations towards one of the Great Powers, it was the interest of all the rest to bring their influence to bear upon the offender. "The object for which Russia and England will have to come to an understanding," the Memorandum went on to say, "may be expressed in the following manner:—(1) To seek to maintain the existence of the Ottoman Empire in its present state, so long as that political combination shall be possible. (2) If we foresee that it must crumble to pieces, to enter into previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of a new order of things, intended to replace that which now exists, and, in conjunction with each other, to see that

the change which may have occurred in the internal situation of their Empire shall not injuriously affect either the security of their own States, and the rights which the treaties assure to them respectively, or the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe." The Emperor declared that Russia and Austria were agreed as to this policy, and that, if England, as the principal maritime Power, would act in concert with them, France would in all probability be obliged to follow the same course, and thus the peace of Europe would be maintained. The fixed intention of Russia, to take the earliest opportunity of making a combined attack upon Turkey, is glaringly apparent throughout this document; and it is little to the credit of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen that they should have given any sanction whatever to such a project. The Memorandum of 1844 enabled the Russian Emperor, in 1854, to allege a common understanding with England, in defence of his designs against Turkey. The Earl of Aberdeen was probably the moving spirit in the matter, so far as Great Britain was concerned; and it is one of many proofs that that Minister had far too kindly a regard for the interests of the Northern Power.

Nicholas quitted London on the 9th of June, after producing a very good impression on the ladies and gentlemen of the Court by his magnificent presents of jewels to the former, and, as regarded the latter, by the gift of a very valuable cup, to be annually run for at Ascot, which he had visited twice during his brief stay. Whether he produced an equally good impression on the mass of the English people, is a very doubtful matter. It was said at the time that he was hissed on one occasion, when driving out with the Queen; and it is probable that such was the fact. He was disliked as a despot; his conduct towards Poland was viewed with detestation; and that he had designs on India, was suspected and believed by many. But his reception at the English Court was sufficiently warm to create a feeling of irritation on the part of the French, who inferred—not altogether without reason—that some secret arrangement had been made to the prejudice of their interests. It was feared for a time that this sentiment would have the effect of setting aside a visit to England which had been contemplated by Louis Philippe since the visit of the Queen and Prince Albert to that monarch in the previous year. Alluding to the fear that this compliment might not be paid, in consequence of what had happened with the Emperor, her Majesty, in writing to King Leopold, says:—"I hope that you will persuade the King (Louis Philippe) to come all the same in September. Our motives and politics are, *not* to be exclusive, but to be on good terms with all—and why should we not? We make no secret of it." The King of Saxony left England on the 19th of June, and the Court now returned to its usual and somewhat quiet routine.

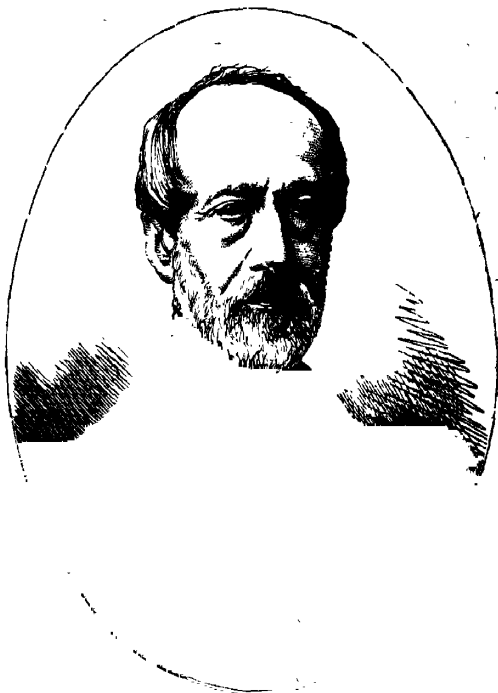
Parliament had been opened by the Queen in person on the 1st of February, and all had gone on fairly well for some months. The financial policy of Sir Robert Peel had led to admirable results, and at the close of the year ending the 5th of April, 1844, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced a surplus of

£4,165,000, which, after deducting what was required to pay off the deficiency of the previous year, left a balance of £1,400,000. It might have been supposed that all political parties would have been equally pleased with so fortunate a condition; but many amongst the supporters of Sir Robert Peel himself were dissatisfied with what had been done, because it was effected in despite of their own Protectionist views. On the 14th of June, accordingly, they voted in force against the resolutions proposed by the Government upon the Sugar Duties. An amendment to those resolutions was brought forward, and, on a division,

CATHEDRAL OF ST. ISAAC, ST. PETERSBURG.

Ministers found themselves in a minority of twenty in a House of 462. The Premier and his principal colleagues were disposed to resign at once; but at a large meeting of Conservatives, held on the 17th of June, so much confidence in the Government was expressed, that Peel hesitated in his intention, and, on the evening of the same day, a vote in Committee reversed the decision of the 14th. The Prime Minister had clearly intimated that, unless such a reversal was obtained, he should resign office; and the threat had doubtless operated on many who delighted to embarrass the Ministry, but did not wish to see it upset.

Another disagreeable circumstance occurred at the same time. On the 14th of June, Mr. Thomas Duncombe presented to the House of Commons a petition from the Italian revolutionist, Signor Mazzini, and three others, complaining

that during the past month a number of their letters, passing through the General Post Office—letters, they averred, written for no political purpose, and containing no treasonable or libellous matter—had been regularly detained and opened. The circumstance led to great excitement at the time, and many not belonging to the extreme order of politicians condemned the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, for the course he had adopted. Mr. Carlyle wrote to the

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

Times, setting forth that he had known Signor Mazzini for several years, and that he considered him "a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of mind;" moreover, that opening a man's letters was nearly akin to picking his pockets, and even to still viler forms of scoundrelism. The writer, however, admitted that letters might be opened if a Gunpowder Plot were imminent, or some national wreck were not far off; but he would on no account sanction the practice until those conditions had been fulfilled. Now, the plain truth of the matter appears to have been this —that Signor Mazzini had taken advantage of his place of refuge in England to conspire with divers Republicans in Italy for the destruction of Austrian

and Papal despotism in that peninsula. The intentions of these [illegible] have been admirable, and certainly the annihilation of the tyranny [illegible] which they conspired was highly desirable, in the interests both of [illegible] and the whole world. But it is not proper for any Government to allow foreigners living under its protection to conspire against other States with which the protecting country is at peace. Sir James Graham had reason to believe that Mazzini was occupied in doing this very thing, and he showed conclusively that the Secretary of State had been invested by Parliament with the power, in certain cases, of issuing warrants, by virtue of which letters might be opened. Some former Home Secretaries declared that they had used this power, and the case began to assume another aspect. A Secret Committee of the two Houses, however, was appointed to inquire into the law and practice of opening private letters at the Post Office. The Report of this Committee showed that the annual average of warrants, at no time very high, had in recent years decreased rather than augmented, and that Sir James Graham had been particularly conscientious in the exercise of his right; and the outcry soon died away.

Difficulties with France occurred during the year 1844, which were doubtless aggravated by the irritable state of French opinion consequent on the apprehension that England was intriguing with Russia against the interests of France in the East. The island of Otaheite, or Tahiti, situated in the South Pacific Ocean, had for the last two years been a subject of contention between France and England. The territory was visited by Commodore Byron in 1765, and two years later by Captain Wallis, who called it George III. Island. It was explored by Captain Cook in 1768 and two subsequent years. In 1799 the district of Matavai was ceded to some English missionaries; so that, as far as European Powers were concerned, the island seems to have belonged more to England than to any other country. But, on the 9th of September, 1842, Queen Pomare was compelled to put herself under the protection of France. She soon afterwards retracted her enforced consent, and Tahiti, together with the neighbouring islands, was then seized by Admiral Dupetit Thouars in the name of the French King. The natives of Tahiti, as of the Society Islands generally, had shown considerable readiness to adopt the ways of civilisation, and the Protestant missionaries sent out by England had effected a considerable improvement in their habits. After a time, certain Roman Catholic missionaries made their appearance in the island, and endeavoured to interfere with that part of the population which had already been converted by the Protestants. Quarrels very naturally ensued, and France interposed on behalf of her fellow-believers. Such was the origin of the disagreements between France and England with respect to Tahiti. Public feeling in both countries was greatly inflamed; but the French Government, in deference to English remonstrances, represented that they would be satisfied with simply exercising a Protectorate over the islands. The opposition in the French Chambers characterised this concession [illegible]

[illegible] this case.

This was rendered all the more probable in the early part of [illegible] on the 2nd of March, a French sentinel was disarmed by the [illegible] French Commandant chose to consider the English missionary [illegible] Mr. Pritchard, the instigator of this act, and he caused him to be [illegible] arrested, and thrown into prison. "His property," wrote the Commandant (D'Aubigny), in an excited proclamation, "shall be answerable for [illegible] occasioned to our establishments by the insurgents; and if [illegible] spilt, every drop shall recoil on his head." Pritchard was [illegible] from prison, but expelled the island, and, on arriving in England [illegible] ferment of public indignation on the subject of his wrongs. The [illegible] of Sir Robert Peel demanded satisfaction of France for the gross [illegible] had been committed on a British subject; and both the King and [illegible] were willing that this should be done. But it is no easy matter [illegible] just on such an occasion. Every Government must take some [illegible] sentiment existing amongst its population, and France [illegible] state of fiery wrath against England. Nevertheless, the matter [illegible] after an interval of some months. On the last day of the session [illegible] 5th) Sir Robert Peel announced that the French Ministry had [illegible] pensate Pritchard for his sufferings and losses. Queen Pomare [illegible] as a matter of form, to enjoy the Royal dignity; but the French [illegible] masters of the island. The termination of the affair was not altogether [illegible] factory, for Queen Pomare had long been our faithful ally, and [illegible] by the French, had written a touching letter to the English Queen, [illegible] she said, "Do not cast me away, my friend. I run to you for [illegible] covered under your great shadow; the same that afforded relief [illegible] by your fathers, who are now dead, and whose kingdoms have [illegible] us, the weaker vessels." To have taken up the cause of Queen [illegible] however, would in all probability have led to hostilities between England and France; and Queen Victoria, therefore, could do nothing for the assistance of this poor barbarian.

Before the settlement of this burning question, her Majesty had, on the 6th of August, given birth to a second son at Windsor Castle. The Royal child was afterwards christened Alfred, but is better known to the present generation as the Duke of Edinburgh. Writing to King Leopold shortly after her confinement, the Queen said:—"The only thing, almost, to mar our happiness is the heavy and threatening cloud which hangs over our relations with France, [illegible] which, I assure you, distresses and alarms us sadly. The whole nation [illegible] are very angry. . . . God grant all may come right, and I am still [illegible] cheer; but the French keep us constantly in hot water." On the [illegible] August her Majesty again wrote to the Belgian sovereign:—"The [illegible] political cloud, I hope, looks less black and lowering. But [illegible]

unwise in Guizot not to have at once discovered D'Aubigny for what you yourself call an 'outrage,' instead of allowing it to drag on for four weeks, and letting our people get excited." After the matter had been settled, the Queen remarked that they must try to prevent such difficulties in the future;

THE MARBLE HALL, BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

(From a Photograph by H. N. King.)

but this, unfortunately, is impossible while nations are so apt to set up a false standard of honour in the place of justice.

One of the pacific successes of the Peel Administration was the conclusion of the Ashburton Treaty with the Government of the United States. A good deal of mutual irritation had existed for several years, owing to the absence of a distinct and undisputed boundary between Canada and the State of Maine. The matter had at one time been referred to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands; but neither party would accept his award. Sir Robert Peel,

therefore, sent out a special negotiator in the person of Lord Ashburton, a member of the great commercial family of the Barings. The American representative was the Secretary of State, Mr. Webster—a man of the highest ability, both as an orator and a statesman; and, after much discussion, a treaty was signed at Washington on the 9th of August, 1842. The boundary thus established was said to give England a better military frontier than she had

THE QUEEN AND THE REAPERS AT BLAIR CASTLE. (*See p* 171.)

possessed before, and it certainly included some heights commanding the St. Lawrence which had not been assigned to us by the King of the Netherlands. The conclusion of this treaty was announced to Parliament at the opening of the session of 1843, and Sir Robert Peel claimed credit for having brought about so favourable an adjustment. This, however, was not the view entertained by the Opposition; and Lord Palmerston, in calling the attention of the House of Commons to the treaty, on the 21st of March, 1843, described it as "the Ashburton capitulation." Undoubtedly, the larger part of the disputed territory was handed over to the United States, and it has since been generally considered by Englishmen that Mr. Webster demanded and obtained more than his country was entitled to. Some other clauses of the treaty were excellent. Provision was made for the better suppression of the slave traffic, and it was agreed

that each country should render up to the other certain classes of criminals against whom a sufficient case should be established by due legal process. Lord Palmerston could never tolerate the Ashburton Treaty so far as the territorial rearrangement was concerned. He thought it would be productive of many evil consequences; but it was high time that a vexatious question, creating a certain amount of ill-will, should be brought to a final settlement. The Ashburton Treaty was perhaps the best that could be effected, and Englishmen have long ceased to consider its details.

CHAPTER X.

DAYS OF PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS.

Visit of the Prince of Prussia to England—Christening of Prince Alfred at Windsor Castle—Second Visit to the Highlands in the Autumn of 1844—Louis Philippe in England—His Reception at Windsor—Interchange of Courtesies between English and French Officers—Opening of the New Royal Exchange by the Queen—Letters of her Majesty and Prince Albert on the Occasion—Scientific Progress: the Electric Telegraph, Photography, Lord Rosse's Telescope, the Thames Tunnel, and Arctic Exploration—Tractarian Difficulties in the Church—Purchase of Osborne by the Queen—Visits of her Majesty and the Prince to Stowe and Strathfieldsaye—Opening of Parliament by the Queen (Feb. 4th, 1845)—Financial Statement of Sir Robert Peel—Reduction and Abolition of Duties—Acrimonious Debates on the Proposed Queen's Colleges in Ireland, and the Increase of the Maynooth Grant—Retirement of Mr Gladstone from the Ministry—Admission of Jews to Municipal Offices—Results of Sir Robert Peel's Financial Policy—Economy in the Royal Household—Project for making Prince Albert King Consort—The Chief Command of the Army.

WHILE the Queen and Prince Albert were contemplating, in the late summer of 1844, a second tour in Scotland, they received a visit at Windsor from one who afterwards became illustrious on the stage of European history, as the German Emperor. The Prince of Prussia, brother of the reigning King, arrived at the Castle on the 31st of August, and was described by the Queen as amiable, sensible, amusing, and frank. Her Majesty thought he would make a steadier and safer King than his brother, and it cannot be doubted but that his reign was actually more successful and more distinguished. The Prince was at that time forty-seven years of age. As a youth, he had taken part in the campaigns against France in 1813, 1814, and 1815, and was then holding the post of Governor of Pomerania. He was therefore, even in 1844, a man of some experience in affairs, and he showed no little penetration in discriminating between the adaptability of the British Constitution to the needs of the British people as those needs were then, and its fitness for Continental nations, where the surroundings are wholly different. His visit to England was short, but, before he left, he attended, in the Private Chapel at Windsor Castle, on the 6th of September, the christening

of the infant Prince, to whom were given the names of Alfred [illegible] The sponsors on this occasion were Prince George of Cambridge, represented by his father, the Duke of Cambridge; the Prince of Leiningen, represented by the Duke of Wellington; and H.R.H. the Duchess of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, represented by H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent. The scene in the chapel was very solemn, and the Queen records its effect on her in a few heartfelt words preserved in her Journal.

It had been the intention of her Majesty to visit Ireland in the autumn of 1844; but the excitement in that country, consequent on the Repeal agitation, the trial of O'Connell, and the subsequent release of the agitator, made it imprudent for the sovereign and her consort to trust themselves in the sister island. They accordingly fell back on another Scottish tour, the remembrance of the earlier one having induced in both a strong desire to repeat so agreeable an experience. The Royal party started on the 9th of September, and sailed from Woolwich in the yacht *Victoria and Albert*. On the 11th, they entered the Frith of Tay, and landed at Dundee. From this place they advanced in a north-westerly direction into the Highlands, where they took up their residence at Blair Castle, Blair Athole, the seat of Lord Glenlyon (afterwards the Duke of Athole), who placed his house and grounds at the disposal of her Majesty. The road thither is exceedingly picturesque, with high hills and deep woods, and part of it led through the Pass of Killiecrankie, the beauty of which drew forth warm praises from Prince Albert. All around the scenery is of the most magnificent description, and the wildness of the prospects, the purity of the air, and the softness of the sunshine, not only gave the deepest delight to the Royal visitors, but had a beneficial influence on their health. They got up early in the morning, and therefore had full enjoyment of the best part of the day. One morning, a lady, plainly dressed, issued from the gates of Blair Athole, and passed the Highland guard without being noticed. When it was discovered that this lady was the Queen, a party of Highlanders turned out as a body-guard, but were told that their services were not required. Her Majesty then passed on to the lodge, where Lord and Lady Glenlyon were dwelling for the time. She was informed that his Lordship was not yet up, and the servant was much astonished to hear who the early visitor was. On her return the Queen lost her way, and was directed by some reapers which path she should take to reach Blair Castle. In the after-part of the same day her Majesty and the Prince went on an excursion with Lord Glenlyon. Writing to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg on the 22nd of September, Prince Albert says:—"We are all well, and live a somewhat primitive, yet romantic, mountain life, that acts as a tonic to the nerves, and gladdens the heart of a lover, like myself, of field-sports and of Nature." And the Queen says in her Diary that, "independently of the beautiful scenery, there was a quiet, a retirement, a wildness, a liberty, and a solitude," about their surroundings,

which possessed an exquisite charm for both. The Royal party left Blair Castle on the 1st of October, and were again at Windsor on the 3rd.

Three days later the King of the French landed at Portsmouth. Many of the French newspapers were strongly opposed to his coming, on account of the Tahiti affair, in which it was considered by extreme politicians that France had been injured and outwitted by England. But Louis Philippe and M. Guizot determined that the visit should take place, as the most likely way of restoring the good relations of the two countries. At Portsmouth, the King was received by the naval authorities of the place, and, before landing, the Mayor and Corporation presented him with an address, in answer to which he said:—"I have not forgotten the many kindnesses I have received from your countrymen during my residence among you many years since. At that period, I was frequently pained at the existence of differences and feuds between our countries. I assure you, gentlemen, I shall endeavour at all times to prevent a repetition of those feelings and that conduct, believing, as I do most sincerely, that the happiness and prosperity of a nation depend quite as much on the peace of those nations by which it is surrounded as on quiet within its own dominions." The Duke of Wellington went with Prince Albert to receive the King on his arrival, and accompanied him to Windsor Castle. Louis Philippe was much moved at his reception by the Queen, and his hand shook somewhat as he alighted from his carriage. He was the first French sovereign who had ever come on a visit to the monarch of Great Britain; so that the occasion was a very memorable one. It must in fairness be acknowledged that the King of the Barricades, as he used to be called, entertained a friendly feeling towards England, where he had spent some of his early days of exile, so that he was sincerely desirous of preserving peace between the two dominions. He delighted to visit all his old haunts in the neighbourhood of Twickenham and Claremont. His conversation was very sprightly, and he recalled the old revolutionary days when, being compelled to seek refuge in the Grisons, under the name of Chabot, he acted as teacher in a school, where he received twenty pence a day, and had to brush his own shoes.

Wherever he went, the reception of the French King was much more hearty than that of the Emperor of Russia a few months before, and he was enchanted with all he saw and heard. On the 9th of October he was invested by her Majesty with the Order of the Garter, and on the 12th received the Corporation of the City of London, who journeyed down to Windsor to pay their respects. The King left England on the 13th. His original intention was to return, as he had come, by way of Portsmouth; but, on his arrival at that harbour on the 12th, accompanied by the Queen and Prince Albert, the weather proved too rough for so long a passage, and Louis Philippe therefore travelled up to London, and on the following day crossed from Dover to Calais. The French Admiral and his officers, who were to have conveyed the King back to Tréport, were much vexed at being disappointed of that honour; and, as

RECEPTION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE AT WINDSOR CASTLE. (See p. 172.)

some kind of compensation, the Queen and Prince Albert breakfasted next morning on board the frigate which had brought Louis Philippe over. Her Majesty excited the highest enthusiasm of the French officers by proposing and drinking the King's health. There had in fact been much interchange of courtesies between the French visitors and the English officers stationed at Portsmouth; but it may be questioned whether these mutual compliments did not sometimes a little transgress the limits of sincerity. The Earl of Malmesbury is probably not far wrong when he records in his Memoirs:—"The officers of the French fleet have met with a most enthusiastic reception at Portsmouth. The English officers gave them a ball and a dinner; healths were drunk, and speeches made, and an immense quantity of humbug exchanged; but the French like that, so I hope it will put them in good humour." The worst of these receptions is, that, although they may be sincere up to a certain point, they have a tendency to run into extravagance, and may thus provoke a reaction at some future date.

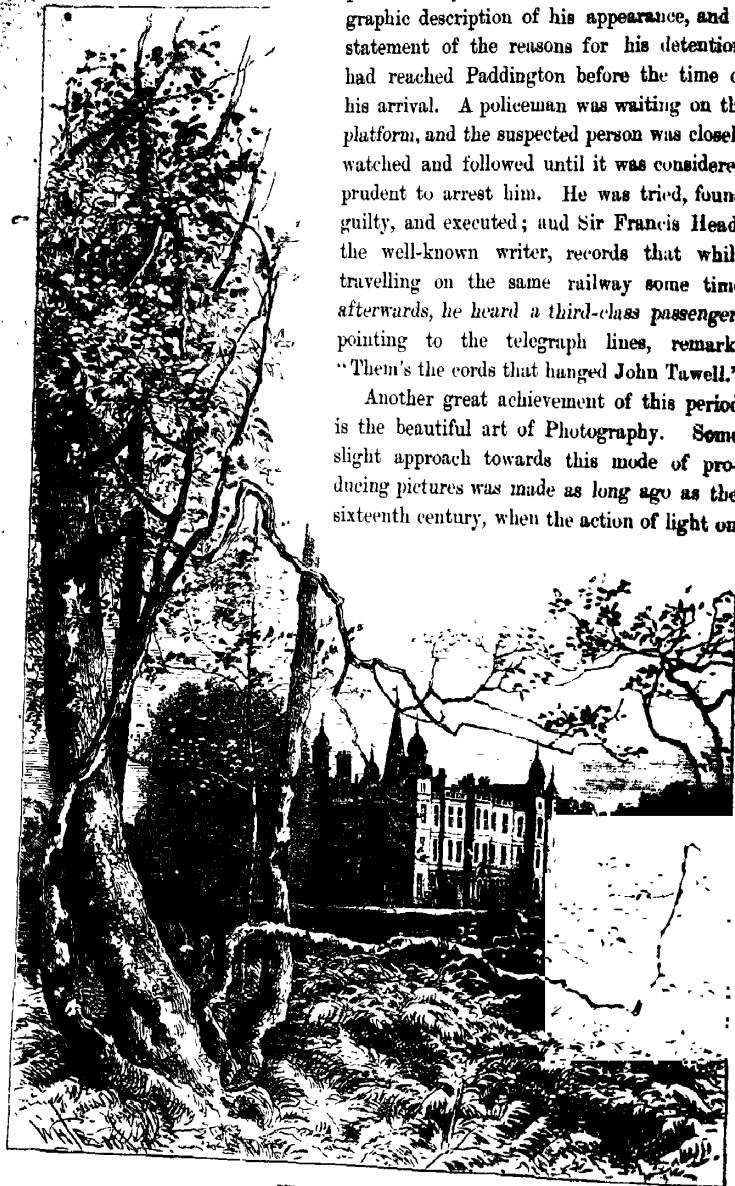
Before the end of the same month the Queen was engaged in a domestic ceremony of great interest to the citizens of London, and to many others far beyond the limits of the capital. The old Royal Exchange, the successor to Sir Thomas Gresham's original building, destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, was consumed in a conflagration which broke out on the 10th of January, 1838. The new building—that which now stands—was erected from the designs of Mr. William Tite, and opened by her Majesty in person on the 28th of October, 1844. The procession left Buckingham Palace at eleven o'clock A.M., and passed through streets gaily decorated for the occasion. Her Majesty's carriage was drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, and the chief occupant wore a tiara of diamonds and a white ermine mantle. On alighting at the Exchange, the Queen and Prince Albert, preceded by the Lord Mayor with his Sword of State, went over the building, and finally entered the Reading Room. Here, seated on a throne, her Majesty received the address which had been prepared by the City authorities, and which was read by the Recorder. Allusion was made in it to the fact that the first building had been opened by Queen Elizabeth, and a hope was expressed that the new edifice would endure for ages, a memorial and monument of the commercial grandeur, the prosperity, and the peaceful triumphs of Victoria's reign.

After reading her reply, the Queen intimated to the Lord Mayor (Alderman Magnay) her intention to confer on him the dignity of a baronet. A sumptuous luncheon was afterwards served in the Underwriters' Room, and the proceedings of the day closed by the Queen announcing, after silence had been enjoined by the heralds, that it was her will and pleasure that the building should be thenceforth called "The Royal Exchange." Her Majesty was greatly pleased by her reception, and wrote next day to King Leopold:—"Nothing ever went off better, and the procession there, as well as the proceedings at the Royal Exchange, were splendid and royal in the extreme.

It was a fine and gratifying sight to see the myriads of people assembled, more than at the Coronation even, and all in such good humour, and so loyal." To the same effect wrote Prince Albert to Baron Stockmar. "How, after four years," he observed, "is the recognition of the position we took up from the first. You always said that if Monarchy was to rise in popularity, it could only be by the sovereign leading an exemplary life, and keeping quite aloof from, and above, party. Melbourne called this 'nonsense.' Now, Victoria is praised by Lord Spencer, the Liberal, for giving her Constitutional support to the Tories." On the 12th of November the Queen and Prince Albert paid a visit to Lord Exeter, at Burleigh, which they left on the 15th; and the year closed with an interchange of kindly feelings between the Prince and Baron Stockmar, whose friendship was then entering upon its sixth year.

Scientific discovery, or at any rate the practical application of scientific truths to the ordinary needs of life, had made considerable progress since the accession of Queen Victoria, and it may be convenient at this stage to review some of the principal changes thus effected. Electric Telegraphy was probably of more importance than any other. The active powers of the electric "fluid" had been known for many years, and some of the greatest inquirers of modern times had anticipated extraordinary results from an agency so potent, and so various in its operations. The transmission of electricity by an insulated wire was shown by several experimenters as early as 1747, and in later years telegraphic arrangements were devised by scientific explorers, both English and foreign. But no very decided progress in the transmission of thought by electricity was effected until a short period before the death of William IV., when somewhat analogous plans were simultaneously conceived in England and America by Professor Wheatstone and Professor Morse. It has sometimes been a matter of contention as to whether the honour of this discovery should belong to the one or the other; but it may in truth be fairly divided between both. The first telegraphic line in England was set up by Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Cooke, on the Great Western Railway, between Paddington and West Drayton, in 1838-9. The first telegraphic line in America was not constructed until 1844. From those respective dates, the new means of intercommunication spread rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic, until, in these days, the whole civilised world is covered with a mesh of telegraphic lines, almost as wonderful in their operation as the web of nerves which, in the living animal, carry the conceptions of the brain through every part of the system, and the impression of the senses to the seat of reason. One of the earliest practical applications of the new telegraphic system, in a matter concerning the general interests of the public, occurred at the commencement of 1845. On the 1st of January a woman was murdered at Salt Hill, near Slough, and a certain Quaker with whom she had been

intimate was suspected of the crime. The man made his way to Slough, and proceeded by train to London; but a telegraphic description of his appearance, and a statement of the reasons for his detention, had reached Paddington before the time of his arrival. A policeman was waiting on the platform, and the suspected person was closely watched and followed until it was considered prudent to arrest him. He was tried, found guilty, and executed; and Sir Francis Head, the well-known writer, records that while travelling on the same railway some time afterwards, he heard a third-class passenger, pointing to the telegraph lines, remark, "Them's the cords that hanged John Tawell."

Another great achievement of this period is the beautiful art of Photography. Some slight approach towards this mode of producing pictures was made as long ago as the sixteenth century, when the action of light on

BURLEIGH HOUSE, STAMFORD.

chloride of silver was discovered. Further results were obtained during the eighteenth century, particularly by Thomas Wedgwood (son of the celebrated potter) and Sir Humphry Davy. Wedgwood was the author of a paper, published in 1802 in the Journal of the Royal Institution, which he entitled "An Account of a Method of Copying Paintings upon Glass, and of making Profiles by the Agency of Light upon Nitrate of Silver." The art, however, made no great progress until it was taken up in France by M. Daguerre, who worked in concert with M. Joseph Nicéphore Niepce. The latter died in 1833, after several years' association with M. Daguerre; but it was not until January, 1839, that the production of photographic plates was publicly announced by his partner. In the same year, Mr. Henry Fox Talbot published his mode of multiplying photographic impressions by producing in the first instance a negative photograph, from which any number of positive copies could be obtained. The earliest photographs were called Daguerreotypes and Talbotypes, after the French and English inventors; but in a few years both appellations were superseded by the Greek word *photography*—literally, a "light-writing," though a "light-picture" would be the more proper description. The uses of photography have been manifold, and the satisfaction they have given in preserving the very reflex of the faces of our dead relations and cherished friends is doubtless the greatest triumph of all. Within a few months of his death, Prince Albert was deeply moved on receiving from his daughter, the Crown Princess of Prussia, a daguerreotype of his father. "How precious," he writes to her on the 3rd of September, 1861, "is the daguerreotype! After seventeen years which have glided by since my dear father was taken away, all at once his shade has come before me—for such, in fact, it is."*

To the early part of Queen Victoria's reign must be referred some of the most practical applications of the gigantic telescope erected by the Earl of Rosse at Parsonstown, in Ireland. This wonderful instrument (which, however, has been much surpassed by later telescopes) was in active operation from 1828 to 1845. Its power was such as to exhibit the very rocks on this side of the moon, and our knowledge of that satellite—a barren, mournful sphere of extinguished vitality—was greatly increased by the scientific labours of Lord Rosse and his coadjutors. Returning to mundane matters, we must refer to the opening of the Thames Tunnel, which took place on the 25th of March, 1843. The shaft had been commenced, and the first brick laid, as far back as the 2nd of March, 1825; but the work was twice delayed by the irruption of water. This subway between Wapping and Rotherhithe was undoubtedly a splendid triumph of modern engineering, and reflected the highest credit on Mr. I. K. Brunel, who proposed and carried out the design. But the tunnel was not long popular, and, after the dissolution of the Company in 1866, the work was transferred to the East London Railway, by which it has since been

* Sir Theodore Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Vol. I.

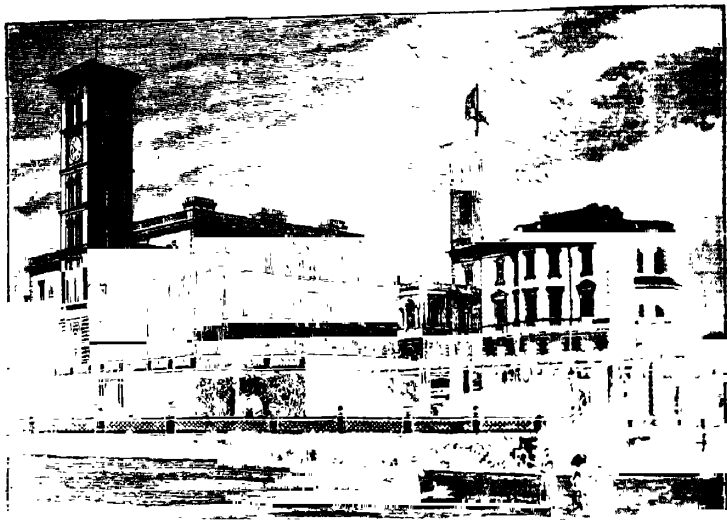
used. The Queen and Prince Albert were much interested in the tunnel, and, in July, 1843, honoured it with a visit of inspection.

Arctic discovery made some important strides about this date. Sir John Franklin, accompanied by Captains Crozier and Fitzjames, sailed in the *Erebus* and *Terror* on his third Arctic Expedition, May 24th, 1845. From subsequent investigations, it appears that he discovered the North-west passage, having sailed down Peel and Victoria Straits (now called Franklin's Straits) a few months after his arrival in those inhospitable regions. The Expedition, however, was fatal to the brave explorers. All England waited with anxiety for tidings of these adventurous men; but, after a few despatches, an appalling silence and mystery descended on the enterprise. Months passed away, and nothing more was heard of the *Erebus* and *Terror*. It was as if ships and men had been snatched away from the world; and the public could comfort itself only with vague hopes that, after all, the vessels and their crew would reappear at some unexpected corner of the earth. When the suspense became no longer bearable, expeditions were sent out in search of the missing voyagers, and coals, provisions, clothing, and other necessaries, were deposited at various points by the English and American Governments, by Lady Franklin, and by several private individuals. Some years later, wild rumours started up that Sir John Franklin and the gaunt remnant of his crew had been seen at this place and at that; but these accounts always proved incorrect. It is unnecessary to recount the numerous expeditions sent out by Lady Franklin, and by the Governments of Great Britain and the United States. Suffice it to say that, on the 6th of May, 1859, Lieutenant Hobson found at Point Victory, near Cape Victoria, a cairn and a tin case, the latter containing a paper, signed on the 25th of April, 1848, by Captain Fitzjames, which certified that the ships *Erebus* and *Terror* were beset with ice on the 12th of September, 1846; that Sir John Franklin died on the 11th of the following June; and that the ships were deserted on the 22nd of April, 1848. Some skeletons and other relics were afterwards discovered; but the precise nature of the sufferings endured by these heroic men is swallowed up for ever in the icy silence of the Polar Seas.

The rapid development of Tractarianism in the Church of England drew forth from the Archbishop of Canterbury a letter to the clergy of the Established Church, dated January 11th, 1845. His Grace forbore from giving any authoritative opinion on the practices recently introduced, but recommended moderation, forbearance, and mutual concession. Where the Tractarian innovations had been submitted to quietly, he thought they should be continued; but where they had been violently opposed, he advised the clergyman not to insist on their observance. Uniformity in the mode of conducting public worship he regarded as extremely desirable; but, as the Rubric was not very consistent with itself, he admitted that its authors might possibly have contemplated the existence of some diversity, when sanctioned by convenience. Nothing could be more amiable than the feeling which prompted this address; but it

was clearly unfitted to appease the feelings of either the Tractarians or the Anti-Tractarians. Both sides were committed to the most extreme views, which they advocated with mutual bitterness. Eight days after the publication of the Archbishop's circular, there was a disturbance in St. Sidwell's Church, Exeter, arising out of the Puseyite practices of the Rev. Francis Courtenay. The matter was referred to the Bishop of Exeter by the Mayor, and the former wrote to Mr. Courtenay, recommending him to give way at the request of the civil authorities, and not to persist in wearing the surplice in the pulpit, unless his conscience should require him to do so. At the present day it seems a ridiculous wrangling over trifles to dispute whether a clergyman shall wear a surplice or a gown; but it should be recollected that these trifles were commonly held to be the outward manifestations of a fixed determination on the part of all Puseyite clergymen to assimilate the Church of England to the Church of Rome. If the opposition to the surplice was trivial, so also was the determination to wear it: if the wearing of the surplice involved a serious principle on the one side, the resistance involved an equally serious principle on the other. Yet the Archbishop of Canterbury thought that a few kindly words would compose these heart-burnings, which had already destroyed the peace of the Church, and now threatened its very existence.

From all such vexed questions, and from the inevitable contentions of party, it was an unspeakable comfort to the Queen and Prince Albert to be able to retire for a brief season to some quiet country spot, where they could live in repose and privacy. This immunity from public cares gave their special charm to the Scottish tours. But the Highlands are remote from London, and it was very desirable that some place should be found, sufficiently removed for a leisurely seclusion, and sufficiently near the metropolis for a quick and easy return. When her Majesty and the Prince accompanied the King of the French to Portsmouth at the conclusion of his visit in the autumn of 1844, they saw a charming estate in the Isle of Wight, which has since become famous as the marine residence of Osborne. It was Sir Robert Peel who drew their attention to this beautiful retreat, and in the early part of 1845 it was purchased by her Majesty. "It sounds so pleasant," wrote the Queen to King Leopold, "to have a place of one's own, quiet and retired, and free from all Woods and Forests, and other charming departments, which really are the plague of one's life." The estate was afterwards enlarged by further purchases, and the mansion then existing was almost immediately pulled down, that a larger and more dignified edifice might occupy its site. The new structure was planned by Prince Albert, and the building operations were conducted by the late Mr. Thomas Cubitt. The grounds also were laid out by the Prince, and the ornamental plantations, which owed their existence to him, are still amongst the greatest beauties of the Royal domain. Here likewise, as at Windsor, his Royal Highness had a farm for scientific agriculture, which he managed so admirably that in a little while he made it pay.

Before the opening of Parliament the Queen and Prince Albert paid two visits which were productive of general satisfaction. The first, which took place about the middle of January, was to the seat of the Duke of Buckingham at Stowe, where the Royal couple were received in a style of unusual magnificence. The other visit was to the Duke of Wellington at Strathfieldsaye, where the Royal party arrived on the 20th of January. "The Duke," writes Mr. Anson, "takes the Queen in to dinner, and sits by her Majesty, and after dinner gets up and says, 'With your Majesty's permission, I give the health of her Majesty,' and then the same for the Prince. They then adjourn to

OSBORNE, ISLE OF WIGHT

the library, and the Duke sits on the sofa by the Queen for the rest of the evening until eleven o'clock, the Prince and the gentlemen being scattered about in the library, or the billiard-room which opens into it. In a large conservatory beyond, the band of the Duke's Grenadier regiment plays through the evening." The Queen and Prince Albert returned on the 23rd of January to Windsor Castle, and the brief amusements of the early year speedily gave place to those important duties which are necessarily associated with the government of a great Empire.

Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on the 4th of February. The Royal Speech referred with satisfaction to the decline of political agitation in Ireland. It was mentioned that, as a natural result of this change, private capital had been more freely applied than previously to useful public

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

enterprises, undertaken through the friendly co-operation of individuals interested in the welfare of that country. Sir Robert Peel made his annual financial statement on the 14th of the same month. The Bank Charter Act of 1844, for separating the issue from the banking department of the great establishment in Threadneedle Street, limiting the issue of notes, and requiring the whole of the further circulation to be on a basis of bullion, had already placed the monetary affairs of the country on a better footing. As regarded the Budget, the Premier calculated the revenue for the ensuing year at £53,100,000, and the expenditure at £49,000,000. Notwithstanding this surplus of more than £4,000,000, Sir Robert Peel considered it advisable to continue the Income Tax for a further period of three years, as he found it necessary to increase the expenditure on account of the public service, and desired to apply his surplus to the reduction of the sugar duty, together with the abolition of the duties on glass, cotton, and wool, and on the importation of Baltic staves. It was also proposed to abolish the duty on all those articles which yielded merely nominal amounts—a step which, it was calculated, would sweep away four hundred and thirty articles from the tariff. These proposals met with no great opposition, and were rapidly carried through Parliament by large majorities.

In another portion of his policy Peel encountered much more trouble. Measures were proposed for the establishment of Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, which should be open to all, without religious distinction, and for increasing the annual grant to the College of Maynooth from £9,000 to £30,000. Both measures, though ultimately successful, were calculated to exasperate some of the deepest feelings of that time; and Peel found considerable difficulty in carrying out his designs. The proposed Colleges for Belfast, Cork, and Galway, were described as the "Godless Colleges," and the expression was the common taunt levelled at all who thought such institutions likely to effect good in the mitigation of religious animosities. The opposition to the increased Maynooth grant had much more of reason on its side. The College at Maynooth had been founded by Parliament in 1795 for the education of students designed for the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland. An Act for its government was passed in 1800; but its existence as a State-supported institution was always repugnant to the Protestant feeling of England. When, therefore, it was proposed to add £21,000 to the yearly grant, it was not unnaturally considered by large numbers of Englishmen that the time had come for making a decided protest. No doubt a vast amount of the narrowest and fiercest bigotry was mixed up with this opposition; yet, after sweeping aside all this froth and venom, the naked fact remains that Protestants were expected to pay an annual sum towards the education of Roman Catholic priests, who were not likely to show any affection either for Protestantism or for England. The whole principle of religious endowments is open to the gravest question, and, had

the opponents of the Maynooth grant taken their stand on that ground, they would have advanced their cause with all reasonable men, though probably their numerical following would have been less. But the enlistment of bigotry on the side of the objectors was not unnatural from their own point of view, though it drew down on them some scathing criticisms. Mr. Macaulay, now afterwards known as the most brilliant historian of modern times, spoke of "the bray of Exeter Hall," and lost his re-election for Edinburgh, two years later, in consequence of that sarcasm. After all the clamour of adverse opinions, Peel carried the increased grant; but for many years after, the late Mr. Spooner made an annual motion against the Maynooth College, and delivered himself of a rambling speech, to which few listened. Most persons found the subject a nuisance; and when the Irish Church was disestablished and disendowed in 1869, it was agreed that the annual Parliamentary grant to Maynooth should cease at the commencement of 1871, though compensation was made, as a matter of obvious fairness.

The augmentation of the Maynooth grant led to the resignation of Mr. Gladstone, who occupied the position of President of the Board of Trade in the Government of Sir Robert Peel. He was not at all opposed to the measure, which, in fact, he supported as a private member; but he considered that his book entitled "The State in its Relations with the Church," first published in 1838, contained some passages which precluded him from taking part as a Minister in the proposed measure. In addressing the House on the 4th of February he observed:—"I have a strong conviction, speaking under ordinary circumstances and as a general rule, that those who have borne the most solemn testimony to a particular view of a great and constitutional question ought not to be parties responsible for proposals which involve a material departure from it."

Religious questions were at that time prominently before the public, and Sir Robert Peel showed an anxiety to remove those restrictions which had formerly been considered necessary to the safety of the State and Church. During the session of 1845, a Bill was introduced by the Government for removing the test by which Jews were excluded from certain municipal offices. The existing state of the law was ridiculously inconsistent; for, while a Jew might be the High Sheriff of a county, or Sheriff of London, he was not allowed to be a Mayor, an Alderman, or a member of the Common Council. Before occupying any of these offices, he had to swear "on the true faith of a Christian," which of course no Jew would do. A measure to remove the anomaly was introduced into the Upper House by Lord Lyndhurst, the Lord Chancellor, and, strange to say, it passed through that Assembly, which had previously resisted all attempts in the same direction. The Bill underwent no danger in the House of Commons, for the Lower Chamber had in previous sessions endeavoured to effect the same reform.

Prince Albert was extremely gratified by Sir Robert Peel's Budget for 1845,

which not only, as we have seen, reduced or obliterated a vast number of vexatious duties, but at the same time placed the finances of the country on so excellent a footing as to enable the Minister to ask for the Navy and Ordnance Estimates an increase of a million and a half so as to augment the power of Great Britain at sea. For the security of our ports, seven sail of the line were always to be available in the Channel, and three on foreign stations; and the Prince saw in these arrangements a renewed guarantee for the peace of Europe. He was also much pleased by an allusion, in the financial statement of the Prime

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE

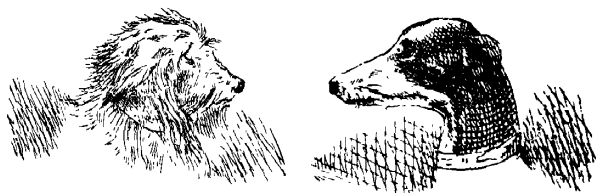
Minister, to the fact that the recent visits of Imperial and Royal personages had involved no additional expense to the country. The reforms in the administration of the Royal Household, due to the initiative of Prince Albert, had effected so great a saving that the Civil List was found quite adequate to the extra demands upon it. "Those visits," said Sir Robert Peel, "of necessity created a considerable increase of expenditure; but, through that wise system of economy which is the only source of true magnificence, her Majesty was enabled to meet every charge, and to give a reception to the sovereigns which struck every one by its magnificence, without adding one tittle to the burdens of the country. I am not required on the part of her Majesty to press for the extra expenditure of one single shilling on account of these unforeseen causes of increased

expenditure. I think that to state this is only due to the personal credit of her Majesty, who insists upon it that there shall be every magnificence required by her station, but without incurring a single debt."

These gratifying statements were transmitted by Prince Albert to Baron Stockmar, who, it will be recollected, was largely concerned in those reforms in the Household which had been productive of such admirable results. In his reply, written on the 28th of February, the Baron alludes to a speech having

LORD LYNDHURST.

reference to his Royal Highness, and asks, "What can it be which has led to the reopening of that report?" The report in question was a rumour to the effect that the title of King Consort was about to be conferred upon the Prince, by the special desire of her Majesty. For this belief there was some foundation—not as respected any existing intention, but with reference to a project which was undoubtedly formed in 1841. In that year it was the earnest wish of her Majesty that the regal title should be conferred on her consort. She perceived that his somewhat anomalous position placed him at a disadvantage with other illustrious personages, and was often inconsistent with the dignity

properly belonging to the Queen's husband. Her views were therefore submitted to the judgment of Baron Stockmar, without the Prince himself knowing anything of the matter. The Baron, with that practical sense and wisdom which always distinguished him, strongly opposed the suggestion; and so did Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, to whom, by her Majesty's wish, Stockmar had referred the question. Both those Statesmen believed that the proposed change would be attended by undesirable results, and the project was in consequence abandoned. The revival of the idea was due in no respect either to her Majesty or to the Prince; but, in the early part of 1845, the *Morning Chronicle* announced that the title of King Consort was about to be created. On the 17th of February the Premier was questioned in the House of Commons as to whether there was any truth in this rumour, and Sir Robert Peel stated in reply that the paragraph was wholly without foundation. The design of making Prince Albert Commander-in-Chief after the death of the Duke of Wellington seems to have been really discussed for the second time at this period; but the duties were too onerous to be undertaken by his Royal Highness, in addition to the other demands on his attention. The appointment was never conferred on him, and it would certainly have been an affront to English feeling had such a post been occupied by a foreigner.

FAVOURITE DOGS. (*After Etchings by the Queen.*)

CHAPTER XI.

ENGLAND IN 1845.

Borneo and Sir James Brooke—Cession of Labuan to Great Britain—"Constitutionalism" in the Sandwich Islands—State of the Colonies—Unsuccessful Attack on Madagascar—Commencement of the Overland Route to India—Decline in the Popularity of Sir Robert Peel—Rise of Mr. Disraeli and the Young England Party—Generous Support of Peel by the Queen and Prince Albert—Offer of the Garter to Sir Robert, which he declines—Position of the Premier towards the Aristocracy—Increasing Weakness of the Government—Dangerous State of Ireland—Prince Albert on the Political Situation—Visit of the Queen to Belgium and Prussia—Splendid Reception in the latter Country—Speech of the King of Prussia at Bonn—The Illuminations at Cologne—Prince Albert and Baron von Humboldt—Reception of the Royal Visitors in Bavaria, at Coburg, and at Gotha—The Queen at the Native Place of her Husband—Excursion to the Thuringian Forest—Other Incidents of the German Visit—Second Visit of the Queen and Prince Albert to Louis Philippe at the Château d'Eu—Duplicity of the King—Return of the Royal Party to England—Spread of Railway Enterprise in Great Britain—The Railway Mania and Panic of 1845-6—Increasing Strength of the Free Trade Movement—The Potato Disease in Ireland—Threatenings of Famine—Sir Robert Peel and Free Trade—Letter of Lord John Russell to the Electors of the City of London—Ministerial Crisis—Return of Sir Robert Peel to Power.

A GREAT Empire, so long as the vigour of its people survives, is continually spreading in new directions—sometimes by indefensible means, at other times by methods which may be justified in accordance with the ordinary nature of human affairs. In the early years of Queen Victoria's reign considerable activity was shown in the eastern parts of Asia, and some important additions were made to the British possessions. Borneo—the largest island in the world, next to Australia—was brought under the notice of Englishmen, about 1841, by the proceedings of an adventurous explorer. Until then it had been very little known in Great Britain, although discovered by the Portuguese as far back as 1518. The Dutch traded there during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but the distant situation of the island, in the middle of the China Seas, restricted the intercourse of Europeans with its people. The adjacent waters swarmed with pirates, who not only robbed, but committed the most extreme atrocities; and the evil was not firmly taken in hand until a retired Anglo-Indian officer, named James Brooke, resolved to put down buccaneering in the Eastern Archipelago. Providing himself with a large yacht (which, being attached to the Royal Yacht Squadron, possessed in foreign seas the privileges of a ship of war), he practised his crew for about three years in the Mediterranean and other European seas, and departed for the East near the end of October, 1838. Arriving at Sarawak, he and his men lent their aid to the Sultan of Borneo in suppressing an insurrection among the Dyaks, a savage race, distinct from the ruling tribe, who are Malays. In acknowledgment of his services Brooke was made Rajah and Governor of Sarawak in September, 1841, and used his power in efforts to improve the laws and civilise the people. He also obtained the assistance of various British ships of war in the extirpation of piracy, and many persons were slaughtered

on the allegation that they were freebooters. At a somewhat later date the English Rajah quarrelled with the Sultan, attacked his capital city, took it by storm, and put the whole army to flight. The Sultan was afterwards reinstated; but Sir James Brooke (as he afterwards became) still held his position as Rajah of Sarawak. The upshot of all these adventures, so far as this period of Queen Victoria's reign is concerned, was that, in the course of 1846, a treaty was concluded with the Sultan, through the instrumentality of Brooke, by which the island of Labuan, to the north-west of Borneo, was, together with its dependencies, ceded to the British Empire, as a naval station between India and China. A money payment was made to the Sultan, and Sir James Brooke acted for a time as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Labuan. His conduct, however, was much impugned in Parliament by Messrs. Hume and Cobden, who maintained that many innocent persons had been slain, under pretence of their being pirates, and that the inducement to these acts was the "head-money" paid by the British Government to the sailors. These charges, though seemingly not improbable, were never distinctly proved; but the money payment was wisely abolished

Travelling still farther from home, we find the Sandwich Islands offered to Great Britain by their king, Kamehameha III., in 1843. Some British subjects had claims against this chieftain, which he knew not how else to meet. The offer was not accepted; but the islands were taken under British protection, and formed into a kind of semi-independent State, with a ridiculous travesty of so-called "Constitutional" government. Two Houses of Parliament were appointed, and met for the first time on the 20th of May, 1845. The dusky-coloured sovereign delivered a speech from the throne, and told his people that it was their possession of the Word of God which had introduced them into the family of nations. All these assumptions of European modes sound extremely ludicrous; yet, since those days, the Sandwich islanders have got on fairly well, so that Kamehameha was not altogether without justification in his hopeful anticipations. To the minds of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, the enlargement of the area of civilisation, under the ægis of the British Empire, must have been profoundly interesting. But there were parts of our actual dominions, peopled by men of English race, where the right of self-government was not enjoyed at all. In 1845, we had forty-two colonies, of which only twenty-five had representative institutions, and those of a very incomplete character. The consequence was seen in continual complaints of misgovernment, corruption, and tyranny; and successive Colonial Secretaries seem to have been equally indifferent to the just demands of their countrymen beyond the seas.

In May, 1845, a new convention was concluded between England and France for the better suppression of the slave trade. A little later in the same year, a French and English squadron made a somewhat futile demonstration off Madagascar, an island on the south-eastern coast of Africa. Madagascar,

THE OVERLAND ROUTE—SCENE AT BOULAK. (See p. 190.)

like the Sandwich Islands, had been to a great extent Christianised for some years past; but in 1835 a reactionary policy set in, under the vigorous incitements of Queen Ranavalona, and the English missionaries were compelled to leave. Ten years later, the native laws were applied to such European settlers as had been suffered to remain—an unfortunate result of the combined French and English attack on the sea-coasts. During these operations, some forts and part of a town were destroyed; but, on the whole, the expedition was unsuccessful, and the native Christians suffered from the exasperation of feeling thus engendered.

Much more satisfactory, as regarded our intercourse with the Oriental world, was the inauguration of the Overland Route to and from India, due to the enterprise of Lieutenant Waghorn, who, on the 31st of October, 1845, arrived in London with the Bombay Mail of the 1st of that month. His despatches had reached Suez on the 19th, and Alexandria on the 20th of October; and from the latter of those cities he proceeded by steamboat to the European continent, when, hurrying post through Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Prussia, and Belgium, he reached London at half-past four on the morning of October 31st. The speed of the Overland Route was afterwards increased; but it had the disadvantage of greater expense. The difference between the old and the new system consisted in the fact that by the former it was necessary to pursue the long sea-route by the Cape of Good Hope, and so round the western coasts of Africa and Europe; whereas, by Lieutenant Waghorn's system, the passengers and luggage were carried by land across the Isthmus of Suez and transferred to another vessel on the northern shore. Hence the extensive operations of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, with which modern visitors to the East are so well acquainted.

While these important things were being done in distant parts of the world, the state of political affairs in England was becoming somewhat complicated. The popularity of Sir Robert Peel had, by 1845, greatly declined from the mark at which it stood in 1841. Thousands of persons complained of the Income Tax—of the unfairness of its incidence, the heaviness of its burden, and the inquisitorial character inseparable from its operation. The objectors did not sufficiently consider that the imposition of this tax had enabled the Premier to abolish many millions of duties upon articles of ordinary consumption. The boon was accepted with silent gratitude; but the price by which it had been purchased was assailed in terms of unmeasured vituperation. Such was the view taken by a large majority of the public, and at the same time Sir Robert Peel had to encounter the assaults of many prominent members of the party to which he himself belonged, whose animosity was excited by his manifest leaning towards a Free Trade policy, and by other tendencies which had far more of a Liberal than a Conservative character. It was now that Mr. Disraeli began to acquire that commanding force in Parliament which he never ceased to exercise until his

death in 1881. The days had long gone by when he was unable to obtain a hearing in the House of Commons; when his voice was drowned by hoots, and his awkward flights of rhetoric were met with peals of laughter. He had developed a style of remarkable pungency and vigour; and perhaps no one in the Lower House, at that time, possessed so remarkable a power of launching those barbed arrows of sarcasm which never fail to strike, and which usually leave a scar behind.

In the opinion of Mr. Disraeli and his followers, Sir Robert Peel was a traitor, who had obtained office on the understanding that he was to support some form of Protection, and all the other principles of the Conservative party, but who was now unquestionably moving in the opposite direction. The truth is that the Tory party was splitting up into two camps, both of which differed a good deal from the old connection. Peel and his adherents were becoming to a great extent Liberals in their political ideas, though with some differences from the Whig party; the rest of the Tories, consisting of ardent and enthusiastic young men, were endeavouring to form a body which they called "Young England." This association of Conservative Reformers had arisen some few years before: but it was only now beginning to attract general attention. The leader of this party was Mr. Disraeli, who expounded its principles in several novels, but particularly in "Coningsby," first published in 1844. Other prominent members were Lord John Manners, Mr. George Smythe (afterwards the seventh Lord Strangford), Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Henry Hope, son of the author of "Anastasius," Mr. Monckton Milnes (better known in later times as Lord Houghton), and some others less generally recognised. The essential principles of these gentlemen were Aristocracy and Churchism. Their ideal was found in the Middle Ages, or at any rate in a period not much later; but, together with some genuine sympathy with the poor, and some views which may have been needed as a counteraction to the excessive utilitarianism of the past forty years, it cannot be denied that a large amount of weak sentimentality was mixed up with the opinions and methods of the reformers. With all their earnestness and all their wit, the Young Englanders could not keep their system going for more than a handful of years.

Under all the difficulties of the time, it was an immense consolation to Sir Robert Peel to know that he had the hearty support of her Majesty and Prince Albert. This was the more valuable as the first association of the Conservative chief with the head of the State had been, as the reader is aware, of a delicate and unpleasant character. While still under the influence of Lord Melbourne, it is evident that the Queen had no great liking for Sir Robert Peel. His opposition to the sovereign in the Bedchamber question left a feeling of soreness, which lasted some time after the incident had ceased to agitate the public mind; and the cold manners of Peel might have proved an obstacle to cordial relations between that politician and his Royal

mistress. But all such difficulties were overcome when a more intimate acquaintance with the former had shown the latter how sterling and admirable were his qualities. By 1845 her Majesty had acquired as great a regard for Sir Robert as she had formerly entertained for Lord Melbourne. She felt a warm sympathy with her Conservative Minister in the difficulties he had to encounter from a somewhat factious Opposition, and, acting under this feeling, she sent to him, in March, 1845, a letter she had received from King Leopold, speaking very highly of his measures. In replying to this communication, Peel observed:—"His Majesty has an intimate knowledge of this country, and is just so far removed from the scene of political contention here as to be able to take a clear and dispassionate view of the motives and acts of public men." The writer added that he looked to no other reward, apart from her Majesty's favourable opinion, than that posterity should confirm the judgment of King Leopold—namely, that Sir Robert Peel had used the power committed to him for the maintenance of the honour and just prerogatives of the Crown, and the advancement of the public welfare. In concluding his reply, the Premier acknowledged the "generous confidence and support" which he had invariably received from her Majesty.

The rancour exhibited by a large portion of his own party, in opposing the increased grant to Maynooth, was so excessive that the Queen felt a great desire to bestow some special favour on Sir Robert Peel, as a mark of her confidence and esteem. She wished to confer on him the Order of the Garter, but, feeling doubtful how far this would meet the wishes of the Premier himself, requested Lord Aberdeen to sound him on the topic. Peel questioned, and wisely so, whether this honour would be of any service to him as a public man. Indeed, he considered that it would probably have the contrary effect; and he therefore declined the perilous distinction. In thanking her Majesty for the offer, he observed that he sprang from the people, was essentially a man of the people, and felt that in his case such an honour would be misapplied. His heart, he said, was not set upon titles of honour, or social distinctions; and the only reward he desired on quitting the service of her Majesty was that she should say to him, "You have been a faithful servant, and have done your duty to your country and to myself." Sir Robert Peel was the son of a Lancashire manufacturer who, being also a member of the House of Commons, and a politician not wholly undistinguished in his day, had been created a Baronet in 1800. The mother of the future Premier was the daughter of another manufacturer; so that the second Sir Robert Peel had every reason to describe himself as essentially a plebeian. There would have been no harm in his accepting the Garter, but it was certainly more in accordance with the simplicity and genuineness of his nature to decline it. It is not improbable that something of the merely external coldness of Peel's nature (for in the recesses of that nature he was not cold)

may have been due to what Dr. Johnson admirably called "defensive pride." The slightest compromise of his own dignity might possibly have drawn down upon him the supercilious taunts of the aristocratic party which he led.

VIEW IN MALINES.

By dint of his powerful intellect and unresting industry Sir Robert Peel managed to keep the Government on its feet during the Session of 1845. But he knew well that the days of the Cabinet were numbered, and, through the medium of Lord Aberdeen, he prepared her Majesty and Prince Albert for the Ministerial crisis which he felt sure would not be long in coming. The malcontent members of his own party might at any moment coalesce with

the Whigs, and upset the Administration. Moreover, he had taken too mu
upon himself, and was beginning to feel the strain. The time had be
when he was of opinion that the Prime Minister of England should alwa
be in the House of Commons; but he now perceived that his position in th
chamber entailed an amount of work which no human being could long susta
Sometimes he thought of trying to effect a combination between the mo
liberal Conservatives and the Whigs; but the task would not have been ea
and would probably have failed in its operation. He went on, therefore, w
heroic resolve, but with an ever-increasing conviction that a crisis must arr
before many months were over. The efforts to conciliate the Irish by t
increase of the Maynooth grant, the establishment of the Queen's Colleg
and other measures, had failed as utterly as all such efforts invariably
Ireland was again becoming disaffected, and the Queen was once more oblig
to postpone indefinitely her contemplated visit to that island. The Corpo
tion of Dublin had in May presented an address to her Majesty, request
that she would visit their country, and promising her a welcome of the utm
warmth and the most perfect unanimity. But the Queen replied evasiv
that "whenever she might be enabled to receive in Ireland the promi
welcome, she should rely with confidence upon the loyalty and affection
her faithful subjects." No date was mentioned for the promised visit, a
undoubtedly the state of Ireland was such that it would have been imprud
on the part of the Sovereign to venture within the range of so many possi
dangers. The agitation for Repeal had again sprung up; agrarian cri
were frequent; and the potato-disease was beginning to show itself, to
extent which made thoughtful men apprehensive of the future. The Qu
therefore resolved to take her holiday on the Continent, and proceed up
Rhine to Saxony. She could not depart, however, until the prorogation
Parliament, and in the meanwhile there were many causes of anxiety. "
politics," said Prince Albert, writing to Baron Stockmar on the 18th of Ju
1845, "we are drawing near the close of one of the most remarkable sitti
of Parliament. Peel has carried through everything with immense majoriti
but it is certain he has no longer any stable Parliamentary support.
party is quite broken up, and the Opposition has as many different opini
and principles as heads." The Session came to an end on the 9th of Augu
and the same evening her Majesty and Prince Albert sailed from Woolw
for Antwerp in the Royal yacht. The fine old city was reached at
o'clock on the evening of the 10th, amidst a downpour of rain. Nev
theless, the place was illuminated after the primitive fashion so often s
on the Continent. The same cheerless weather continued next day, w
the Royal party landed. Proceeding by rail to Malines, the visitors w
there met by the King and Queen of the Belgians, who accompanied th
as far as Verviers. Guards of honour saluted at every station, and
frequent tunnels were illuminated with lamps and torches.

At length they gained the Prussian frontier, where the train was met by Lord Westmoreland (the English Ambassador at Berlin), the Chevalier Bunsen, and certain gentlemen of the Prussian Court who had been appointed to wait upon the Queen and Prince. At Aix-la-Chapelle they found the King of Prussia, together with several members of the Royal Family. "In the room of the station," writes the Queen, in her Journal, "were assembled all the authorities, the clergy, Catholic and Lutheran, and a number of young ladies dressed in white, one of whom, a daughter of the Burgomaster, recited some complimentary verses." Her Majesty and the Prince, together with their party, afterwards visited the Cathedral and other memorial edifices, and the journey was resumed in the evening. The reception at Cologne was especially cordial and impressive, and from that city the Royal party soon reached the station at Brühl. Here the English visitors went into one of the saloons of the Palace to listen to the splendid tattoo performed by five hundred military musicians. The room was illuminated with torches, and with lamps of coloured glass, and the whole effect was most splendid. At Bonn they attended the inauguration of the Beethoven statue, and were serenaded by an enormous orchestra, consisting of sixty military bands. At four o'clock on the same day, a grand banquet was given at the Palace, on which occasion the Prussian King made a speech, in which he said:—"Gentlemen, fill your glasses! There is a word of inexpressible sweetness to British as well as to German hearts. Thirty years ago it echoed on the heights of Waterloo from British and German tongues, after days of hot and desperate fighting, to mark the glorious triumph of our brotherhood in arms. Now it resounds on the banks of our fair Rhine, amid the blessings of that peace which was the hallowed fruit of the great conflict. That word is *Victoria!*" His Majesty then drank to the health of the Queen and Prince Albert; and the former, who was much affected, rose, bent towards the King, and kissed his cheek.

After the banquet, the Royal party returned by rail to Cologne, and there embarked on a steamer to witness the illuminations from the river. The spectacle was of the most splendid description, and, as reflected from the waters of the Rhine, appeared doubly glorious. "As darkness closed in," says a writer, who seems to have caught the spirit of the scene, "the dim and fetid city began to put forth buds of light. Lines of twinkling brightness darted like liquid gold and silver from pile to pile, then along the famous bridge of boats, across the river, up the masts of the shipping, and all abroad upon the opposite bank. Rockets now shot from all parts of the horizon. As the Royal party glided down the river, the banks blazed with fireworks and musketry. The Cathedral burst forth a building of light, every detail of the architecture being made out in delicately-coloured lamps—pinkish with an underglow of orange." Some of the houses appeared absolutely red-hot, and the beauty of the scene was so extraordinary that the spectators forgot the drizzle of rain which was gradually wetting them through. A day or two

THE QUEEN AND PRINCE ALBERT AT THE CHILDREN'S FÊTE IN COBURG ON ST. GREGORY'S DAY. (See p. 198.)

later the Queen and her companions steamed up the Rhine—an illustrious party, consisting of three Queens, two Kings, a Prince Consort, an Archduke, and the Prince and Princess, who, in 1871, became Emperor and Empress of Germany. Amongst persons distinguished for intellect was the Baron von Humboldt, for whom Prince Albert entertained a profound admiration, but who appears not to have reciprocated this feeling. The Prince was unaware of the fact at that time; but after the death of Humboldt, in 1859, some letters of that famous man were published in Germany, and in one of these, written on the 27th of February, 1847, Humboldt says:—"I am severe only with the great ones, and this man [Prince Albert] made an uncomfortable impression upon me at Stolzenfels. 'I know,' he said to me, 'that you sympathise greatly with the misfortunes of the Russian Poles. Unfortunately, the Poles are as little deserving of our sympathy as the Irish.'" The Prince was much annoyed at the publication of remarks which he had made in private; moreover, he denied that his words had been correctly reported. It would seem that he had made some observations on the faults of character common to both races; but it is not likely that he expressed himself in the sweeping manner described by Humboldt.

In Bavaria, at Coburg and Gotha, and in other parts of Germany, the reception given to the Queen was equally enthusiastic. Coming near to Coburg, on the 18th of August, the English Sovereign felt deeply moved and agitated at approaching the native place of her husband. On their arrival, the Royal visitors were welcomed by Ernest, Duke of Coburg, who was dressed in full uniform. "At the entrance to the town," writes her Majesty, "we came to a triumphal arch, where Herr Bergner, the Burgomaster, addressed us, and was quite overcome. On the other side stood a number of young girls dressed in white, with green wreaths and scarfs, who presented us with bouquets and verses. I cannot say how much I felt moved on entering this dear old place, and with difficulty I restrained my emotion. The beautifully ornamented town, all bright with wreaths and flowers, the numbers of good, affectionate people, the many recollections connected with the place—all was so affecting. In the Platz, where the Rathhaus and Regierungshaus are (which are fine and curious old houses), the clergy were assembled, and Ober-Superintendent Genzler addressed us very kindly—a very young-looking man of his age, for he married mamma to my father, and christened and confirmed Albert and Ernest." Arriving at the Palace, they were received by such a crowd of relatives that, as the Queen records, "the staircase was full of cousins." The occasion was interesting and pleasant; but it was overmastered by a feeling of sadness, consequent on the recent death of Prince Albert's father, and this mournful sentiment was intensified when the Royal visitors drove to the Rosenau, the favourite country seat of the late Duke, where Prince Albert himself had been born. This residence was now fitted up for the use of the Queen and her husband during their stay at Coburg; but, "every sound, every view, every

step we take," writes the former, "makes us think of him [the late Duke], and feel an indescribable, hopeless longing for him." The visitors were shown over the fortress which guards the town of Coburg, and were much interested in beholding the room once occupied by Luther, in which his chair and a portion of his bed are still preserved. On the 20th of August—the festival of St. Gregorius—the Royal party were present at the children's fête invariably given in honour of that day. The behaviour of the little boys and girls appears to have been most exemplary, and the occasion was a very joyous one.

Many other festivities marked the stay of the Queen and Prince Albert at the Rosenau. The 26th of August, the anniversary of the Prince's birth, was spent in the house where he had first seen the light, and many of the peasants, in gala dress, came to the house with wreaths, nosegays, and hearty congratulations. On the following day, the Royal visitors left the Rosenau with heavy hearts, and proceeded to Reinhardtsbrunn, the scenery surrounding which gave her Majesty the keenest pleasure. Thence they went on to Gotha, and on the following day (August 30th) made an excursion to the Thuringian Forest, the beauties of which are not easily to be matched. In the heart of the forest, a beautiful pavilion, ornamented with branches of fir and interwoven wreaths of flowers and laurels, was found awaiting the distinguished visitors. Here, to the music of a fine band, a great *battue* of game took place, with the result that fifty-five animals, of which thirty-one were stags, were stretched dead or wounded on the turf. It was a shocking exhibition, and the Queen records in her Journal that none of the gentlemen liked it. Nevertheless, they took part in it, and opinion in England was rather strongly expressed against such a method of emphasising a holiday. The visit to Germany, however, had, on the whole, been most delightful, and when the time came for departure, the Queen could hardly bear to think that she must leave. Gotha was quitted on the 3rd of September, and, on their return journey, the Queen and Prince Albert halted at Eisenach, where the Grand Duke of Weimar took them to the historic castle of Wartburg, where Luther spent many months of seclusion at a period of great danger to himself, and where they were shown, together with the table at which he wrote, and the wedding-ring which he wore, the dark mark upon the wall where he threw his inkstand at a visionary devil. The rest of the journey was rapidly performed; but, before returning to England, the Queen had to pay a second visit to Louis Philippe at the Château d'Eu.

At Tréport, which they reached on the morning of September 8th, her Majesty and the Prince were received by the French Sovereign. On reaching the Château, they found that one of the rooms had been fitted up, in honour of her Majesty's former visit, with pictures illustrating what had then happened, with others having reference to the King's own visit to Windsor, and with portraits by Winterhalter of the Queen and Prince Albert. The whole company of the Opéra Comique had been brought down from Paris, and, in a temporary theatre constructed in the grounds, two lively French operas were performed in the

evening. This second visit to Louis Philippe was extremely short, for, on the evening of the next day (September 9th), it came to a close. The King rowed in his barge to the Queen's yacht, and, while Prince Albert went to show the Prince de Joinville a smaller yacht, called the *Fairy*, the French monarch entered into conversation with her Majesty and Lord Aberdeen on the subject of the Spanish marriages. "The King," records Queen Victoria in her Journal, "told Lord Aberdeen, as well as me, he never would hear of Montpensier's marriage with the Infanta of Spain (which they are in a great fright about in England) until it was no longer a political question, which would be when the Queen is married, and has children. This is very satisfactory. When Albert came back with Joinville, which was about seven o'clock, the King said he must go; and they all took leave, the King embracing me again and again. We saw and heard the King land. The sun had set, and in a very short while there was the most beautiful moonlight, exquisitely reflected on the water. We walked up and down, and Lord Aberdeen was full of the extreme success of our whole tour, which had gone off charmingly, including this little visit, which had been most successful." Lord Aberdeen was a Minister very easily satisfied with the promises of foreign Powers; but it must be admitted that, after so specific a statement as that of Louis Philippe with reference to his son, the Duc de Montpensier, it was not easy to suppose that in about a year he would act in direct contradiction of his pledged word. The visit, however, had been paid; the words had been uttered; and on the 10th of September the Queen again reached England, reinvigorated by her tour, and fully satisfied that nothing unpleasant was likely to occur with respect to Spain and France.

Towards the close of 1845, the whole of England was much disturbed by an unwholesome extension of railway enterprise, which ended in a panic and an alarming crash. Only fifteen years had elapsed since the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which, though not absolutely the first of iron roads, was the earliest to attract general attention. But in that brief period railways had been pushed forward in many directions, and had become the most important means of communication in the country. They appealed to all classes and to all interests, and on Easter Monday, 1844, the system of cheap excursion trips, with return tickets, was added to the other attractions of this method of conveyance. The great landowners did not like the innovation; for in many instances their ancestral parks were cut through by the relentless engineer, and, although the persons so injured received money compensation, there are certain troubles which the guinea will not cure. Those, also, who lived in remote and picturesque districts, disliked to see their solitudes invaded by a smoky engine, a rattling train of carriages, and perhaps a somewhat vulgar and tumultuous crowd. The poet Wordsworth was desperately offended at this desecration of his beloved Lake district; and doubtless many other persons had the same feeling, without

being able to express it in the form of an eloquent sonnet. A great deal of allowance must be made for this very natural sentiment; yet the interests of a whole people could not be set aside for any such considerations. The work of constructing railways went on, and for a time the speculations were of a healthy and legitimate character. But in 1844-45 a number of bubble companies arose, which originated in dishonest greed, and had nothing but a swindler's success for their object. The country seemed to go mad about railways. Every newspaper overflowed with advertisements of new projects;

THE CASTLE OF THE WARTBURG.

every beggar thought he was going to be a millionaire. Parliament had but recently taken the control of railways under its supervision; defining the limit of fares, arranging other matters of detail in the interest of the public, and requiring that, before any company could come into operation, it should deposit at the Board of Trade a specific account, accompanied by sketches, plans, and sections of the lines, of the objects which it proposed to effect, and the means by which those objects were to be carried out. The last day on which these accounts could be rendered was November 30th, 1845. It happened to be Sunday—a circumstance overlooked when the arrangement was made; but all day long the proposed schemes came pouring in, and when at length the doors were closed at midnight, those who had arrived too late rang the bell, and, the moment they found an opportunity, flung their plans into the hall, only to see them thrown out again. The total number of railway

schemes thus lodged at the Board of Trade, before the end of the closing day, was 788. Many of these were bubble companies, floated by swindling and often poverty-stricken speculators, who found a number of persons simple enough to take shares, and pay money for them. When the crash was imminent, the vagabonds made off with their gains, and the credulous shareholders had to put up with their loss. One of the great leaders of railway

GEORGE WILSON, CHAIRMAN OF THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

enterprise in those days was Mr. George Hudson, a draper of York, with a genius for this kind of speculation, in which he made an enormous fortune. There can be no doubt that the railway enterprise of England was largely advanced by the labours and abilities of this person, who was the chairman of numerous companies; but in a subsequent year it was considered that he had misappropriated a large sum of money, and he was compelled to refund no less a sum than £190,000.

Since the resumption of office by Sir Robert Peel in 1841, the Free Trade agitation had made immense advances, and one of the most gifted champions of the cause, Mr. John Bright, had first appeared in Parliament during the summer of 1843. It is probable that Mr. Bright understood the whole case

for Free Trade as well as Mr. Cobden himself; and, even if his powers of exposition were not so irresistibly logical and lucid as those of his friend, he had a power of passionate, and even poetic, eloquence to which the other made no pretence, and which was equally effective whether on a platform or in the House of Commons. We have already seen that Sir Robert Peel was rapidly abandoning Protection, and the Free Trade party naturally gained confidence and vigour from so illustrious a convert. Their ideas had evidently taken hold of the popular mind, excepting, strange to say, that section of the people which had adopted the views of Chartism. Money to any amount seemed at the command of the reformers, and in a commercial country like England the possession of money is one of the best of arguments. On the 8th of May, 1845, an exhibition of agricultural products, implements, &c., and also of manufactured articles, was opened in Covent Garden Theatre, under the title of the Free Trade Bazaar. The whole of the pit and stage was boarded over; at the close of the vista thus created was an imitation painted window of the cathedral type; and the space thus utilised, as distinguished from the public part of the house, was fitted out as a Gothic Hall. The exhibition was open seventeen days, during which time about 100,000 people visited the Bazaar, and the monetary result was that £25,046 were added to the funds of the League. It is thought that this Bazaar suggested the first idea of the Great Exhibition which attracted the attention of the whole civilised world six years later. Of course the Protectionists laughed at the whole thing as theatrical; but it helped to familiarise Londoners with the idea of Free Trade—an important fact, as London was at that time behind the towns of the North in devotion to the new commercial policy. After May, 1845, the cause of Free Trade made rapid advances in the capital, and it seemed almost like a race between the two great political parties as to which should take it up.

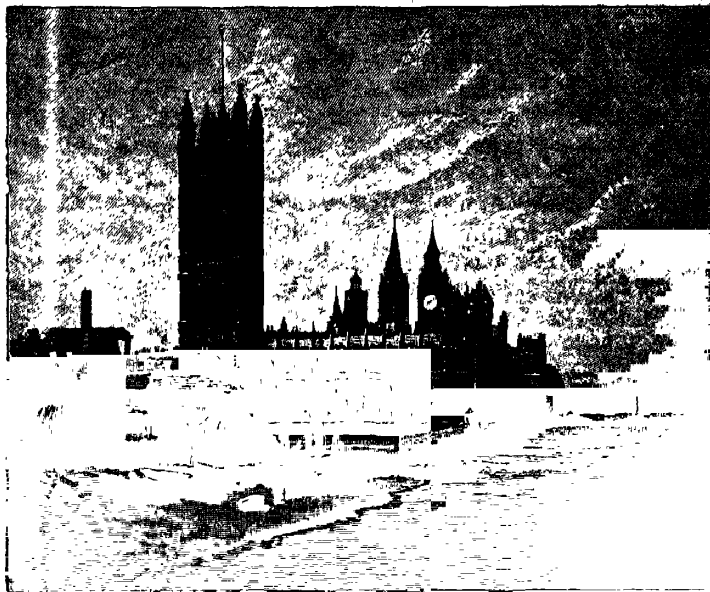
Another circumstance which worked in favour of the reformers was the rapid approach of the potato-disease in Ireland, which in the next two years resulted in one of the most terrible famines known to modern history. The condition of the potato crops began to attract serious attention in the month of August, when indications of its existence were visible, not only in Ireland, but in England. The evil, however, proved far worse in the former than in the latter country. On the 13th of October, Sir Robert Peel wrote to Sir James Graham:—"The accounts of the state of the potato crop in Ireland are becoming very alarming. I foresee the necessity that may be impressed upon us, at an early period, of considering whether there is not that well-grounded apprehension of actual scarcity that justifies and compels the adoption of every means of relief which the exercise of the prerogative or legislation might afford. I have no confidence in such remedies as the prohibition of exports, or the stoppage of distilleries. The removal of impediments to import is the only effectual remedy." This was a clear advance towards the adoption of

Free Trade in corn, which Sir Robert had previously resisted, and which he still postponed for several months. On the 31st of October we find a meeting at Dublin representing to the Lord Lieutenant that it had ascertained beyond a doubt that famine, and consequent pestilence, were imminent, unless the Government should take the most prompt measures to provide for the people by the distribution of food. It was therefore requested that the ports of Ireland should be opened for the importation of Indian corn, rice, and other articles of consumption. Sir Robert Peel was already convinced that it was impossible, under existing circumstances, to maintain restrictions on the free import of grain; but he still hung back from taking a different course, deterred, probably, by a doubt as to how far he could obtain a majority in Parliament.

His hesitation in this respect, which was now beginning to be denounced in Ireland in very emphatic terms, appeared to Lord John Russell to offer a fitting opportunity for effecting the restoration of the Whigs to office. By this time, Lord Melbourne had almost retired from public life, and everybody knew that, if the Liberals again came into power, the Premiership would fall to the most able, energetic, and resolute of Melbourne's lieutenants. Lord John Russell saw a great career before him, and on the 22nd of November he addressed a letter from Edinburgh to the electors of the City of London. It will be recollected that the Whig statesman, shortly before the destruction of the Melbourne Cabinet, had been in favour of a fixed, though a low, duty on corn, while his great rival, Sir Robert Peel, had adopted what was known as the Sliding Scale. The views of both leaders had altered since those days. Each had abandoned his hobby; but Lord John Russell was the first to proclaim unequivocally that he was a convert to the views of Mr. Cobden. In his Edinburgh letter, he wrote:—"It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty. In 1841, the Free Trade party would have agreed to a duty of 8s. per quarter on wheat, and after a lapse of years this duty might have been further reduced, and ultimately abolished. But the imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction within a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. Let us, then, unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter division amongst classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people."

The hesitation of Sir Robert Peel, though unfortunate both for himself and the country, was scarcely avoidable under the circumstances. He would have thrown open the ports at once by an Order in Council; but several of his colleagues in the Government were opposed to such a proceeding, and even to the adoption of any Free Trade policy whatever. The publication of Lord John Russell's letter, however, brought matters to a crisis. It is true that by this time most of the objecting members of the Administration had come round to the Premier's view; but Peel felt that he could not place

himself in the position of adopting a policy which his rival had so openly espoused. Convinced of his inability, at that time, to carry out the Free Trade ideas which he nevertheless saw to be inevitable, Sir Robert went to Osborne on the 5th of December, 1845, and placed his resignation in the hands of her Majesty. "I trust," says the Conservative Minister in his Memoirs, "that I satisfied the Queen that I was influenced by considerations of the public interest, and not by fear of responsibility or of reproach, in humbly tendering my resignation of office. Her Majesty was pleased to accept it, with marks of confidence and approbation which, however gratifying, made it a very painful act to replace in her Majesty's hands the trust she had confided in me." The Queen then requested Lord John Russell to form a Government; but, being still in Edinburgh, it was the 11th of December before that statesman could reach the south. He at once undertook the task assigned to him; but, as some of his political friends were disinclined to support the general lines of policy on which he desired to enter, or were unable to agree among themselves, the attempt ended in failure. Another difficulty resulted from the refusal of Sir Robert Peel to give an unconditional promise that he would support a measure for the total and immediate abolition of the Corn Laws, though he was willing to assure Lord John that he and his friends would abstain from any factious opposition.

On the 20th of December Lord John Russell announced to her Majesty that he was unable to form an Administration, and Sir Robert Peel was immediately recalled to the Royal presence at Windsor Castle. On entering the room, the Queen said to him very graciously, "So far from taking leave of you, Sir Robert, I must require you to withdraw your resignation." She added that her late Minister might naturally require time for reflection, and for communication with his colleagues, before he gave a decisive answer. "I humbly advised her Majesty," writes Sir Robert Peel, "to permit me to decide at once upon the resumption of office, and to enable me to announce to my late colleagues, on my return to London, that I had not hesitated to reaccept the appointment of First Minister." He goes on to state that the Queen was pleased cordially to approve of this suggestion, and he reached London on the evening of the 20th, once more invested with the functions of Prime Minister.

THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MINISTRY OF RENUNCIATION.

The *Times* Reveals a Secret of State Mr Sidney Herbert and Mrs Norton and the *Times*—A Court Scandal—Peel's Resignation—Lord John Russell's Failure to Form a Ministry Peel Resumes Office—The Ministry and the Queen—The Duke of Wellington and Peel—Disintegration of the Tory Party—Croker's Correspondence with Wellington—Peel's Instructions to the *Quarterly Review*—A Betrayed Editor—Peel and the Princess Lieven—Guizot's Defence of Peel—The Queen's Conduct in the Great Crisis—How she Strengthened the Position of the Crown—Her Popular Sympathies—Why Peel Changed his Policy—The Potato Rot—Impending Famine—Distress in England—The Campaign of the Free Traders—Scenes at their Meetings—The Protectionist Agitation and the Agricultural Labourers—Sufferings of the Poor—The Duke of Norfolk's Curry Powder—Meeting at Wootton Bassett—The Queen and the Sufferers.

It was on the 4th of December, 1845, that the *Times* startled the world by its celebrated leading article, beginning "The doom of the Corn Laws is sealed." This was the very earliest disclosure of that great act of political renunciation which impending famine in Ireland had forced on Sir Robert Peel. How the *Times* came to discover, on the 4th of December, that the Cabinet had broken up on the previous day, through the obstinacy of Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch, was for a long time a political mystery. It inspired what Lord Beaconsfield once called "the babble of the boudoirs," and the tittle-tattle of many clubs. It was whispered that one very near the Royal person had divulged this profound secret of State, a knowledge of

which would have been worth a king's ransom on the Corn Exchange. Such surmises were entirely wrong. So far as the Court knew, or guessed at the secret, it was kept inviolate. It was understood that Mr. Sidney Herbert, the youngest of Sir Robert Peel's colleagues, on the evening of the 3rd of December conveyed to Mrs. Norton (afterwards Lady Stirling Maxwell, of Keir) an idea of what had happened in the Cabinet, and that she, in turn, carried her gleanings from Mr. Herbert's conversation to Mr. Delane, the editor of the *Times*. The affair, it may be said in passing, has furnished Mr. George Meredith with a striking incident in his story, "*Diana of the Crossways*," for the heroine of that romance has much in common with the gifted *intrigante*, "whose bridal wreath was twined with weeds of strife." A more prosaic explanation, however, is supplied by Mr. Greville. He asserts that Lord Aberdeen gave Mr. Delane a hint that the Corn Law was doomed, his object being to conciliate America (which was deeply interested in the export of corn) in view of the Oregon dispute, which he was anxious to settle. It is hard to believe that a man of Lord Aberdeen's high sense of honour would, from such an inadequate motive, violate his Ministerial oath, and betray the secrets of his chief.

Lord John Russell had failed, as has been said, to form his Administration when the Cabinet of his rival broke up. Here it may now be convenient to explain the reason of that failure, which he laid before his disappointed Sovereign. On the morning of the 20th of December, when Sir Robert Peel waited on the Queen at Windsor, and was asked to withdraw his resignation, her Majesty had been disturbed by a letter from Lord John Russell, stating that he must abandon all hopes of forming a Ministry, because he had been unable "in one instance" to secure indispensable support from his more prominent followers. Who were the "prominent followers"? and who, "in one instance," thwarted the Leader of the Opposition in his effort to extricate the Queen from the difficulty in which she was entangled? The pragmatic "instance" was Lord Grey, and his refusal to serve the country in the hour of need was a matter not of principle but of personal feeling. Writing to Mr. J. F. Macfarlan, Chairman of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, on the 22nd of December, 1845, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay told the whole story. "You will have heard," he says, "of the termination of our attempt to form a Ministry. All our plans were frustrated by Lord Grey. . . . . On my own share in these transactions I reflect with unmixed satisfaction. From the first I told Lord John that I stipulated for one thing only, total and immediate Repeal. I would be as to all other matters absolutely in his hands; that I would take any office, or no office, just as it suited him best; and that he should never be disturbed by any personal pretensions or jealousies on my part. If everybody else had acted thus there would now have been a Liberal Ministry." We now know that Macaulay was mistaken. It was perfectly well known, not only to the Queen, but to the chiefs of the great parties, that Lord John

Russell could never have carried Repeal, for two reasons. He was distrusted by Free Traders like Cobden. It was impossible to expect that the House of Lords, who threatened to revolt against Wellington, would accept Free Trade from the Whigs, many of whom were eager to maintain a small fixed duty on corn. All this was quite well understood at Court, and it partially accounts for the unconcealed delight with which the Queen asked Sir Robert Peel to withdraw his resignation. It was, moreover, suspected at the time that the Court—always distrustful of Lord Palmerston—privily sympathised with the feelings of Lord Grey, who thought that the only office which Lord Palmerston was willing to accept, was precisely the one in which he would do irretrievable mischief. He had been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and naturally he could not, with self-respect, serve another Whig Government in an inferior capacity. But Lord Grey, though quite ready to serve with Palmerston if he took some other Department, held that, if he went to the Foreign Office, his pugnacity, combined with the hostile animus which he had inspired in France, must, sooner or later, lead to a disturbance of the peace of Europe. Lord Palmerston was, in truth, the Mordecai sitting at the gate of the Whig Oligarchy, and then, as ever, Lord Grey could only co-operate comfortably with a Ministry of Greys.

It was on the 20th December that Sir Robert Peel summoned his late colleagues in Downing Street, to inform them that he had resumed office, and to invite their assistance in abolishing the duties on foreign corn. The conclave was depressed and downcast, for the situation was unique and embarrassing. Lord Stanley, true to his imperious impulses, persisted in resigning. He refused to believe that the destitution in Ireland was so bad as it was painted by Peel, and it is but just to say that his main reason for deserting his leader had no direct connection with the effect of the Corn Laws on the price of food. The real interest of the country, Lord Stanley contended, was to have a flourishing rural population. That could only exist under the shadow of a territorial aristocracy, maintained by a Corn Law which kept up rents, because it kept up prices. No conscious self-interest seems to have tainted Lord Stanley's motives, and the same may be said of Cobden and the Free Traders, who, on the other hand, believed that the world would gain by the substitution of a commercial for a territorial aristocracy. The aim of the Free Traders, in fact, was to rule the English people by an oligarchy of rich manufacturers, thus "thrusting aside the nobles," and creating "a new policy specially adapted to the life of a great trading community." * Lord Stanley's idea, however, was that the landed interest had made England; that it gave her social stability and military power; that it had won her battles by sea and land, and built up her mighty fabric of empire. The Corn Laws he believed, quite honestly, to be the

* Morley's Life of Cobden, Vol. I., p. 134; Vol II., pp. 396 and 482.

THE IRISH FAMINE: STARVING PEASANTS AT A WORKHOUSE GATE

outworks of a great system of landlordism which gave the State a solid basis. His firm conviction was that Mr. Cobden and the Leaguers were eager to capture the outworks, that they might the more easily storm the citadel. And this idea, too, was common to the Whigs, who were advocates of a duty on corn, which, though small, was to be fixed. Through Lord Melbourne they had taught the country and the Queen that a man must

LORD GEORGE BENTINCK.

be mad who would dream of abolishing the Corn Laws—and they showed no sign, as a Party, of wavering in that conviction till the 22nd of November, 1845, when Lord John Russell sent the famous "Edinburgh Letter" to his constituents in the City of London, abandoning Protection once and for ever. It is but fair to remind a later generation of the relation in which the two great Parties stood to the Corn Law, because partisan writers often present an inadequate conception of the arduous task which Peel set himself, when he undertook to abolish the Corn Duties, in defiance of beliefs long rooted in the minds not only of the people, but of the governing classes of England.

There is no denying the fact that the admirable behaviour of the Queen throughout the epoch-marking Ministerial crisis of 1845–46 did a great deal to restore the influence of the Crown as an operative factor in English politics. Since the death of George IV. that influence had been waning. Under William IV. it had been exercised, but without subtlety of tact or breadth of sympathy; and therefore, when exercised, it was somewhat rudely "abated" by the popular Party. Nothing was further from Lord Melbourne's heart than to turn the Queen into a Whig, for it is on record that it was he who urged her to conciliate the Tories, and put confidence in Peel, against whom she bore a grudge for opposing the Parliamentary grant to the Prince Consort. Yet, in the early days of the Queen's reign, the influence of the Crown was not a popular influence, because it was supposed that Melbourne had become a sort of Mayor of the Palace, and had made the Sovereign the tool of Party. In the beginning of 1846, however, we notice a remarkable change in public feeling on this subject. There was then a growing belief, even among the Tories, that their suspicions of Melbourne had been unwarrantable, and the people ceased to fear that the Queen intended to base her Government on a system of favouritism. It is of the utmost importance, says Edmund Burke, "that the discretionary powers which are necessarily vested in the monarch, whether for the execution of the laws or for the nomination to magistracy or office, or for the conducting of the affairs of peace and war, or for ordering the revenue, should all be exercised upon public principles and national grounds, and not on the likings or prejudices, the intrigues or fooleries, of a Court."* This was really the sound teaching which Melbourne had impressed on the Queen, and her bearing in the crisis, which ended in Sir Robert Peel's re-assumption of office, showed that she had been an apt pupil.

The Prince Consort was quick to notice the effect which her Majesty's unswerving fidelity to public interests at this time had produced on the country. It was therefore with pardonable pride that he wrote to Baron Stockmar † a curious letter, shrewdly pointing out that the crisis now past had been of signal advantage to the Crown. The Queen had been seen to remain calm and unmoved in the fierce and strident strife of factions—the one stable element in the Constitution at a moment when no other rallying point was visible to the nation. Albany Fonblanque, the wittiest of the Radical journalists of that day, ridiculed, to the top of his bent, the chiefs of the two great parties, whose petty rivalries and personal jealousies had thrown public affairs into sad confusion. They were, it must be confessed, rather like Rabelais' giant, who, though he habitually fed on windmills, choked on a pat of butter swallowed the wrong way. But on behalf of the Radicals, Fonblanque, it is interesting to notice now, had nothing but praise to bestow on the Queen's behaviour in the midst of the tragi-comedy of politics, which was being enacted

* Thoughts on the Present Discontents.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Vol. I., p. 315.

before the eyes of a famished people. "In all the pranks and bunglings of the last three weeks," he wrote, "there is one part which, according to all report, has been played most faultlessly—that of a Constitutional Sovereign. In the pages of history the directness, the sincerity, the scrupulous observance of Constitutional rule, which have marked her Majesty's conduct in circumstances the most trying, will have their place of honour. However unused as we are to deal in homage to Royalty, we must add that never, we believe, was the heart of a monarch so warmly devoted to the interests of a people, and with so enlightened a sense of their interests." * The Continental tour of the Queen in 1845 had suggested to the people that the personal influence of the Sovereign might, if adroitly used, be of great service to the State in conciliating foreign nations, whose goodwill it would be advantageous to secure. Her conduct in the Ministerial crisis of 1845-46, however, convinced them that, if intelligently directed, the personal influence of the Queen, in domestic politics, might also be rendered not less beneficial to her subjects and her empire.

But at the meeting in Downing Street which terminated this momentous crisis, Lord Stanley, whose place was on his resignation promptly filled by Mr. Gladstone, was the only ex-Minister who had the courage of his opinions. The Duke of Buccleuch ceased to resist the logic of facts. The Duke of Wellington, who had wavered very much, finally cast in his lot with Peel—to the amazement of all his old friends, especially of Mr. John Wilson Croker. Mr. Croker had been induced by Sir Robert Peel, whilst on a visit to Drayton Manor in September, 1845, to attack the Anti-Corn-Law League in the *Quarterly Review*, and, angry at what he deemed his betrayal, he somewhat peremptorily demanded explanations from the Duke. His Grace simply wrote to him saying that he felt it his duty to stand by the Queen. This, in his view, implied that he must support the Minister who alone seemed able to carry on her Majesty's Government, which he (Wellington), as "a retained servant of the Crown," could not bring himself to hand over to "the League and the Radicals." † Croker, however, retorted, in a letter to Sir Henry Hardwicke, that Peel had done something quite as bad as that: "he has," wrote the indignant reviewer, "broken up the old interests, divided the great families, and commenced just such a revolution as the Noailles and Montmorencies did in 1789." But the Iron Duke was proof against all such appeals. He entrenched himself behind his favourite doctrine that he was primarily a servant of her Majesty. Her interests, he told the House of Lords, were of more importance than the opinion of any individual about the Corn Law or any other law. At the same time, he did not pretend to relish the situation. As he said—with a

* *Examiner*, 27th December, 1845

† The Croker Papers. The Correspondence and Diaries of the late Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, LL.D., F.R.S., Secretary to the Admiralty from 1809 to 1830. Edited by Louis J. Jennings. Vol. III., p. 67.

rough soldier's oath—to Lord Beaumont, "it *is* a —— mess, but I must look to the peace of the country and the Queen."* In private he told Lord Stanley that he was against the policy which Peel had adopted. In public, however, referring to Peel's conversion, he said, in the House of Lords :—"I applauded the conduct of my right hon. friend. I was delighted with it. It was exactly the course I should have followed under similar circumstances, and I therefore determined to stand by him." The Duke's strong personal loyalty to his young Queen had, in fact, first transformed him into a Conservative Opportunist, and then his own common sense led him to recognise the necessity for abandoning laws that made bread dear to an enfranchised but starving populace.

From the sketch now given of the ferment of public opinion, produced by a war between two powerful classes for political predominance in 1846, one thing must be self-evident. In view of the authority and influence of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, it was fortunate for Sir Robert Peel that the quick and generous sympathies of the Queen, whose tender heart was touched by the sufferings of the poor, were entirely with him all through this trying time. Her Majesty may therefore claim some share in the great work that crowned her Minister's career with honour—for she strengthened his hands by the confidence she displayed in his judgment, when his oldest friends forsook him. The Queen knew well that it was with no light heart, and for no trivial cause, that Peel abandoned, not the creed—for, like Mr. Huskisson, he had always been a Free Trader in principle†—but the policy of levying exceptional duties on foreign corn. Much blame has been cast on Sir Robert Peel for giving up that policy almost immediately after he had won place and power by pledging himself to maintain it. Certainly, after the revelations made in the Croker Papers, it is difficult in some respects to justify his conduct. It is indeed regrettable that those to whom his memory ought to be precious, have not deemed it expedient to explain away the instructions which he gave Mr. Croker, as editor of the *Quarterly*, in September, 1845. M. Guizot ‡ has, however, defended Peel from the charges of base tergiversation which, to the annoyance of the Queen, were pressed against him in the fierce and fiery invectives of Mr. Disraeli, and in the passionate but somewhat incoherent harangues of Lord George Bentinck. As the French statesman was on terms of intimacy not only with Peel, but with many of his colleagues, his opinion must be received with respect. According to M. Guizot, all through 1845 Sir Robert Peel was in a condition of painful and "touching perplexity" as to his duty in view of the spread of destitution. This perplexity, M. Guizot contends, was that not of a sordid placeman, but of "a sincere and conscientious mind carried forward in the direction of its own inclination by a great flood of public

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, by the Earl of Malmesbury, G.C.B., Vol. I., pp. 166 and 167.

† A Sketch of the Life and Character of Sir Robert Peel, by Sir Lawrence Peel, p. 283.

‡ Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel, by M. Guizot, p. 251.

opinion and passion, and struggling painfully against its adversaries, its friends, and itself." When the Queen met Sir Robert Peel with a smile on the 20th of December, and said "she was glad to be able to ask him to withdraw his resignation," she was, according to this theory, really lifting a cloud of gloom from his anxious head, and congratulating him on the ending of that state of suspense in which his troubled mind had been painfully poised. It may be a

THE DEPUTATION FROM LONDON AND DUBLIN CORPORATIONS BEFORE THE QÜEEN. (See p 216.)

coincidence, but in corroboration of M. Guizot's view we must note that a sigh of relief echoes through the letter in which the careworn Minister, six days after he resumed office, informed the Princess Lieven of the fact. "However unexpected is the turn which affairs have taken, it is," he writes, "for the best. I resume power with greater means of rendering public service than I should have had if I had relinquished it. But it is a strange dream!"*

Yet, if one considers for a moment the great process of political evolution over which the Queen was from her girlhood called on to preside, one finds nothing really miraculous in the dream. It was merely a phase of the beatific vision of a partially enfranchised democracy, which for the moment

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel, edited by Philip Henry, Earl Stanhope, and the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, Vol. II.

dazed all sorts and conditions of men. The late Lord Dalling, who lived through this stirring epoch of bloodless revolution, says that "previous to the Reform Bill and the Municipality Bills, everybody in England *looked up*: the ambitious young man looked up to the great nobleman for a seat in Parliament; the ambitious townsman to the chief men in his borough for a place in the Corporation. Subsequently to these measures, men desirous to elevate their position *looked down*. The aristocratic tendency of other days had thus become almost suddenly a democratic one. This democratic tendency, which has gone on increasing, had made itself already visible at the period when the Corn Law agitation began. It had been natural until then to consider this subject relative to the interests of the upper classes; it was now becoming natural to consider it in relation to the interests of the lower classes. The question presented itself in a perfectly different point of view, and politicians found, somewhat to their surprise, that all former arguments had lost their force. It was this change in the spirit of the times which had occasioned within such a very few years a total change in the manner of looking at matters affected by the Legislature."* Lord Beaconsfield's apologists sometimes say that what embittered him against the capitalists of the Anti-Corn-Law League, was his conviction that though they had the cry of cheap bread on their lips, the whisper of low wages was at their hearts. The wage-rate, no doubt, had a potent influence in recasting public opinion at this time. But it did not recast it in the Disraelitish mould. The working classes discovered, through the lucid teaching of Cobden, that wages did not fall because the Corn duty was low, and that they did not rise because it was high. When they made that discovery, the only argument that could protect Protection in a reformed Parliament vanished from the minds of men who were not partisans of the patrician order. Politicians of calm and enlightened judgment felt, as they felt the air they breathed, that public opinion in 1845–46 was becoming more and more hostile to the Corn Laws. The Queen and the *entourage* of the Court, then greatly under the influence of Baron Stockmar, who was in constant communication with Prince Albert, were evidently among the first to become sensitive to the change, but like Peel, Wellington, and Russell, they frankly acknowledged what must follow from it.

England was in truth all through 1845 moving fast to that "total and immediate repeal" of the Corn Laws which Cobden demanded, and the county gentry, Whig as well as Tory, equally dreaded. When Russell and Peel were in fact waiting for what Prince Bismarck calls "the psychological moment" to proclaim the new departure, the "psychological moment" came with the terrible incident which caused the spectre of famine to stalk over Ireland. That incident was the failure of the potato crop, and it removed the question of the Corn Laws far away from the battle-ground of rival political or

* Sir Robert Peel: An Historical Sketch, by Henry, Lord Dalling, 1874.

economic theories. The problem was no longer one of maintaining or abandoning a territorial system. At the beginning of 1846 it became a question of deciding whether so many hundred thousand of our fellow-creatures in Ireland should perish in the agonies of hunger, or whether, by removing the Corn duty, her Majesty's Government at one blow would strike down the barrier that prevented bread from reaching the lips of a starving peasantry. For the wretched cotters in Ireland the winter of 1845-46 was, truly, one of extreme privation. "Those who had savings," writes Mr. Greg,* "lived off them, but among the really poor there was widespread destitution." Forced to sell their clothes for food, the Irish peasantry refused to pay rent, and when rent was extorted by harsh process of law, retaliatory outrages immediately followed. The ghastly outlook in Ireland gave the Anti-Corn-Law agitators welcome leverage for their movement in England, and they increased their activity every day. Lord John Russell, on the 22nd of November, 1845, wrote the Edinburgh Letter to the electors of the City of London, warning them that the Whig Party, in view of the state of the country, were ready to put an end to a system which had been proved to be the blight of commerce and the bane of agriculture. This, we have seen, forced Peel's hands. As Mr. Bright said to Lord John, whom he met, after the issue of his manifesto, on the platform of a railway station in Yorkshire, "Your letter has made total and immediate repeal inevitable; nothing can save it" (the Corn Law).† Peel himself did not conceal from the Queen that he could perhaps keep the Whigs at bay for three years, and shortly before his death he told Cobden the same thing. But neither the monarch nor her Minister dared to procrastinate in the face of popular destitution, and they felt compelled to obey, no matter at what cost or sacrifice, the dictates of reason and humanity. For it was not from Ireland only that the moan of a suffering people broke upon the ear of a sorrowing Queen. It is true that the venal and factious press of that country at first attempted to deceive the world by denying the existence of wide-spreading potato-rot in the island. With the cries of the dying ringing in their ears, Irish journalists disputed with each other as to whether there actually was any famine in the land. But the facts could not long be concealed, either from the people or from the Queen. At the end of September, 1845, it had to be generally admitted that the staple food of Ireland had suddenly disappeared, and that even in England only the northern counties had escaped from the potato-disease. To such an extent did the rest of England suffer, that Professor Lindley declared there was hardly a sound potato to be found in Covent Garden Market.‡ As Lord Beaconsfield has observed, "This mysterious but universal sickness of a single root changed the history of the world."§

* Irish History for English Readers, p. 133.

† Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XIV.

‡ *Gardener's Chronicle*, September, 1845.

§ Endymion, Vol II., p. 190 (Tauchnitz Edition).

The Corporations of London and Dublin, on the 3rd of January, 1846, memorialised the Queen on the subject. Their deputations, who waited on her at Windsor, received from her a gracious and sympathetic reply to their statements, which she heard with manifest interest. The Anti-Corn-Law League felt that it would be good policy to turn the prevailing distress to account, and it immediately renewed, with redoubled vigour, its agitation against the duties that kept up the price of bread. Its leaders organised a series of meetings all over England and Scotland, and although the Chartists rather held aloof from them, the Free Trade speakers at last fairly touched the heart of the nation. Extraordinary scenes of enthusiasm took place at these meetings. In the last week of 1845, at a meeting in Manchester, it was suggested to raise a quarter of a million pounds sterling to help the agitation that must strengthen Peel's hands,* and Mr. John Morley has described how men jumped up from their seats and cried out, one after the other, "A thousand pounds for me!" "A thousand pounds for us!" and so on, till in less than two hours £60,000 were subscribed on the spot.† Of course, all this fervour provoked a movement on the other side. The Protectionists organised a counter agitation, but it was very badly managed. The speakers selected were persons of high rank and ample fortune. But they lacked sympathy and sense, and this defect was fatal to their cause. Their favourite argument was that there was no famine at all to fear, and they revelled in demonstrating to people who had nothing to eat, that their continued prosperity depended on the maintenance of a Corn Law which made bread dear. The Duke of Norfolk covered the Protectionist agitation with odium and ridicule, by suggesting that if haply here and there a labouring man felt hungry, he might derive great benefit by taking at night, just before bed-time, a pinch of curry-powder as a comforting stomachic. The satirists of the Radical party made affluent use of this egregious imbecility, and the *Examiner*‡ promptly printed a poem headed "Comfort and Curry," in which the Duke and Duchess were cruelly quizzed.

What contributed most to strengthen Sir Robert Peel was the agitation among the agricultural labourers. It was very difficult to resist such an appeal as theirs, when they pointed to their gaunt forms, and wan and haggard faces, and said, "Behold this is the result of the Protection that is kept up for our benefit." They held meetings, in the beginning of 1846, in various parts of the country, and from the speeches at these we get a vivid idea of the sad condition of the English people at this time. One gathering may be cited as typical. It was held by some two hundred starvelings, who met in fear—for the gentry frowned upon the movement—on a bleak winter's night, by the light of a clouded moon and a few flaring candles at a cross-road near Wootton Bassett. The chairman said he had six shillings a week, on which he

* Prentice's History of the League, Vol. II., p. 415.

† Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XIV.

‡ *Examiner*, 17th January, 1846.

MEETING OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS AT WOOTTON BASSETT. (See p. 216.)

had to keep his wife and two children, and he complained that it was not half enough for them to live on. Another speaker, one William Burchall, said, "that though their wages had risen within the last few months a shilling a week, bread had risen two shillings, so that the difference was against them. He was past forty years of age, and he could say that he had never purchased a pound of good slaughtered beef fit to be carried into the market. As to mutton, he had purchased a little of that, but never as much as would average a pound a year in forty years. He knew what veal was, but never had any at all." Another man said that, during thirty-nine weeks, ending 10th of June, 1844, he had earned only £5 19s. 8d., or 3s. 1d. a week; and that but for getting a little land to rent from Lord Carnarvon, he and his wife and eight children would have starved. His house rent came to £4 a year, and his bread bill alone came to from 7s. 7d. to 8s. 8d. a week Another man said that he had so little bread to eat that he got weak, and was then discharged as unfit for service. James Pegler complained he had been "hunted down" under the Poor Laws, having been, with his wife and family, forced into the workhouse, and separated from them for eleven months. At last, he was turned away to get work, and because he went out of the district to find it, he was taken before the magistrate, charged with desertion, and sent to prison for a month. "God bless my heart and life," exclaimed this poor creature, "I never see'd such a go, to be sure, as how I was served. I know enough of starvation and misery to make me say 'God send us Free Trade.'" At this meeting the labourers declared they were thankful that Providence had put it out of the power of Government "to write taxation on the bosom of the streams and rivulets that were so bountifully spread around their neighbourhood."* They were unconsciously illustrating the wisdom of Paul Louis Courier, who once said that the *rich* are grateful to Providence for what it gives—the poor, for what it leaves them.

The Queen, it has been reported, was deeply affected by these demonstrations of suffering. It is said that she will never forget, as long as she lives, that she began her reign when the wealth and power of England were waning. She was, on her accession to the throne, the object of the most chivalrous devotion that any Queen could inspire. Yet, when crowned, the tears fell from her eyes, as she thought of her own responsibility in the midst of a nation sinking deeper and deeper into destitution, and plunging deeper and deeper into debt. Mrs. Browning, when she read the account of her Majesty's coronation, gave apt expression to the popular hopes that were raised by the significance which the people instinctively attached to this incident of the ceremony.

> "God save thee, weeping Queen!
> Thou shalt be well beloved;
> The tyrant's sceptre cannot move
> As those pure tears have moved!

* See *Times* Report, 7th of January, 1846

The nature in thy eyes we see
Which tyrants cannot own;
The love that guardeth liberties,
Strange blessing on the nation lies,
Whose Sovereign wept;
Yea, wept to wear a crown."

As if in fulfilment of the hopes which the Queen's conduct and bearing since her accession had inspired, a happier day was now dawning. There was every prospect that content would now gladden the reign that began in sorrow and in tears. The partial relaxation of the Protective tariff during the last three years had brought hope to the heart of the Sovereign, for it was certainly followed by some amelioration in the lot of her subjects. Her Majesty was profoundly impressed by Sir Robert Peel's inferences from the success of this experimental loosening of the shackles on commerce. She was, therefore, naturally inclined to give the weight of her artless sympathies and "sweet counsel" to a new departure in fiscal policy, that promised to "make Plenty smile on the cheek of Toil." The opening of the Parliamentary Session of 1846 was, therefore, to the Queen no mere formal or ordinary ceremony of State. It was, in her opinion, and in the opinion of the Prince Consort, the initiation of a "bloodless revolution," and the closing of a distinct epoch in the history of Party Government.

DOG'S HEAD.

(Drawn and Etched by the Prince Consort.)

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FREE TRADE PARLIAMENT.

Opening of Parliament in 1846—The Queen's Speech—The Debate on the Address—Sir Robert Peel's Statement—Mr. Disraeli's Philippics—Bishop Wilberforce on Peel's Reception by the House of Commons—Peel's Mistake—Lord George Bentinck's Attack on the Prince Consort—The Queen's Explanations—The Court and the Peelites—The Corn Bill in the House of Lords—Lord Stanley's Political Dinner-Party—The Duke of Wellington and the Peers—Triumph in the Lords and Defeat in the Commons—Peel's Coercion Bill for Ireland—A Factious Opposition—Fall of the Government—Lord Aberdeen's adroit Diplomacy—The Oregon Controversy and its Settlement—The Government's Policy in India—War in the Punjab—Victories over the Sikhs—Resignation of the Ministry—The Queen's Farewell to Peel—Her Suggestion of a Coalition—Wellington and Cobden advise Peel to dissolve—Reasons for his Refusal—The Queen and the Duke of Wellington—The Duke's Letter to Lord John Russell—Lyndhurst and Reconstruction—Disintegration of the Tory Party—The Peelites in Opposition—A Hint from Aristophanes—Tory Persecution of Peel

It was on the 19th of January, 1846,* that the Queen opened in person the Parliament which revolutionised the commercial policy of England, and transferred the political centre of gravity from the territorial to the commercial aristocracy of the country. The Royal procession was formed at Buckingham Palace in the usual order. Her Majesty and Prince Albert descended the grand staircase shortly before two o'clock, the Queen wearing a lustrous diamond circlet on her fair white brow. The Prince was habited in a Field-Marshal's uniform, and the orders of the Garter and Golden Fleece shone on his breast. The State coach with its eight cream-coloured horses then drove with the Royal party to the Palace of the Legislature, and as her Majesty passed through the densely crowded Royal Gallery it was seen that she was labouring under deep but suppressed emotion.

From the Throne she read, in clear but thrilling tones, the following speech:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*—

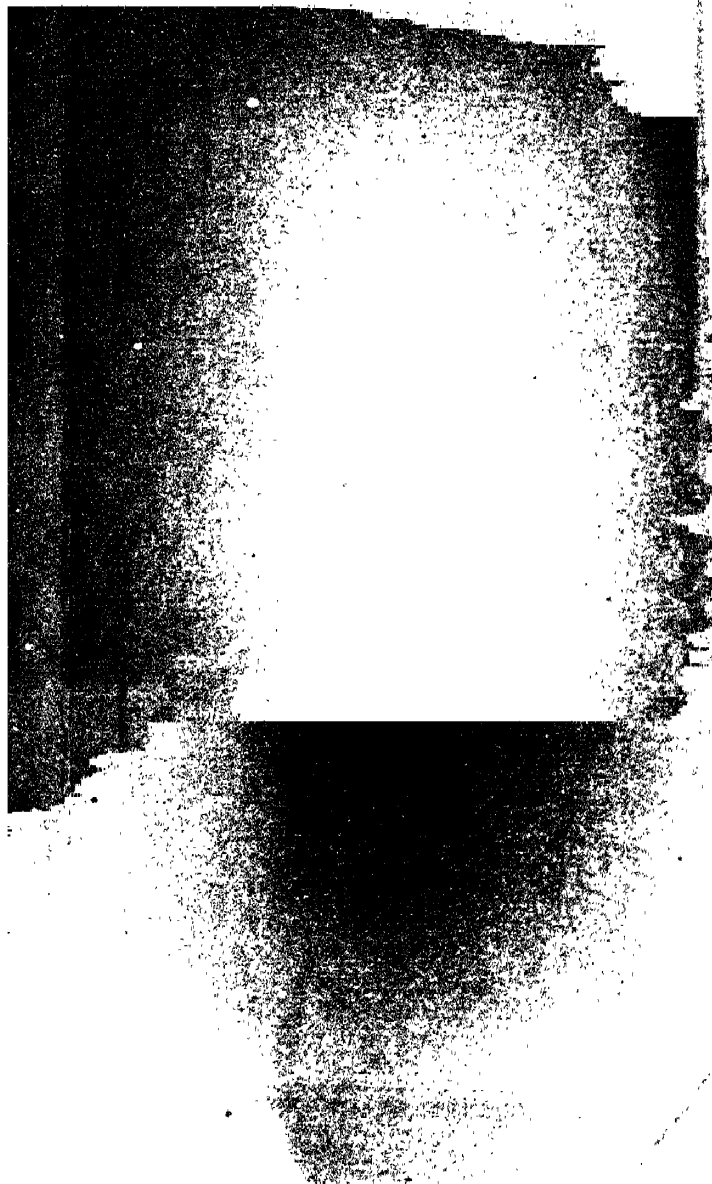
"It gives me great satisfaction again to meet you in Parliament, and to have the opportunity of recurring to your assistance and advice.

"I continue to receive from my allies, and from other foreign Powers, the strongest assurances of the desire to cultivate the most friendly relations with this country.

"I rejoice that, in concert with the Emperor of Russia, and through the success of our joint mediation, I have been enabled to adjust the differences which have long prevailed between the Ottoman Porte and the King of Persia, and had seriously endangered the tranquillity of the East.

"For several years a desolating and sanguinary warfare has afflicted the States of the Rio de la Plata. The commerce of all nations has been interrupted, and acts of barbarity have been committed unknown to the practice of a civilised people. In conjunction with the King of the French I am endeavouring to effect the pacification of these States.

"The Convention concluded with France in the course of last year, for the more effectual suppression of the Slave Trade, is about to be carried into immediate execution by the active co-operation of the two Powers on the coast of Africa. It is my desire that our present union, and the good understanding which so happily exists between us, may always be employed to promote the interests of humanity, and to secure the peace of the world.

* Hansard.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT IN 1846: ARRIVAL OF THE ROYAL PROCESSION AT THE HOUSE OF LORDS. (See p. 220.)

"I regret that the conflicting claims of Great Britain and the United States, in respect of the territory on the north-western coast of America, although they have been made the subject of repeated negotiation, still remain unsettled. You may be assured that no effort, consistent with national honour, shall be wanting on my part to bring this question to an early and peaceful termination.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—*

"The estimates for the year will be laid before you at an early period. Although I am deeply sensible of the importance of enforcing economy in all branches of the expenditure, yet I have been compelled, by a due regard to the exigencies of the Public Service, and to the state of our Naval and Military establishments, to propose some increase in the estimates which provide for their efficiency.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,—*

"I have observed with great regret the frequent instances in which the crime of deliberate assassination has been of late committed in Ireland. It will be for you only to consider whether any measures can be devised calculated to give increased protection to life, and to bring to justice the perpetrators of so dreadful a crime.

"I have to lament that in consequence of a failure of the potato crop in many parts of the United Kingdom there will be a deficient supply of an article of food which forms the chief subsistence of great numbers of my people. The disease by which the plant has been affected has prevailed to the utmost extent in Ireland I have adopted all such precautions as it was in my power for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings which may be caused by this calamity; and I shall confidently rely on your co-operation in devising such other means for effecting the same benevolent purpose as may require the sanction of the Legislature.

"I have had great satisfaction in giving my assent to the measures which you have presented to me from time to time, calculated to extend commerce, and to stimulate domestic skill and industry, by the repeal of prohibitory and the relaxation of protective duties. The prosperous state of the revenue, the increased demand for labour, and the general improvement which has taken place in the internal conditions of the country are strong testimonies in favour of the course you have pursued

"I recommend you to take into your early consideration, whether the principles on which you have acted may not with advantage be more extensively applied, and whether it may not be in your power, after a careful review of the existing duties on many articles, the produce of manufacture of other countries, to make such further reductions and remissions as may tend to ensure the continuance of the great benefits to which I have adverted, and, by enlarging our commercial intercourse, to strengthen the bonds of amity with Foreign Powers.

"Any measures which you may adopt for effecting these great objects will, I am convinced, be accompanied by such precautions as shall prevent permanent loss to the revenue, or injurious results to any of the great interests of the country

"I have full reliance on your just and dispassionate consideration of matters so deeply affecting the public welfare.

"It is my earnest prayer that, with the blessing of Divine Providence on your councils, you may be enabled to promote friendly feelings between different classes of my subjects, to provide additional security for the continuance of peace, and to maintain contentment and happiness at home, by increasing the comfort and bettering the condition of the great body of my people."

When the Queen retired, then the difficulty of some of our Constitutional forms became apparent. It was remarked at the time that, had her Majesty suddenly come down in the middle of the Session, and, usurping the functions of Ministers, laid a startling project of legislation before Parliament, she could not have found herself more thoroughly the mover of a controversial Bill than, in spite of herself, she had become that afternoon. Every caution had been exercised, it will be observed, in keeping all mention of the Corn duties out of the Royal Speech. Yet, within a few hours after it

was read, the two Houses were engaged in an acrimonious debate, not on the guarded generalities of the Address from the Throne, but on the proposal for the total and immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws. The Queen's Speech, looked at apart from the events of the day, might seem to recommend something less than that. But it was that, and nothing less, which was in men's minds and hearts, and for once in our Parliamentary history the Debate on the Address was not a barren criticism of the general policy of the Government, but really a sharp discussion on a special measure foreshadowed dimly in the Royal Speech.

The story of the Parliamentary Session of 1846, in its bearing on the fate of the Corn Law Bill, has been so ably told both by Dr. Cooke Taylor, in his "Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel," and by Mr. John Morley, in his "Life of Cobden," that it is hardly necessary here to do more than glance at its salient points. In the House of Lords the debate on the Address was brief and bitter—at least as bitter as the Duke of Richmond, who assailed Sir Robert Peel, could make it. But in the House of Commons the proceedings were more exciting. Lord Francis Egerton (afterwards Earl of Ellesmere) moved, and Mr. Beckett Denison, who had driven Lord Morpeth out of his seat for the West Riding, because his Lordship had joined the Anti-Corn-Law League, seconded the Address. Sir Robert Peel followed, and vindicated his change of policy, resting the chief strength of his case on his own observations, first, of the effect of the gradual relaxation of Protective duties which he had tried, and secondly, on the failure of the potato crop—a report on which had been drawn up for him by Professor Lindley and Dr. Lyon Playfair. It was in this speech that he intimated he was at first prepared to suspend the Corn Law by an Order in Council, but that his colleagues objected to that course on the ground that, if once opened to foreign corn, the ports could never again be closed. Lord John Russell followed, and explained how he had failed to form a Ministry; and then Lord George Bentinck, waiving his right as leader of the Protectionists to reply, put up Mr. Disraeli to deliver one of the first of those violent philippics against Peel which gave him a unique reputation as a Parliamentary *sabreur*. What could the House think of a statesman, he asked, who having, as he had boasted, served four sovereigns, was finally compelled, by the observations of the last three years, to change his opinion on a subject which had been discussed in his hearing from every conceivable point of view during a quarter of a century? He likened him to the Capitan Pasha of the Sultan, who, on the plea that he hated a war, ended it by going over to the enemy, and betraying his Imperial master. Peel's speech, said Mr. Disraeli, was "a glorious example of egotistical rhetoric." He was "no more a great statesman than a man who got up behind a carriage was a great whip. Both were anxious for progress, and both wanted a good place." It was a brilliant, dazzling, witty harangue, and it caught the humour, not of the betrayed Protectionists merely, but to some extent of the House also.

Looking back on Peel's speech now, one can detect a false note [illegible] Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, who went to hear the [illegible] letter to Miss Noel, says that the Prime Minister's statement was [illegible] with "a kind of thundering sullenness." * He unconsciously irritated the House by his assumption that the case for the Corn Laws must [illegible] fall after he had personally put the matter to the test of a three years'

ST. STEPHEN'S CLOISTERS, WESTMINSTER HALL.

experiment. It lessened the grace of his submission to events and facts, when he argued as if the observations and experiments and researches of all the greatest economists in the world during a score of years were not in any sense conclusive till verified by Sir Robert Peel. And all through the debates, it is quite clear that he contrived to embitter his opponents by seeming to talk down to them. His tone was that of one who thought they were rather to be pitied than blamed, because they could not understand that if three years had sufficed to change the opinion of their leader, three minutes ought to suffice for the conversion of his followers.

* Life and Letters of Samuel Wilberforce, D.D., by R. G. Wilberforce, Vol. I.

[illegible] and one set of circumstances hardly convinced men, whose [illegible] interests were at stake, that Protection was wrong, especially after Sir Robert

LORD STANLEY (AFTERWARDS FOURTEENTH EARL OF DERBY).

Peel himself had taught them to disregard the experience of a quarter of a century. Peel, when he showed how keenly he felt Mr. Disraeli's sarcasms, failed to remember that the arrows which stung him came from his own quiver.

A few days after the Session opened, Sir Robert Peel, in explaining his plan for getting rid of the Corn duties, made it clear that Repeal was to be

total, but not immediate. Writing to Mrs. Cobden on the 28th of January, Cobden says:—"Peel is at last delivered, but I hardly know whether to call it a boy or a girl. Something between the two, I believe. His Corn measure makes an end of all Corn laws in 1849, and in the meantime it is virtually a fixed duty of 4s. He has done more than was expected of him, and all but the right thing." As a matter of fact, there was to be a sliding scale till 1849, the maximum duty being 10s. when wheat was under 48s. a quarter, and the minimum duty being 4s. when wheat was 54s. a quarter. On the 2nd of March, when the House went into Committee on the resolution, Mr. Villiers' amendment, insisting on immediate, as well as total, Repeal, was lost by a large majority, and on the 11th of May the Corn Bill reached the third reading. The debate lasted three nights, and at 4 a.m. on the 16th it was passed by a majority of 98 in a House of 516.

Before tracing the subsequent stages of this controversy, it may not be amiss to allude to one of the most curious incidents that marked its progress. On the 27th of January, when Sir Robert Peel's resolutions embodying his financial policy came before the House of Commons, the presence of Prince Albert in the gallery, as a spectator of the scene, roused the jealousy and wrath of the Tories. Lord George Bentinck, in the course of the debate, waved his hand excitedly towards his Royal Highness, and accused him of being "seduced by the First Minister of the Crown to come down to this House to usher in, to give *éclat*, and, as it were, by reflection from the Queen, to give the semblance of a personal sanction of her Majesty to a measure which, be it for good or evil, a great majority at least of the landed aristocracy of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, imagine fraught with deep injury, if not ruin, to them." This was an insinuation at once ridiculous and unjust. The truth is that the Queen, from her girlhood, has had a somewhat exaggerated idea of the instructive value of Parliamentary debates. She is to this day an ardent student of all Parliamentary reports. She has the true Parliamentary instinct peculiar to England and English-speaking communities which leads them to take a strange but genuine delight in Parliamentary discussion. Indeed, she has been known to tell her Ministers not only what she thought of a particular debate, but *how she herself* would have handled the subject-matter of it had she been a *member* of the House of Commons; in fact, it was in replying to a communication of this kind that Lord Palmerston once observed, in the felicitous vein of a courtier, that it was a lucky thing for Ministers who had the misfortune to differ from her Majesty, that they had not to answer her arguments in Parliament. Under the influence of these ideas, the Queen naturally induced Prince Albert to attend the great historic debate of the 14th of January—"to hear a fine debate," as she herself has said, "being so useful to all princes."* Party feeling, however, ran so high in

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Note by the Queen, Vol. I., p. 322.

1846, that Lord George Bentinck and the Tory Protectionists put the worst construction on a perfectly innocent act. The Prince Consort simply went to listen to the discussion, just as the Prince of Wales and his son went to hear Mr. Gladstone introduce his Government of Ireland Bill in the House of Commons on the 8th of April, 1886; and it is a mark of the sweetened temper of political life in these latter days that not only did no Tory complain of the Prince's presence on that occasion, but nobody even resented the kid-glove plaudits with which the young Prince Albert Victor, with the generous but irrepressible enthusiasm of youth, greeted Mr. Gladstone's stately and impressive peroration.* Lord George Bentinck's attack on the Prince Consort was deficient alike in tact and taste; but it is only fair to say that there was the shadow of an excuse for it. It had been whispered that the Court had become Peelite—and the rumour was not without foundation in fact. The Prince Consort reflected its sympathies quite accurately when he wrote to Baron Stockmar, on the 16th of February, that Peel was "abused like the most disgraceful criminal," adding not only that factions would combine to crush him—as they did—but that this "would be a great misfortune."

In the House of Lords the course of the Corn Bill was comparatively smooth. Lord Stanley took the leadership of the Protectionists, but the disintegration of parties was complete. Nothing illustrates this better than a caustic remark which Lord Stanley threw out at a great political dinner-party at his house, two days after the Bill had been passed by the Commons. On that occasion he said, scoffingly, that it was most diverting to see a Liberal like Lord Bessborough whipping up the Bishops to support the Duke of Wellington on a Free Trade question.† In the Upper House the opposition to the Bill virtually collapsed. Lord Stanley, when argumentative, was tame, and, when personal, vituperative. The ablest of the Bishops, in the name of the Church, repudiated the idea that the Protectionist policy had benefited the rural poor; and Wilberforce distinguished himself, especially, by his graphic picture of the sufferings which the agricultural labourers were enduring. The Duke of Wellington, however, decided the matter by telling the Peers that they would be wise to bow to public opinion with a good grace, and not commit themselves to a struggle between the Crown and the people. But he was hardly candid in pretending that the Crown in this matter was opposed to the people. This idea can be disproved by an extract from that remarkable letter in which the Queen, in speaking of Peel's resumption of office, eulogises his chivalrous behaviour towards herself, and adds, with unaffected sincerity, "I have never seen him so excited and determined, and such a good cause *must* succeed."‡ The Lords, however, acting on the Duke's advice, only engaged in a sham fight, and the final stage of the

* Leading article, *Daily Chronicle*, 9th April, 1886.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Malmesbury, Vol. I., p. 171.

‡ Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Vol. II., p. 312.

Bill passed without debate or division. The night on which Peel's triumph in the Lords was announced was the night on which, however, his Ministry fell in the Commons. It was the night on which a combination of factions, as the Prince Consort had predicted, rejected what was called the Coercion Bill for Ireland, and wrecked the most popular Cabinet that ever governed England.

It has already been said that the unruly state of Ireland had been

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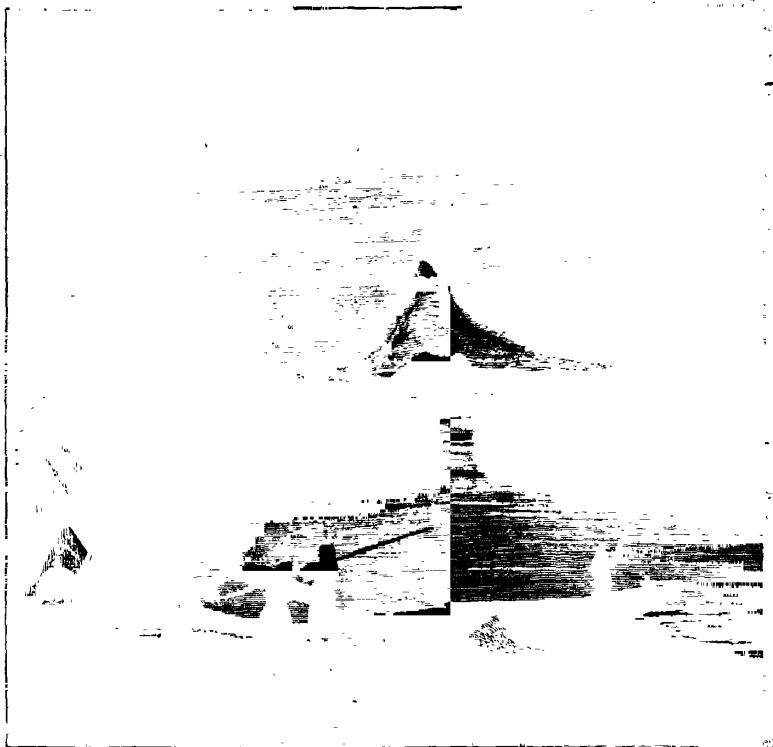
aggravated by famine, and that evictions, following refusal of rent, had been avenged by outrages. In the Queen's Speech it had been indicated that measures to restore order in Ireland would be framed; but it was not till the end of June that a Coercion Bill was brought forward in the House of Commons for second reading. This was the Bill which was fatal to the Ministry. According to an old legend of the Moslems, a good angel and a bad angel walk on either side of a man all through life, and Lord Dalling has very justly observed that, whilst Free Trade was the good angel of Peel's Administration, its bad angel was Coercion for Ireland. The introduction of a Coercion Bill for Ireland, after the safety of the Corn

Law Bill was assured, was taken as a plausible pretext for dissolving the alliance between the Whigs and the Government. It was regarded by the Protectionists as an excellent opportunity for punishing the Ministers for deserting them. Perhaps, if the truth were known, it was regarded by Sir Robert Peel himself as a good field in which to meet a defeat that was

VIEW IN OREGON: THE COLUMBIA RIVER AND MOUNT HOOD.

inevitable, and which would send him into the retirement for which latterly he had begun to crave. A great deal has been said and written as to the reasons which induced the various parties to form combinations against the Administration that had done the State such noble service. The motives of its enemies, however, were simple enough. The Protectionists had what they called their "betrayal" to avenge; the Whigs considered that Peel had behaved most ungenerously to the Melbourne Ministry, whose conciliatory Irish policy, as worked out by Lord Normanby and Mr. Drummond, had promised well for that country. They firmly believed that

if they were in power they could control Ireland by kindness, but that in applying such a policy, they did not dare to trust as a colleague the Minister who had so unscrupulously overthrown Lord Melbourne. A union between Peel and Lord John Russell, such as the Queen desired to bring about, was also impossible for another reason—Peel would not part company with Sir James Graham. Lord John Russell, on the other hand, would not consent to act with Sir James, whom the Whigs detested as an unforgivable renegade. The Coercion Bill for Ireland was therefore doomed from the outset, not on its merits, but by party passion. This was so strong, that the Whigs in the House of Lords, as if to give Peel warning of his fate, actually combined with the Protectionists to defeat Lord Lyndhurst's Charitable Trusts Bill, although it was directed against abuses which every Whig was pledged to attack. "We, alas," Lord Campbell confesses, "with shame," had "not enough virtue to withstand the temptation of snatching a vote against the Government"*—a vote, by the way, which kept alive heinous abuses for eight years longer.

The Upper House, however, was not quite so factious over the Irish Coercion Bill. It was introduced by the Earl of St. Germains, who explained that it enabled the Government not only to proclaim any district in Ireland in which crime prevailed, but to quarter extra police on it at the expense of the ratepayers. Stringent clauses prohibiting the possession of arms, and preventing people from quitting their houses between sunset and sunrise, were added. These were, in fact, the clauses which whetted the wit of the younger Radicals against what they derisively termed, not an Irish Coercion, but an "Irish Curfew Bill." The Lords were also told that outrages in Ireland had risen from 1,496 in 1844, to 3,642 in 1845, and the Bill passed through the Upper House with very trifling opposition. It was in the Commons that it was destined to be made the battle-ground of factions. The Protectionists pretended that Peel was not in earnest in introducing it; for, though the Bill was announced in January, it was not till the 30th of March that Sir James Graham moved the first reading, and not till late in June that the second reading was taken. The Whigs and Radicals objected to the Bill because they held that conciliation, and not repression, was wanted in Ireland. The Irish members taunted Peel with having created the disturbances in Ireland by changing the tolerant policy of Melbourne, Normanby, and Drummond, and by giving Irish judicial appointments to the most violent Orange partisans. Others, like Mr. Roche, asked "Why don't you feed the Irish peasantry, if, as is clear, hunger is making them discontented?" The position of men like Mr. Cobden was most embarrassing. As Liberals, they were bound to vote against the Bill. But then they did not wish to expel Peel from office—and Peel had said that by the Bill he would stand or fall. They decided at last to vote against the measure, and rightly, for it was impossible

* Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.

to carry on the Queen's Government with three parties in the House—Peelites, Protectionists, and Whig Free Traders.... A single vote, moreover, could not save the Ministry, for Peel's enemies would soon have organised another combination against him on another question. The Bill was accordingly defeated by a vote of 219 to 292, and the great Ministry which effected a peaceful revolution, and created a new era of government in England, fell before a majority of 73. Though 106 Protectionists returned to their old allegiance, and voted with Peel, 70 voted against him, and they, combined with all the Whigs and Radicals, rendered the defeat of the Government so complete that even Peel's antagonists forbore to cheer. Writing on the 4th of July to Lord Hardwicke in India, the fallen Minister said he had every reason to forgive his enemies for "having conferred upon him the blessing of the loss of power." *

Just before the fatal verdict was given, the Queen had the consolation of knowing that, thanks to the adroit diplomacy of Lord Aberdeen, who was justly a *persona grata* at Court, a dispute with the United States as to the settlement of the Oregon territory had ended. This was some slight solace to her Majesty for the vexation of losing a Ministry which she felt convinced was in full touch with national sympathies at a most perilous time, and which she trusted, she says in one of her letters, because she never once knew them recommend anything "that was not for the country's good, and never for the Party's advantage only." † This controversy with the United States had in 1822 brought us to the verge of war, for, by a Convention in 1818, American and English settlers were to have the privilege of colonising the no-man's land in Oregon indiscriminately for ten years, a term again renewed in 1827. Quarrels from clashing jurisdictions and conflicting allegiances naturally arose out of this confused state of things, and it was clear that the territory ought to be divided fairly and finally between the two Governments. In March, President Polk had sent a Message to Congress, pointing out that though England was at peace with all the world, she was making unusual warlike preparations "both at home and in her North American possessions." This, the President broadly hinted, was due to the continuance of the Oregon dispute, and, alluding in an alarmist fashion to the contingency of war between the two nations, he suggested the propriety of also increasing the military and naval forces of the Republic. On the 13th of April, Mr. Reverdy Johnson proposed to the Senate a Resolution, which was carried, giving notice to England that the existing loose arrangement with regard to Oregon should, so far as America was concerned, determine at the end of twelve months, and urging on the Governments of both countries the necessity for taking steps to arrive at an amicable settlement. It was on the 9th of June that Lord Brougham asked Lord Aberdeen if it were true that

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel, edited by Philip, Earl Stanhope, and the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Vol. I., p. 328.

the Oregon question had really been settled, and Lord Aberdeen answered in
the affirmative. He seems to have managed the whole affair very skilfully.
Finding that President Polk would not submit the dispute to arbitration, and
that he sent a Message to the Senate recommending it to give notice of ending
the joint occupation of Oregon, Lord Aberdeen waited to see what the Senate
would do. When it passed Mr. Reverdy Johnson's friendly and suggestive

THE BRITISH ARMY CROSSING THE SUTLEJ

Resolution, Lord Aberdeen, discarding diplomatic forms, immediately acted on it, and submitted a draft of a new Oregon Convention, formulating his idea of an amicable settlement for the consideration of the United States. Mr. Pakenham, the American Secretary of State, promptly accepted it as the basis of the Treaty, which was ratified on 17th of June, 1846—a Treaty which made the 49th parallel of North latitude the boundary line between the two countries. All land to the north of that line went to Canada; and all land to the south of it, to the United States.

Another cause of anxiety had virtually disappeared before Peel resigned office. The war cloud that loomed over our Indian frontier had vanished,

THE BATTLE OF FEROZESHAH.

though not till a brilliant and decisive campaign had been fought against the Sikhs in the Punjab.

The power of the Sikh nation was consolidated by Ranjit Sing—an adventurer who, in 1799, obtained a grant of Lahore from Zaman Shah. He gradually conquered the Punjab, and, in 1809, attacked the small Sikh States east of the Sutlej. Those Cis-Sutlej principalities accordingly sought and obtained British protection. In 1818, Ranjit stormed Multan, and carried the Khalsa banner from the extreme south of the Punjab, far away into the valley of Kashmir. In 1839, his son, Kharak Sing, succeeded to his throne, but was supposed to have been poisoned in 1840. After that, the Sikh dominion fell into anarchy, and frequent violations of British territory led to the first Sikh war of 1845.

On the 17th of November, 1845, the Sikhs declared war on the English, and on the 11th of December the first Sikh soldier crossed the Sutlej. On the 18th, the battle of Moodkee was fought by Sir Hugh Gough, afterwards Lord Gough, who was in command of an army of 11,000 men. Moodkee is a village in the Ferozepore district, lying in a plain twenty-six miles south of the Sutlej. Two days before the battle the Sikhs crossed the river at Ferozepore with 4,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 22 guns. At Moodkee they were driven from their position after a hard struggle, in which Gough had 215 killed and 657 wounded. The battle may be said to have gone on till the 22nd, when our troops stormed and took the entrenched camp of the enemy at Ferozeshah, twelve miles from the left bank of the Sutlej. The Sikhs attributed their defeat at that place not so much to the skill of our generals, as to the treachery of their own leader. They lost 2,000 men, and the British 694 killed and 1,721 wounded ere the earthworks were carried. Sir Robert Sale and General McCaskell were killed. Many of our losses were due to the blowing-up of the enemy's camp after we had entered it; many of our men were killed whilst burying the dead, a misfortune attributed to our lack of a strong enough force of cavalry to clear the ground. Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, was present at both engagements. He had generously offered to serve in a military capacity under Gough, who put him in *command of* a Division. It was for this reason that Sir Henry wrote to Gough a *despatch* describing the battle, which had afterwards to be sent by Gough to Sir Henry himself in his capacity as Viceroy. It is interesting to note that our troops, for six days previous to the battle of Moodkee, had marched a distance of 150 miles, and that on the very day on which they fought that battle, they had made a forced march of thirty miles. Yet, though faint with fatigue, hunger, and thirst, when ordered to attack fresh *troops*, they went into action without a murmur and with the desperate valour that repulsed the enemy. During the night they bivouacked on the stricken field, and next day entrenched themselves, waiting for the onset of the Sikhs. But unexpectedly they

were reinforced by two regiments, and then they pressed on to help Sir J. Littler, who was manœuvring at Ferozeshah. It was after joining him that they made the night attack on the enemy's camp, which crowned their standards with victory. On the 26th of March, London was greatly excited by the tidings of another great victory, which had been won on the 28th of January. This is known as the victory of Aliwal, the battle having been fought at a village of that name about nine miles west of Loodiana, on the left bank of the Sutlej. It had been held by Ranjur Sing, who had crossed the river in force and menaced Loodiana. On the 28th, Sir Harry Smith—determined to clear the left bank of the stream, *i.e.*, the British bank—attacked the Sikhs in great force, and, after a desperate effort, put them to flight. It was, however, a troopers' battle, being gained by the stubborn valour of the British cavalry, which was hurled in masses, three times, against the Sikhs, each time piercing their lines. The last charge decided the day. The enemy were pushed into the river, where large numbers were drowned, and 67 guns were ultimately taken by the victors. The effect of this battle was immediate. The Khalsa banner vanished, as if by magic, from all the forts on our side of the Sutlej, and the territory east of the river submitted to the Indian Government.

All doubt as to the fortune of war ended on the 10th of February, 1846, when Gough fought the terrible battle of Sobraon. The Sikhs had chosen a strong position on the east side of the Sutlej, protecting the Hariki ford, and their rear rested on the village of Sobraon. It was on the Ferozepore side that the fight took place, the Sikhs holding their earthworks defiantly, till cut down almost to the last man. They lost 5,000 men, and but few lived to recross the Sutlej. This crowning victory, in which our losses were 320 killed and 2,083 wounded, cleared the left bank of the river. After news of the victory of Sobraon came to Lahore, the Ranee and her Durbar sent a chief—the Rajah Golab Sing, who had always been on good terms with the British Government—as an envoy, to sue for peace. The Rajah agreed to concede our demands, which were the surrender in full sovereignty of the territory between the Sutlej and Beas rivers; an indemnity of one and a half crore of rupees; the disbandment of the Sikh army, and its reorganisation on the system adopted by the celebrated Maharajah Ranjit Sing, the limitations on its employment to be determined in communication with the Indian Government; the surrender of all guns which had been pointed against us; and the control of both banks of the Sutlej. It was further agreed that Golab Sing and the young Maharajah Duleep Sing should repair to the camp of the Governor-General of India, which they did on the 18th of February, when his Highness the Maharajah formally made his submission. After this, it was arranged he should return to Lahore with the Governor-General and the conquering army, who occupied the city on the 22nd. In the actual Treaty it was further stipulated that no European or American was to be employed by the Maharajah Duleep Sing without the

consent of the British Government, and that Golab Sing was to be made Maharajah of the territory lying between the Ravee and the Indus, including the valley of Kashmir, paying every year to our Government, in acknowledgment of British supremacy, a horse, twelve shawl goats, and three pairs of shawls. Subsequently, the conquering army marched in triumph to Delhi, escorting

SIR HENRY HARDINGE.

the trophies and spoils of the sixty days' war, and displaying them proudly in every city and military station *en route*, as symbols of British prowess and prestige.

Sir H. Hardinge and Sir H. Gough were thanked in Parliament for their services, and raised to the peerage with munificent pensions. There were some who thought that the State was too lavish in its rewards on this occasion, and the country was reminded that it had done no more for Rodney than it was doing for Gough. Nor was this view altogether indefensible. Good luck rather than good guidance rescued us from a perilous situation in the Punjab, for it is

certain that the Indian Government sent our troops to the field in a condition that would have rendered failure certain, had we been contending with European armies. The Sikhs, it is true, were a small nation, but they were a nation of warriors, and therefore formidable. They put into the field a splendidly

THE RIVAL PAGES. (*Reduced Fac-simile after Punch.*)

"I'm afraid you're not strong enough for the place, John."

equipped and disciplined army of 100,000 men, who, as soldiers, were "bravest of the brave." This was surely a powerful instrument of warfare, strong enough, in able hands, to change the destinies of an empire, and yet we were quite unprepared to meet such a dangerous enemy. Nothing, in fact, but the personal pluck of our troops at this great crisis saved our Indian dominion on our frontier. The Sikhs, however, it must be also stated, failed where they should have succeeded, because they had no general who was a master of strategy.

They divided their army into two large corps. Each moved ... chief forts, Ferozepore and Loodiana, without intending to attack ... it happened that the distance between these two forts was greater ... by the Sikh side of the Sutlej than by ours. The Sikhs, therefore, had to manœuvre in the circumference of a circle, whilst we at the centre could move along its arc. The two Sikh armies were not mutually supporting. Had they both crossed the Sutlej in such fashion that they could have supported each other, we could hardly have attacked them at Ferozeshah, or fought for twenty-four hours against an army 70,000 strong, in an entrenched position, when another Sikh force, 40,000 strong, was within sound of our guns.

Hardly had the Queen and the country ceased to rejoice over political, diplomatic, and military triumphs, than another painful Ministerial crisis had to be faced. Sovereign and subject were alike touched by the strange and dramatic coincidence of their trusted Minister, at the supreme moment of victory, falling, like Tarpeia, crushed, as if in requital for a great service to the people. On the 26th of June there was a Cabinet meeting to consider the hostile vote on the Irish Coercion Bill, and the Prime Minister went down to Osborne to confer with the Queen. He returned to inform Parliament, on the 29th, that Ministers had tendered their resignations, and only held office till their successors could relieve them of their posts. He also said that he would support Lord John Russell in all his Free Trade measures, and paid an eloquent tribute to Mr. Cobden, to whom he generously gave credit for organising the victory of the Free Traders. When he left the House he was followed home by a cheering crowd.

The resignation of Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues was a mournful incident in the Queen's life. She had learned to respect and trust the Prime Minister and his colleagues, one of whom, Lord Aberdeen, had, by his gentle manners and cultured companionship, won the hearts of the Queen and the Prince Consort. The country, in the opinion of the Queen, was in a critical condition. One of the great political parties was shattered as a governing organisation, and her Majesty and her husband both knew how safe and valuable was the pilotage of those with whom, says Sir Theodore Martin, "they had grown familiar, not merely in the anxious counsels of State, but in the intimacies of friendship."

There can be no doubt that the feeling of the Queen and of the country alike ran in favour of retaining Sir Robert Peel at the head of affairs. After he resigned, and the Whig Administration, headed by Lord John Russell, took his place, the sentiments of the Sovereign were, curiously enough, reproduced unconsciously by Mr. Wakley in the House of Commons. Referring to the change of Government, he said, "I am utterly at a loss to understand why it was that Sir Robert Peel left his place in the Cabinet, and gave up his situation to others who are scarcely prepared to carry out the Liberal principles

[illegible] in this House. . . . . At this moment Sir Robert Peel is the most popular man in the kingdom. He is believed in, he is [illegible] the masses, who believe that no Minister before him ever made such [illegible] as he has made in their behalf." *Punch* had, however, anticipated Mr. Walter as an exponent of popular feeling when Sir Robert Peel tendered his resignation in December, 1845. The great comic journal then gave its readers a picture, showing Peel and Lord John Russell as rival candidates for the office of page to the Queen, and her Majesty settling the claims of one by saying, "I'm afraid you're not strong enough for the place, John." This was also the feeling even of the Whig gentry, who thought Lord John needlessly bold in forcing on such a disagreeable question as the Repeal of the Corn Laws in his letter to the electors of London. "I hear," wrote Lord Clarendon to Lord Lyndhurst, on the 17th of December, 1845, "Lord John has gone down to Windsor to-night; and I can assure you that the most acceptable news he can bring back *to his whole party* would be that he had not considered himself justified in undertaking the task proposed to him by the Queen."* That the Queen was still desirous of retaining her Ministers in office after they again resigned in June, 1846, is expressly taken for granted in a letter addressed by the Duke of Wellington to Peel on the 21st of June.† It is put beyond all doubt by a letter dated the 7th of July from her Majesty to the King of the Belgians, in which she says:—"Yesterday (6th of July) was a very hard day for me. I had to part from Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, who are irreparable losses to us and to the country. They were both *so* much overcome that it quite upset me, and we have in them two devoted friends. We felt *so* safe with them." At Court it was thought that Sir Robert should dissolve, or coalesce with the more moderate Whigs. The Duke of Wellington was for dissolution, and, by a curious coincidence, for the same reason which Mr. Cobden seems to have given in a private letter which he wrote to the fallen Minister recommending that step. Peel's public services, and the confidence which the industrial classes had in his policy, would, he thought, induce the country to give him a working majority.‡ On the other hand, Sir Robert Peel thought that to dissolve on a Coercion Bill for Ireland "would shake the foundations of the legislative union," and ensure "a worse return of Irish Members—rendered more desperate, more determined to obstruct, by every artifice, the passing of a Coercion Bill in the new Parliament." In fact, he was at pains to impress on the Queen the tradition which she is understood to have handed down to a later generation of statesmen that, with the exception of "No Popery," the most dangerous of all election cries

* Martin's Life of Lord Lyndhurst, Vol. II., p. 409.

† Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel, edited by Lord Stanhope and the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell. Murray: 1874. Vol. II., p. 298.

‡ Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel, ut supra.

is "Coercion for Ireland." * There was another cogent reason which had weight with the Queen. Her Majesty has ever regarded the power to dissolve Parliament as a sacred trust vested in her for the protection of the country, and the Crown, against factious Parliaments. But it is a power like the talisman in

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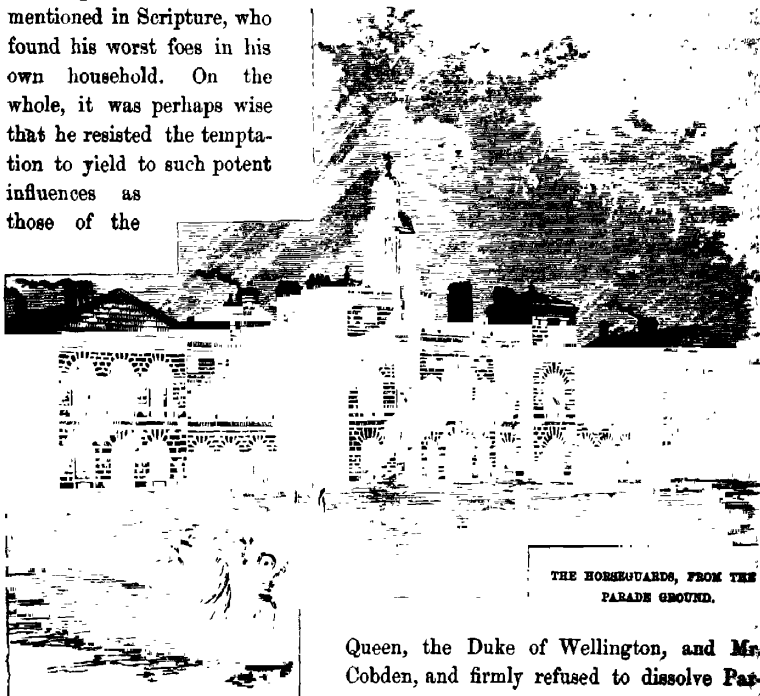
Balzac's story, that loses its virtue by repeated use on trivial occasions. "The hope of getting a stronger minority," said Peel, in his Memorandum to the Duke of Wellington, "is no justification for a Dissolution." And yet, with all his popularity, that was his highest hope. The differences between Lord John Russell and Lord Grey were not acute enough to cause a schism in the

* Sir Robert Peel's Memorandum to the Duke of Wellington on the Position of the Cabinet, June 21. Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel, Vol II., p. 288.

Whig Party. The Free Traders, on whom the Duke of Wellington relied so much, had given all the glory of Repeal to Cobden. They were exhausting their energies and enthusiasm in organising a testimonial to him, and had none to spare for the reconstruction of a new Party of Progressive Reform, under the leadership of Peel. As for the Radicals and the Irish Nationalists, they would have declared war to the knife against the Minister who made Coercion for Ireland his cry. As for the Tory Party, Sir Robert was to them in the position of the man mentioned in Scripture, who found his worst foes in his own household. On the whole, it was perhaps wise that he resisted the temptation to yield to such potent influences as those of the Queen, the Duke of Wellington, and Mr. Cobden, and firmly refused to dissolve Parliament.

THE HORSEGUARDS, FROM THE PARADE GROUND.

The next question that disturbed the Court was what would the Duke of Wellington do? The Queen was personally most anxious that he should remain at the head of the army as Commander-in-Chief, in spite of any change of Ministry. She had, on the occasion of Sir Robert Peel's interview with her in December, when he first resigned, expressed this wish. But she knew that if the Duke consented he would unwittingly give great strength to Lord John Russell's Government, and with characteristic shrewdness she judged that Sir Robert Peel might possibly regard with little favour a proposal which was rather like asking him to lend his rival one of his strongest colleagues. But her Majesty mooted the matter with such grace

and tact, that Sir Robert Peel was not only eager to give his assent, but assured her that he would do everything in his power to remove any difficulty that might arise on the part of the Duke.* At the same time, he also undertook to convey to Lord Liverpool, for whom the Queen had a very high regard, the letter in which she earnestly urged him to retain the appointment of Lord Steward. The Duke of Wellington was well aware of Sir Robert's views, and concurred with him fully in sacrificing all considerations of party tactics to the wishes expressed by the Sovereign, whose popular sympathies interpreted national feeling with so much accuracy and precision. Thus it came to pass that when Lord John Russell's Ministry took office in July, his Grace was quite prepared to receive from the Prime Minister a personal request from her Majesty, inviting him to retain his post as Commander-in-Chief of the army. But the grim warrior felt it his duty to explain definitely, in writing, to Lord John the exact significance that was to be attached to his consent. In a letter to Lord Lyndhurst,† dated the 23rd of July, his Grace says:—"I told you that in consequence of her Majesty having conveyed to me her commands that I should continue to fill the office of Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's Land Forces, through her Minister, Lord John Russell, I had given my consent; but that I had explained myself to Lord John nearly in the very words of, and had referred to, a letter which I had written to her Majesty in December last, when her Majesty had herself in writing intimated the same command to me, on the occasion of the retirement of Sir Robert Peel from her Majesty's service, and Lord John Russell having received her commands to form a Government. Here follow the very terms used:—'It is impossible for F.M. the Duke of Wellington to form a political connection with Lord John Russell, or to have any relations with the political course of the Government over which he will preside. Such arrangement would not conciliate public confidence, be creditable to either party, or be useful to the service of her Majesty; nor, indeed, would the performance of the duties of the Commander-in-Chief require that it should exist. On the other hand, the performance of these duties would require that the person filling the office should avoid to belong to or act in concert with any political party opposed to the Government.' Her Majesty was thus made aware of the position in which I was about to place myself in case her Majesty should communicate to me her official command that I should resume the command of her army."

These matters are of some little interest to the new generation, which has been taught that in England the personality of the Sovereign counts for very little in public affairs, and who are only too ready to run away with the idea that, under a discreet and taciturn Queen, the Crown, as Mr. Disraeli

* Memoirs of Sir R. Peel, Vol II., p. 246.

† Life of Lord Lyndhurst, by Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.B., p. 418.

once said, has become a cipher, and the Sovereign a serf. Even in her inexperienced youth we see the greatest Minister and the greatest Captain of the age paying chivalrous deference to her Majesty's personal wishes. It may be said that the incident cited is a trivial one. In our delicate and complex system of party Government no incident affecting the personal relations of a Minister of State, either to the Crown or to a Cabinet, is ever trivial. In this particular case let us ask what followed almost directly from the diplomatic success which the Queen won in persuading Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington to yield to her desire, that even under a Whig Government his Grace should still serve as Commander-in-Chief? Why, this. When Lord Lyndhurst—who, according to the ill-natured insinuations of Lord Campbell, was hankering once more after the Lord Chancellorship—began to intrigue for the purpose of reuniting the broken ranks of the old Conservative Party, he naturally turned to the Duke of Wellington after Peel received his suggestions with marked coldness. Had he won over the Duke to his project, he might have succeeded. But this very letter, which has been quoted, was written by the Duke to explain that, though most anxious to see the Party reconstructed, yet he had, at the request of the Queen, accepted the office of Commander-in-Chief, and was therefore no longer free to act in concert with "any political party not connected with the existing Administration." It cost Mr. Disraeli the unwearying labour of a quarter of a century to do the work that might have been done in a few sessions, if Lord Lyndhurst had secured the cordial and active co-operation of the Duke of Wellington in his bold enterprise.

But reconstruction at this time was not to be. Peel had no desire to serve again as a partisan leader, or to reorganise the Party he had felt it his duty to shatter, though his career was buried in its ruins. He and his followers joined neither the Protectionists nor the Whigs. They came to be known as the Peelites, and so bitter was the feeling among their old associates that petty objections were raised against their sitting on the Conservative benches after they had quitted office. In a pamphlet privately printed at Edinburgh Sir Robert Peel was derisively recommended to solve the problem of his seat in the House of Commons by taking "another hint from Aristophanes. As we have seen him before adopt from the 'Knights,' the admirable trick of the sausage seller, so now he seems to have borrowed a suggestion from the 'Clouds.' We are given to understand that in next Parliament he will soar above parties, for he has determined to suspend himself in a basket from the roof."*

* The Physiology of the Peel Party. Edinburgh: 1846. *Privately printed.*

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST RUSSELL ADMINISTRATION.

The Transfer of Ministerial Offices—The Whigs Patronise Mr. Cobden—A Radical in the New Cabinet—The Peelites Refuse to Take Office—Lord Campbell as Chancellor of the Duchy—Anecdote of his Installation—Lord John Russell's Deportment to the Queen—His Modest Programme—The Abolition of the Sugar Duties—Bishop Wilberforce and Slave-grown Sugar—Outrages in Ireland—The Whigs become Coercionists—Their Arms Act—Mutiny among Ministerialists—The Bill Dropped—The Alternative Policy—Relief Works for Ireland—A Military Scandal—Indignation in the Country—Abuse of Corporal Punishment in the Army—"The Cat" in the House of Commons—The Queen's Views on Military Punishment—The Queen and a Deserter's Death-warrant—Captain Layard's Motion—The Duke of Wellington's Interference—Restrictions on the use of the Lash—England and the Colonies—Canada and Free Trade—Nova Scotia and the Potato Famine—The Halifax, Quebec, and Montreal Railway—The New Zealand War—The Caffre War—The Expedition to Borneo—End of the Anglo-Chinese Difficulty—The "Spanish Marriages" and the Treaty of Utrecht—Louis Philippe's Intrigues with the Queen Dowager Christina—Secret History of the Conspiracy—M. Guizot's Pretext—How the English Minister at Madrid was Deceived—Lord Palmerston's Indiscreet Despatch—The Queen's Cutting Letter to the Queen Marie Amélie—Metternich's Caustic Epigram—The Prince Consort's Resentment against the King of the French—End of the Anglo-French Alliance—Fall of the Republic of Cracow.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL had no serious difficulty on this occasion in forming a Ministry. The transfer of Ministerial offices was effected at Buckingham Palace on the 6th of July, 1846. Some recognition was due to the Anti-Corn-Law League for the aid it had given the Whigs in their contest for supremacy with the Party which had allied itself with the Protectionists. An office of Cabinet rank would have been offered to Mr. Cobden, but he was desirous of obtaining some respite from the severe strain of political life. His private affairs had suffered from his devotion to the public service, and, as his biographer admits, it would have been difficult to appoint to a high office in the State a politician whose friends were at the time collecting a public subscription on his behalf. Mr. Villiers was offered a place, but refused it. Lord John Russell finally induced Mr. Milner Gibson to represent the Free Trade Party in the Government, as Vice-President of the Board of Trade—a post devoid of high dignity and strong influence. Three of Sir Robert Peel's colleagues—Mr. Sidney Herbert, Lord Dalhousie, and Lord Lincoln—were invited to join the Government as a concession to the feeling of those who demanded a coalition. The invitation was declined. It was, in truth, one that could not have been honourably accepted, and, therefore, it should never have been made. There was no reason to suppose that these statesmen were ready to remodel their views on Coercion, as suddenly as they had recast their opinions about Corn.

Leaving Mr. Milner Gibson out of account, we may say that the new Ministry was of the conventional Whig type, the only notable addition to it being Lord Grey, who by this time had overcome his objections to serve

in the same Cabinet with Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary.* Lord Lansdowne, as Lord Privy Seal, led the Party in the House of Lords; Sir George Grey went to the Home Office, a perilous post in times of popular distress and discontent; Mr. C. Wood—afterwards Lord Halifax—became

LORD MACAULAY.

Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr.—afterwards Lord—Macaulay, Postmaster-General; Lord Bessborough, Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Labouchere, Chief Secretary for Ireland. John, Lord Campbell, joined the Ministry as Chancellor of the Duchy. He says:—"I ought to have been satisfied, for I received *two* seals—one for the Duchy of Lancaster, and one for the County Palatine of Lancaster. My ignorance of the double honour which awaited me caused an

* Lord Grey's objections were not overcome, as a matter of fact, till Lord John Russell pledged himself to exercise vigilant personal control over Lord Palmerston's Foreign Policy.

awkward accident; for when the Queen put two velvet bags into my hand, I grasped one only, and the other, with its heavy weight, fell down on the floor, and might have bruised the Royal toes; but Prince Albert good-naturedly picked it up and restored it to me."* The programme of the Government was modest and practical, and independent men were gratified to find that social questions, such as the housing of the poor, and popular education, figured in it prominently. But it rested on no very solid basis, for it was supported by the Peelites against the Protectionists, and by the Protectionists against the Peelites. As for its own immediate followers, they shared the opinion of Mr. Bickham Escott, who, when Lord John Russell explained his position to the House, warned the Government significantly that previous Whig Ministries had failed for two reasons: they startled the people by proclaiming novel principles, and then disgusted the country by insisting on applying them prematurely. It has been said that the Ministry was not in favour at Court, and that Lord John Russell had reason to regret that he was not a *persona grata* with her Majesty. Such statements are quite unfounded, for the Queen supported her new Ministers as loyally as her old ones. Writing on the relations between her Majesty and her Prime Minister at this time, Lord Campbell says:—"He (Lord John Russell) has always risen with the occasion, and now very worthily fills the office of Prime Minister. His deportment to the Queen is most respectful, but he always remembers that as *she* can do no wrong *he* is responsible for all measures of her Government. He is enough at Court to show that he enjoys the Constitutional confidence of the Sovereign without being domiciled there as a *favourite*."

The first question that demanded attention was that of the Sugar Duties. Lord John Russell, on the 20th of July, proposed a plan, the essence of which was a gradual reduction of the differential duties on foreign sugar, till they reached a vanishing point in 1851, when all kinds of sugar, whether of British or foreign growth, would be taxed equally. The Protectionists opposed this project on plain Protectionist principles. But the Peelites, though generally of opinion that the free-grown sugar deserved to be protected a little longer against slave-grown sugar, supported the Government, mainly because they thought a change of Ministry and a general election would be injurious to the country, whilst parties were in a confused state of transition. The second reading of the Bill was therefore carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 130; though in the House of Lords the measure was saved only by a majority of 18. In the Upper House the Government suffered considerably from the opposition of Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, whose brilliant speech, coming as it did from a strong Free Trader, turned many votes. His views, which were shared not only by a large body of impartial and philanthropic Liberals, but were even supposed to find favour at Court, where he exercised at that time great influence over Prince Albert, are

* Life of Lord Campbell, by the Hon. Mrs. Hardcastle. Vol. II. p. 201

worth reproducing. Writing to Miss Noel before the debate, he said [illegible] at present convinced (1) that no extension of Free Trade would be [illegible] beneficial to our poor producers and poor consumers at home than that [illegible] the Brazils; (2) that the probable effect of the same measure would [illegible] mately benefit our Indian Colonies; (3) that the refusal of the [illegible] will lead either to a dissolution of Parliament or a resignation of the Ministry, both very injurious at this moment—that I therefore earnestly desire to support the motion. But that I am *at present* convinced that the opening of this trade would lead at once and certainly to a great extension of the Brazilian and Cuban slave trade, and that no demonstrated advantages to be gained or losses to be incurred can for a single instant make me hesitate as to giving the most emphatic negative possible to such a proposal." The fallacy here is obvious. It sprang from the assumption that a nation is bound to apply its own standard of morality to the commercial institutions and customs of foreign countries, and restrict its foreign trade to those cases where foreigners accept that standard. The universal application of such a principle would soon annihilate commerce as a civilising agency in the world. The United States might refuse to trade with England, because she permitted landlords to evict Irish peasants from rack-rented farms. We might have been called on to buy no tallow or hides from Russia, because they were produced by serfs. To be consistent, the Bishop of Oxford should have demanded cessation of traffic, not only with slave States but with all free States that traded with them. It was curiously illogical to argue that by fettering trade we could free the slave.

Hardly had Lord John Russell's Government settled down in office when they were alarmed by the disturbed state of Ireland, where evictions and famine were goading the peasantry on to agrarian outrages. The Whigs were embarrassed by their opposition to Sir Robert Peel's Coercion Bill, because they had justified their tactics by belittling the disorder and lawlessness which that measure was designed to repress. Many of their own supporters accordingly complained bitterly when Ministers, on the 7th of August, invited the House to prolong the expiring Irish Arms Act till May, 1847. Lord John Russell's only excuse was, that there was a distinction to be drawn between the proposal of new coercive legislation, and a request to prolong an existing law, without which it was impossible to curb the mania for buying arms and ammunition which was seizing the Irish peasantry. The spirit and tone of the Opposition speeches during the debate on Peel's coercive measure conveyed, and were meant to convey, to the people of England and Ireland the impression that the Whigs were opposed, not merely to a Coercion Bill, but to a coercive policy, and the distinction between proposing new and prolonging old but expiring repressive legislation was generally felt to be a distinction without a difference. Lord Seymour forced Lord John Russell to withdraw the clauses in the Arms Act relating to domiciliary visits and the

manding of arms; but, though this enabled the Government to carry the second reading of the measure on the 10th of August, it was ultimately abandoned on the 17th. On that day the Government fell back on an alternative policy. They introduced a remedial scheme for the purpose of empowering local authorities (baronial sessions) to employ the destitute Irish people on relief works started by State advances, to be repaid in ten years at 3½ per cent. To meet the case of poor districts where repayment was impossible, an appropriation of £50,000—a ridiculously small sum—was set aside for grants in aid. Parliament, in sheer weariness, sanctioned this project, although it was warned that the scheme would divert public money from the improvement of the land to the construction of useless roads and bridges, and tempt the peasantry to neglect husbandry for well-paid labour on superfluous public works. As Mr. Disraeli subsequently said, its effect was to set a population as great as that of Holland to break stones on the roads, and, he might have added, on good roads, that were too often broken up that they might be unnecessarily remetalled.

Towards the end of the Session the House of Commons plunged into a somewhat exciting controversy over the abuse of corporal punishment in the army. This arose out of the revolting disclosures which were made at an inquest which Mr. Wakley, M.P., Coroner for Middlesex, insisted on holding on the body of a soldier named Whyte, who, on the 15th of July, had died from the effects of 150 lashes which had been administered to him by order of a court-martial. A storm of passionate wrath swept through the land when the truth, in spite of vain efforts at concealment on the part of the military authorities, was revealed. The Duke of Wellington, when he heard of the affair, exclaimed to Mr. Fox Maule, Secretary of State for War, "This shall not occur again. Though I believe that corporal punishment cannot be dispensed with, yet I will not sanction that degree of it which shall lead to loss of life and limb." In fact, his Grace had reason to fear that the Queen's indignation would be roused by this scandalous occurrence, for he knew only too well that she held very pronounced views, not altogether in accord with his own, on the subject of military punishment. On one occasion, for instance, when the Duke brought her a soldier's death-warrant to sign, she asked him, with tears in her eyes, if there was nothing to be said on behalf of the man. The Duke explained that he was an incorrigible deserter, but, after being pressed by her Majesty, admitted that the culprit's comrades spoke well of him in other respects. Her Majesty replied, eagerly, "Oh, your Grace, I am *so* glad to hear that," and, with trembling hand, rapidly scribbled the word "Pardoned" across the fatal scroll, and signed her name with a sigh of relief and a smile of satisfaction. Captain Layard therefore felt sure of his ground when, on the 3rd of August, he rose in the House of Commons to move an Address to the Crown complaining of the use of the lash in the army. His motion was withdrawn, but Dr. Bowring immediately gave notice

of another motion for the abolition of corporal punishment in the Service. It never came on for discussion, because the Duke of Wellington interposed, and appeased public feeling, by issuing an order restricting the powers of courts-martial, and prohibiting them from inflicting more than fifty lashes even in the worst cases.

Parliament was prorogued on the 28th of August, the Lord Chancellor reading the Queen's Speech. Her Majesty congratulated both Houses on the passing of the Corn Law Bill, on the settlement of the Oregon dispute, on the victories in India, and, oddly enough, on "a considerable diminution of crime and outrage in Ireland"—a significant commentary on the abortive attempt of Lord John Russell to prolong the existing Irish Arms Act.

During 1846 the relations between England and her Colonies were, save in one instance, undisturbed, though in Canada some traces of the bitter feeling engendered by the rebellion were still discernible. The Governor, Lord Metcalfe, had incurred considerable unpopularity, because he had not consulted the Ministry as to filling certain offices, which he maintained were Crown appointments. The old disputes, too, which arose out of attempts to charge compensation to rebels on the fund set aside for compensating loyalists for losses suffered during the rebellion, had left rankling memories behind them. Lord Metcalfe, on his death, was succeeded by Lord Cathcart, who opened the Second Session of the Second Canadian Parliament on the 20th of March. His Excellency's speech hardly pleased his audience. He referred, naturally, with great good feeling, to the death of his predecessor, Lord Metcalfe. But this only incited the minority to bring forward an Amendment, which, while expressing regret at Lord Metcalfe's death, omitted all reference whatever to the manner in which he had discharged his duties. Though the Colony had no reason, said the representatives of this party, to love military governors, yet they had no objection to congratulate Lord Cathcart on his own appointment. Objectionable, however, as *his* military education might be to them, it could not, they declared, render him as objectionable as Lord Metcalfe, whose political training and experience were purely Oriental. The one topic of high Imperial importance dealt with by Lord Cathcart was his reference to the adoption of Free Trade by the mother country. The Canadians, it may be said, viewed the new commercial policy of Sir Robert Peel with the utmost alarm. The doctrine of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest had no charms for them, for they were afraid that if the duties were taken off which gave colonial a preference over foreign grain, Canada would be ruined by American competition. On the 12th of May the Canadian Legislative Assembly accordingly adopted an Address, which gave forcible expression to the dismal prediction that Free Trade with England must impoverish Canada, and thus depress one of the best markets then open to English commerce. Mutterings of secession even ran through the Address: it

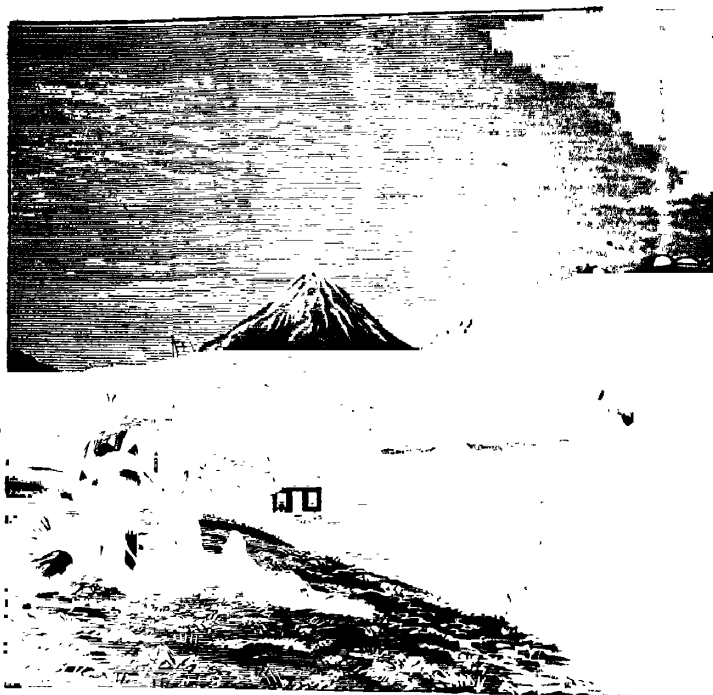
warned the Crown that, when the Canadians found they could not successfully compete with the United States in the only market open to them, they would naturally begin to doubt whether it was "a paramount advantage" to remain subjects of the British Empire. Undoubtedly the Free Trade policy of Peel, whatever good it may have done, had one baneful effect. It alienated the Canadian Colonists from the mother country.

In Nova Scotia the Governor, Lord Falkland, when he met the Legislative Assembly on the 10th of January, had, like the Queen at home, to lament the prevalence of distress due to the failure of the potato crop. But otherwise the Colonists had a good harvest, not only from the land, but from the sea. It was to this Parliament that the Government suggested the construction of a railway from Halifax to Quebec and Montreal—the first development of the policy which, by linking the different provinces of British America by bands of iron roads, rendered confederation possible.

New Zealand was the only Colony which gave her Majesty and her Ministers much serious concern during 1846. It was a dependency which was originally meant to be colonised as an experimental test of Mr. Wakefield's theories.* A Company was formed for this purpose, and its administrators were to use the proceeds of land sales, to import labour in fair proportion to the land appropriated. They were also to see that settlers did not, by dispersal, degenerate into squatters. The first ruler of the settlement, Governor Hobson and his officials annoyed the Company in the most provoking manner. They selected the land for emigrants foolishly, and they neglected to appropriate £40,000 from land sales to the immigration service. His successor, Captain Fitzroy, found the Colony with a debt of £68,000, an expenditure of £20,000 a year, and a population of 15,000. He issued £15,000 worth of paper money, which he made a legal tender; upset the terms on which settlers had bought native lands; refused on various pretexts to let emigrants, who had paid the Company cash for their lands in England, settle on them when they came out; encouraged native turbulence by ill-timed displays of sympathy; and suppressed a local Volunteer Force, offering the Colony, as a substitute, fifty soldiers, to protect a region 200 miles long, and inhabited by 10,000 persons. In fact, instead of governing the Colony, the Governor had virtually made war on the Colonists, whose hostility to him was pronounced and unconcealed. Perhaps they were a little unjust to him, for the circumstances in which he was placed were full of difficulty. He had to confront a large disaffected aboriginal population. He had only a handful of troops to support him, and there were no places of refuge or defence for the Colonists to fly to. Auckland and Wellington would thus, he thought, have been destroyed by the overpowering forces which the natives were ready to launch against the British settlers, forces which nothing could restrain, save moral influence wielded by

* See Mill's Principles of Political Economy, Book V., Chap. XI., § 14.

a conciliatory Government. However, the feeling against Captain Fitzroy in the Colony was so strong that he was recalled, and Captain Grey was sent out in his stead. His arrival was hailed with delight, for it was supposed to inaugurate a new era in New Zealand.

Governor Grey, soon after he entered on his duties, began to coerce the turbulent chiefs, whom Captain Fitzroy had attempted to subdue by diplomacy,

VIEW IN NEW ZEALAND NEW PLYMOUTH AND MOUNT EGMONT

and on the 10th of January Captain Despard attacked the fortified Pah or camp of the rebel chief Kawiti, with a force of 1,100 men, aided by a large number of native allies. The combat lasted for two days, for the rebels fought with extraordinary tenacity, but ultimately they had to yield. Our losses were twelve men killed and thirty wounded. The natives conducted their operations in a manner that recalled Fenimore Cooper's descriptions of Indian fighting; and their chiefs and priests harangued them every night in the ancient Homeric fashion. The reckless daring displayed by our men was the subject of many anecdotes. One of the sailors belonging to H.M.S. *Castor*, for example, climbed up to the top of the stockade during the battle, and from that coign of

vantage kept up a damaging fire on the enemy. Colonel Wynard, who was marching past, shouted out to the man to come down at once. Instead of doing that, he coolly hailed the Colonel sailor-fashion, saying, "Oh! no, your honour. This is the best place to see 'em. You jest come up and 'ave a look, sir." When the day was won the man came down without a scratch. It

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was then discovered, however, that his cap had been shot off, that his coat had four bullet holes in it, and that the palisade on which he had perched was riddled with bullets. The success of our arms was followed by the immediate submission of the rebel chiefs. This was notified in a proclamation issued by Governor Grey on the 23rd of January, in which he granted a free pardon "to all concerned in the late rebellion, who may now return in peace and safety to their houses, where, so long as they conduct themselves properly, they shall remain unmolested in their persons and properties."

In South Africa a Caffre war or rising broke out in April, 1846, the natives attacking Graham's Town with remarkable audacity. A sharp struggle for the possession of the frontier of the Cape Colony raged for some time, but the Caffres were finally beaten in an engagement at Fish River, and, though they continued to be troublesome, they were throughout the year successfully held in check by Colonial levies.

Early in the year the Sultan of Borneo, acting under bad advice, caused an attack to be made on his uncles, Muda Hassim and Bimdureen, who were the leaders of what might be called the Anglophile or British party in the State. They were murdered along with their families and dependents. The Sultan immediately began to prepare to defend his territory against any English troops that might come to avenge the death of our allies. Sir Thomas Cochrane accordingly determined to proceed to Brunai, the capital of Borneo, to demand reparation from the Sultan. Accompanied by Mr. James Brooke (Rajah of Sarawak), H.M.SS. *Spiteful* and *Phlegethon*, with Mr. Brooke's schooner *Royalist*, Sir T. Cochrane, after a somewhat severe engagement, forced his way past the forts that guarded the river leading to Brunai. He then landed a party of marines, who took possession of the town. The Sultan and most of the inhabitants fled into the interior. An expedition sent to capture him failed, but, before leaving for China, Sir T. Cochrane issued a proclamation to the people warning them that the Sultan was at the mercy of the British, and declaring it to be our intention to return "and act with the extreme of vigour should he ever again evince hostility to Great Britain." Sir Thomas Cochrane next sailed for China, where the turbulent Cantonese were annoying the European community at Hong Kong. The disturbances in Canton, news of which reached England in September, were, however, easily quelled. About the same time her Majesty's Government was informed that all questions as to the completion of the Treaty by which the Chinese war had been settled had been peacefully adjusted. The right of entry to Canton, which that Treaty had guaranteed to us, had been withheld by the Chinese, who now formally conceded it peacefully. On our side preparations were at once made to give up Chusan, which we retained in pawn so long as the Government at Pekin denied our right to enter Canton.

In 1846 the foreign policy of Great Britain brought much anxiety to the Queen. It was the irony of fate that her Government was drifting into unfriendliness with France, though the Queen personally entertained sentiments of warm friendship and admiration for King Louis Philippe and his sons and daughters. But in Switzerland and South America the policy of England and France was antagonistic. In Portugal a French faction was striving to undermine British influence, and in Spain the question of the marriage of Queen Isabella produced a serious estrangement between the two nations.

Among those who aspired to the hand of the Spanish Queen was the Count of Trapani, youngest brother of the King of Naples and the Queen

Dowager Christina, and therefore uncle of Queen Isabella. The Queen Dowager opposed his pretensions; the young Queen herself, like the great mass of her people, was also averse from an alliance with him. Another suitor had therefore to be found. England objected to a French prince being chosen, her traditional policy being hostile to whatever might bring France and Spain under one crown. France was willing to respect this objection, provided no prince but a prince of the House of Bourbon was selected as the Queen's consort. Here came the difficulty. Of those princes his Highness of Lucca was ineligible, because he was married already; the Count of Trapani was ineligible, because the Queen and her subjects disliked him; the sons of the Don Francisco de Paula, her Majesty's uncle—the Duke of Cadiz and the Duke of Seville—were ineligible because they were both disagreeable to the Queen, and, according to M. Guizot, compromised by their intimacy with the Radicals;* and Count Montemolin, the son of Don Carlos, was ineligible, first, because everybody detested him, and, secondly, because he was formally excluded from the succession by the Spanish Constitution. How, then, was the French demand that the Queen of Spain should marry one of the descendants of Philip V. to be satisfied? M. Guizot admitted, in a despatch to M. de St. Aulaire, that these difficulties were incontestable; but he added that the Court of Lisbon was the centre of an intrigue to promote a marriage between the Queen and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, whose connection with the Royal Family of England rendered him objectionable to France. If this project were further developed, M. Guizot cunningly argued, France would be freed from the pledge she had given to England, and might then demand the hand of the Queen of Spain or her sister the Infanta, for a French prince of the House of Bourbon; in other words, for the Duc de Montpensier. It was on the perfectly gratuitous and absolutely erroneous assumption that England was promoting the candidature of the Prince Leopold, that M. Guizot made ready to play the diplomatic trick which ultimately destroyed the cordial feeling between England and France. Louis Philippe had given his Royal word to Queen Victoria at Eu in September, 1845, that in no case should the Duc de Montpensier marry the Infanta till the Queen of Spain was herself married, and had children who might assure the direct succession to her throne. But suddenly, in the autumn of 1846, it was announced that the Queen of Spain was about to marry her cousin, the Duke of Cadiz, and that her sister, the Infanta, was at the same time to marry the Duc de Montpensier. Technically, it does not appear that England had a right to complain of this double marriage as a breach of the Treaty of Utrecht. It was, no doubt, meant to evade and defeat the provisions of that instrument; but the Treaty itself had never been construed, as Lord Palmerston seemed to imagine, as a positive prohibition of all intermarriages between

* Memoirs, Vol. VIII.

the Royal Families of France and Spain. For example, in 1721 King Louis I. of Spain married Louisa Elizabeth of Orleans, Mademoiselle de Montpensier and fourth daughter of the Regent of France. In 1739 Don Philip, Duke of Parma, a son of Philip V., married Louisa Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Louis XV. of France. In 1745 the Dauphin of France, as all the world knows, married Maria Theresa Antonia, Infanta of Spain, and a daughter of Philip V. In truth, it must be conceded that the Treaty of Utrecht simply stipulated that the crowns of France and Spain should not rest on the head of the same sovereign. Even if the Queen's marriage were without issue, and a child or descendant of her sister and the Duc de Montpensier had fallen heir to the French and Spanish crowns—a somewhat problematical event—the Treaty of Utrecht would have obviously operated as a bar against his claim. It would have compelled him to elect which country he should rule over. The intrigue that ended in this double marriage was regarded by England—nay, by Europe—as a piece of diplomatic knavery, and both Louis Philippe and M. Guizot suffered in character and in prestige accordingly.

The Queen was naturally more highly incensed than the nation, because from her position and her vigilant study of foreign policy she knew more than her people of the secret history of the affair. The motives of the chief conspirators in the intrigue—Louis Philippe and the Queen Dowager Christina—were rather disreputable They utterly ignored the feelings and the interests of the young Queen, and treated her as if she were a chattel to be bartered away for their own aggrandisement. Louis Philippe's object was simply to secure for his son a consort whose dowry would still further enrich the Orleans family, the aggrandisement of his House being the dominant idea of his diplomacy. The Dowager Queen Christina had been an unjust steward of the fortune which the Queen and her sister inherited from their father, King Ferdinand VII., and for her it was therefore a vital necessity to find husbands for her daughters, who would not be too curious as to the accuracy of her accounts. It is believed that when Ferdinand VII. died he was worth £8,000,000 sterling, and though there is reason to suppose he left a will, no such instrument was ever found. After his death, however, his property was set down as being worth only 60,000,000 francs, and by law this was divided between his daughters. The Queen Dowager was said at the time to have appropriated not only the balance, but also a considerable proportion of the rents of the Patrimonio Real, which passed through her hands during her guardianship of her daughters. Her uncle, Louis Philippe, was understood to be cognisant of the Queen Dowager's "economies," as they were ironically termed in Spain, and he knew how her illegitimate offspring had grown rich during the minority of the young Princesses. Louis Philippe could answer for it that if his son married one of the Royal sisters, no inconvenient questions would be asked about settlements. In the Duke of Cadiz he discerned an imbecile Prince of the House of Bourbon who would be equally pliable and accommodating.

Moreover, he was supposed to be physically unfitted for matrimony, so that by arranging his marriage with the young Queen, Louis Philippe presumably calculated that the union would be without issue, which would place the children by the Queen's sister and the Duc de Montpensier in the direct succession to the throne, almost as surely as if Louis Philippe had arranged that his son should marry Queen Isabella herself.

The pledge which Louis Philippe had given to the Queen of England at Eu was an obstacle to this heartless project, but the pretext for violating it was

THE ROYAL PALACE, MADRID.

ingeniously manufactured by the Queen Dowager Christina. She addressed a letter, proposing a marriage between Queen Isabella and Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, who happened to be on a visit to the Court of Lisbon. After telling Mr. Bulwer (afterwards Lord Dalling), the British Minister at Madrid, what this letter contained, and being warned by him that the English Government could not support such a proposal, Queen Christina asked him to let her letter go in his despatch bag, by his messenger. In courtesy he could not refuse this favour, and Lord Aberdeen, when he heard what had happened, laid the facts loyally and frankly before M. Guizot. M. Guizot immediately founded on the incident his monstrous pretext that there was an Anglo-

Portuguese intrigue on foot to marry the Queen of Spain to a Prince nearly related to the Royal Family of England—the pretext which released Louis Philippe from the pledge given at the Château d'Eu. Still, Louis Philippe shrank from taking steps which he was aware must compromise his reputation; M. Guizot, however, knew how to overcome his last lingering scruples. To cherish an antipathy to Lord Palmerston, who had succeeded Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office, was a point of honour with Louis Philippe, who had not forgotten how France was checked in Syria in 1840, and Lord Palmerston, it must be admitted, indiscreetly played into M. Guizot's hands. He wrote on the 18th of December a despatch to Mr. Bulwer, discussing the marriage of Queen Isabella, and mentioning—without, however, specially favouring—the candidature of Prince Leopold, along with that of the various Bourbon Princes. He added a series of caustic criticisims on the absolutism which tainted the Government of Spain. A copy of this despatch was given to M. Guizot. He immediately roused Louis Philippe's suspicions and distrust by pointing to its maladroit references to Prince Leopold's candidature. Then he sent to Queen Christina a copy of the offensive references to the absolutism of the Spanish Government. She at once saw, or pretended to see, in the document indications of an alliance between the English Government and her enemies the Progressists, which it was quite reasonable for her to neutralise, by drawing closer the ties between Spain and France.

Louis Philippe, accordingly, no longer hesitated, nor did the Queen Dowager, to arrange the marriages of Queen Isabella and her sister to the Duke of Cadiz and the Duc de Montpensier—in defiance of the pledges given at the Château d'Eu. The English Government met the announcement with a diplomatic protest. The King of the French induced Queen Marie Amélie to announce the "double event" to Queen Victoria, who in reply sent the following dignified but cutting letter:—

"Osborne, *September 10th*, 1846.

"MADAME,—I have just received your Majesty's letter of the 8th inst., and I hasten to thank you for it. You will perhaps remember what passed at Eu between the King and myself; you are aware of the importance which I have always attached to the maintenance of our cordial understanding, and the zeal with which I have laboured towards this end. You have no doubt been informed that we refused to arrange the marriage between the Queen of Spain and our cousin Leopold (which the two Queens had eagerly desired), solely with the object of not departing from a course which would be more agreeable to the King, although we could not regard that course as the best. You will therefore easily understand that the sudden announcement of this double marriage could not fail to cause us surprise and very keen regret.

"I crave your pardon, Madame, for speaking to you of politics at a time like this, but I am glad that I can say for myself that I have always been *sincere* with you.

"Begging you to present my respectful regards to the King,

"I am, Madame,

"Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend."

The shrewdest comment made on this brilliant diplomatic triumph of France was Metternich's. "Tell Guizot from me," he said, "that one does not with

impunity play little tricks with great countries"—and Metternich was right. The loss of the English alliance ruined Louis Philippe in the eye of public opinion in Europe, and gave courage and hope to the Liberals in France, who were bent on dethroning him. Austria took advantage of the estrangement between England and France to absorb the Republic of Cracow,* in defiance of the Treaty of Vienna, so that, much to the indignation of the French people, they saw, as the firstfruits of M. Guizot's diplomacy, the last free banner and city in Poland vanish from the face of Europe. In England the feeling against Louis Philippe was one of mingled regret and disgust. The incident, writes Mr. Greville, "has been a great damper to the Queen's *engouement* for the House of Orleans." † "Nothing more painful," wrote the Queen to the Queen of the Belgians, "could possibly have befallen me than this unhappy difference, both because it has a character so personal, and because it imposes upon me the duty of opposing the marriage of a Prince for whom, as well as for all his family, I entertain so warm a friendship." ‡ "Everybody," said Lord Lansdowne writing to Lord Palmerston, "would have to turn over a new leaf with Louis Philippe." As for Prince Albert, he felt the blow as a national insult and a personal wrong, though, according to Baron Stockmar, both he and the Queen exercised the greatest self-command in concealing their resentment.§

CHAPTER XV.

HOME LIFE AND SOCIAL EVENTS IN 1846.

Prince Albert and the Home Farm—Royalty and the Windsor Vestry—The New Home at Osborne—The Birth of the Princess Helena—The Visit of Ibrahim Pasha—A Royal Christening—The Queen's Loneliness—Visitors at Osborne—A Cruise in Summer Seas—The "Lop" of the Channel—In the Channel Islands—The Duke of Cornwall in his Duchy—Exploring the South Coast—The Queen Acts as the Family Tutor—Her Majesty among the Iron-miners—The House-warming at Osborne—Baron Stockmar's Impressions of the Queen—Some German Visitors—A Dinner-Party at Windsor—The Baroness Bunsen's Picture of the Scene—The Royal Visits to Hatfield and Arundel—Social Movements in 1846—Dr. Hook's Pamphlet on Education—Origin of Secularism—The Triumphs of Science—Faraday's Researches—Laying of the First Submarine Cable at Portsmouth—The Use of Ether in Surgery—Evil Tidings from Starving Ireland.

EARLY in 1846 the Royal Family became involved in a little local dispute that gave the Queen some slight annoyance, and afforded busybodies a great deal of material for gossip. It was one of those incidents which serve to remind Royalty that in a free country even the most exalted station affords no

* In the *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. LXXXV., there is an article on the seizure of Cracow, which, though not written by Prince Albert, one might almost say was dictated by him.

† C. C. Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. II., p. 421.

‡ Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XVII.

§ Stockmar's Memorabilia.

protection from the tyranny of Bumbledom. The history of the affair is briefly as follows. The parochial rating authorities of Windsor had long cast hungry eyes on the Flemish Farm occupied by Prince Albert. It was a good subject for rating if it could be rated. Thinking that the Prince would be afraid of exposing himself to public odium, and would therefore contribute submissively to the support of the poor of the parish, a rate was levied on him by the local officials. But his Royal Highness resisted the claim, and pleaded, at the request of the Queen, that the farm was Royal property, which, being in Royal occupation, was exempt from rates. The most celebrated legal authorities were consulted, and agreed with his Royal Highness. Hence the following letter was sent to the official who represented the parish:—

"WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th January*, 1846.

"SIR,—I am commanded by his Royal Highness Prince Albert to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial which you have forwarded to me from the parish officers of Windsor, and in reply to state, that when a claim was preferred for the payment of rates by the Prince on account of the Flemish Farm, and when the legal liability of the Prince was insisted upon by the Vestry, his Royal Highness felt himself precluded from admitting such a claim without previous consultation with the highest legal authorities

"His Royal Highness submitted the whole facts of the case to the Attorney- and Solicitor-General of her Majesty, and subsequently to Sir Thomas Wilde. Their opinion was, that his Royal Highness was not liable, in point of law, to the payment of rates, and that the admission by him of such liability might constitute a dangerous precedent, affecting the prerogatives of the Crown.

"In the letter which I addressed to you on the 15th of December, I informed you 'that his Royal Highness had no disposition to resist any claim that could in fairness be made upon him, whatever might be the legal obligations.' I have now to inform you, on the part of his Royal Highness, that if the parochial authorities had continued to insist on the payment of the demand, made as a matter of legal right, his Royal Highness would have felt himself compelled, by a sense of the duty which he owes to her Majesty, to resist the claim

"You have informed his Royal Highness that the Vestry of Windsor has passed resolutions of which the following are copies —

> 'That the Vestry extremely regrets that the resolutions in reference to the rating of his Royal Highness Prince Albert passed at the Vestry Meeting held on the 18th September last, should have been so carried, inasmuch as this meeting is now fully aware that his Royal Highness is not in any way liable to be rated for Flemish Farm; and that this Vestry deprecates the garbled statements set forth in the public journals on this subject.'

"Again—

> 'That inasmuch as the maintenance of the poor presses heavily on the parishioners, a respectful memorial be now presented to his Royal Highness, praying him to take the state of the parish into his gracious consideration, and that such memorial be prepared and presented by the parish officers.'

"His Royal Highness infers from these resolutions that the Vestry distinctly admits that his Royal Highness is not in any way liable to be rated for the Flemish Farm; and his Royal Highness feels himself at liberty to take the course which is most satisfactory to his own feelings, and to pay as a voluntary contribution, a sum equal to the rate which would have been annually due had the legal liability of his Royal Highness been established.

"It is also his Royal Highness's intention that the payment of the sum referred to should commence from the year 1841.

"I have the honour to be, your faithful and obedient servant,

"Henry Darvell, Esq."

"G. E. ANSON.

This untoward dispute seemed as if it had been created for the purpose of worrying the Royal Family by putting Prince Albert in a false position, and

its termination in so satisfactory a manner was deemed most creditable to the Prince at the time. It, indeed, helped to render the Prince popular with the middle classes. They saw in him a typical British ratepayer, who had fought with rating authorities, even as "with beasts at Ephesus," and yet survived the strife to enjoy his victory.

The political atmosphere of London became so highly charged with party passion that her Majesty and Prince Albert, early in February, determined to migrate to the country. Accordingly, they proceeded to the Isle of Wight, where they were building a new country-house at Osborne, and where the

WINDSOR CASTLE.

Queen herself said, in one of her letters, it was "a relief to be away from all the bitterness which people create for themselves in London." Here her Majesty and her family led a simple, happy, peaceful life, enjoying to the fullest extent all the innocent delight of planning and laying out the grounds round their new home. But in March they had to return to town, and again plunge into the excitement and agitation of political strife. This period was peculiarly trying for the Queen, because on the 25th of May she gave birth to a daughter—the Princess Helena—whose advent into a troubled world was heralded by salvoes of cannon from the Tower. The event rendered her Majesty unable to receive personally his Highness Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt, who was one of the "lions" of the London season in 1846, and who had been entertained with sumptuous hospitality at the Court of France. Prince Albert, however, did what lay in his power to make his Highness's visit pleasant, and on the 11th of June her Majesty was able to meet him. He dined with the Queen on the evening of that day, and left our shores [illegible]

the utmost satisfaction with the welcome he had received from the Sovereign and the country whose diplomacy had checked his conquering march in Syria. When the elections, which Lord John Russell's assumption of office rendered necessary, had been held, her Majesty and the Court again left town, and migrated to their seaside retreat in the Isle of Wight. The balmy air and the peaceful life revived the Queen, who had been greatly depressed in spirits at parting with her Ministers, and she was further cheered by the promise of her uncle, King Leopold of Belgium, to pay her a visit in time for the christening of the baby Princess. His Majesty and Queen Louise were unable to arrive, however, till a few days after the ceremony, which took place at Buckingham Palace on the 25th of July. The little lady received the names of Helena Augusta Victoria, her godmother being Hélène, Duchess of Orleans, who, as sponsor, was represented by the Duchess of Kent. The other sponsors—the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and H.R.H. the Duchess of Cambridge—were happily able to attend in person. At the end of the month the Queen again found her cherished home circle broken, for Prince Albert was summoned away to Liverpool to open the magnificent Albert Dock in that city, on the 30th of July. The reports of his speeches, and the enthusiastic reception with which he was met, brought brightness to the life of the Queen; but in spite of all that, she evidently could not conceal her sadness of heart when the head of her family was absent. "As I write," said the Prince, with a touch of playful but affectionate sarcasm, in a letter to the Queen, dated Liverpool, the 30th of July, "you will be making your evening toilette, and *not* be in time for dinner." Her Majesty, however, had apparently very little thought of the ceremonial part of her life in her mind at the time, for she was writing to their old friend, Baron Stockmar, a pretty touching letter, saying, "I feel very lonely without my dear Master; and though I know other people are often separated for a few days, I feel habit could not get me accustomed to it. This, I am sure, you cannot blame. Without him everything loses its interest. . . . It will always be a terrible pang to separate from him, even for two days; and I pray God never to let me survive him." In the last words there is indeed a note of pathos which, in view of the long and lonely widowhood of the Queen, cannot fail to touch the hearts of her home-loving people.

At the beginning of August the Court circle was again happily reunited at Osborne, the King and Queen of the Belgians being of the company. The Queen then decided to proceed on a quiet yachting cruise along the south coast of England, and accordingly the Royal yacht, with the Royal Family, and accompanied by the *Fairy* and the *Eagle*, on the 18th of August left the island and steamed westward. The weather, however, was far from propitious, for it blew more than half a gale when, on the 19th, the little pleasure-squadron rode out the storm in Portland Roads. Prince Albert cannot have enjoyed this part of the trip, for the "lop" in the Channel was not at

all to his liking. In a letter, replying evidently to some allusion [illegible] disagreeableness of the voyage, Lord Aberdeen, writing from [illegible] says to the Prince, though content with life in that far-off northern [illegible] "I confess that in reading of her Majesty's progress, I have [illegible] wished to find myself on the Royal yacht, even off the Race of Portland." When the Royal party arrived at Portland Roads the sea was so rough, and the wind was blowing so hard, that at first it was feared they could not land. Ultimately, they did get ashore, and a salute from the Nothe battery warned the town of their arrival. There was great excitement among the people, who gave their visitors a warm welcome. Her Majesty is reported to have looked fresh and well, but the poor Prince, her consort, bore traces in his pale face of having suffered a good deal. On the 19th, however, the party, including Lord Spencer, Lord Alfred Paget, Baron Stockmar, the Hon. Ann Napier, and Lady Jocelyn, sailed away in fair weather to Devonport. They drove to Astonbury, the seat of the Earl of Ilchester—then absent in the south of France—to see his lovely grounds and curious swannery, and subsequently went on to Weymouth, the Queen again giving orders that she desired as little fuss as possible to be made about her visit. She landed at the steps which had always been used for that purpose by George III. The country folk, through whose villages they passed, despite Lord Alfred Paget's assurances, refused to believe that such a quiet and unassuming party of tourists included the Queen and her Court. A pleasant time was passed as they skimmed over the sunlit waters of the Tamar, and examined the ancient and picturesque mansion of the Mount-Edgecumbe family. They next sailed up the Plym to Lord Morley's seat at Saltram. Then, when Sunday came round, they stood out to sea and steered for the Channel Islands.

This was an exceptionally interesting incident in the tour, for, since the days of King John, no English sovereign had till then set foot in the old Norman fief of the Crown. Little wonder that Guernsey was all excitement when they landed. Loyal cheers and addresses greeted the Queen and her family wherever they went; and the young Prince of Wales, by reason of his dress, which was that of a miniature seaman, attracted universal attention. Bands played and guns fired salutes, and pretty girls in white strewed the path of their young Queen with flowers. A brief visit to Jersey threw St. Helier into a frenzy of loyalty; after which the Royal yacht steamed for Falmouth, carrying the little Prince of Wales to see his Duchy of Cornwall for the first time. "A beautiful day again," writes the Queen in her Diary on the 4th of September—a Diary which is full of charming descriptions, in her own vivid but artless style, of this excursion—"a beautiful day again, with the same brilliantly blue sea. At a quarter to eight o'clock we [illegible] under weigh. There was a great deal of motion at first, and for the [illegible] part of the day the ship pitched, but getting up the sails steadied [illegible]

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

THE QUEEN VISITING A CORNISH IRON MINE. (See p. 266.)

five o'clock it became quite smooth; at half-past five we saw land, and at seven we entered Falmouth Harbour, where we were immediately surrounded by boats. The calmest night possible, with a beautiful moon, when we were on deck; every now and then the splashing of oars and the hum of voices were heard, but they were the only sounds, unlike the constant dashing of the sea against the vessel which we heard all the time we were at Jersey. At eight o'clock next morning (September 5th) the Royal party left Falmouth, rounded the Lizard, and skirted the bold and rugged coast that leads to Land's End. Here, much to the delight of Prince Albert, the sea was

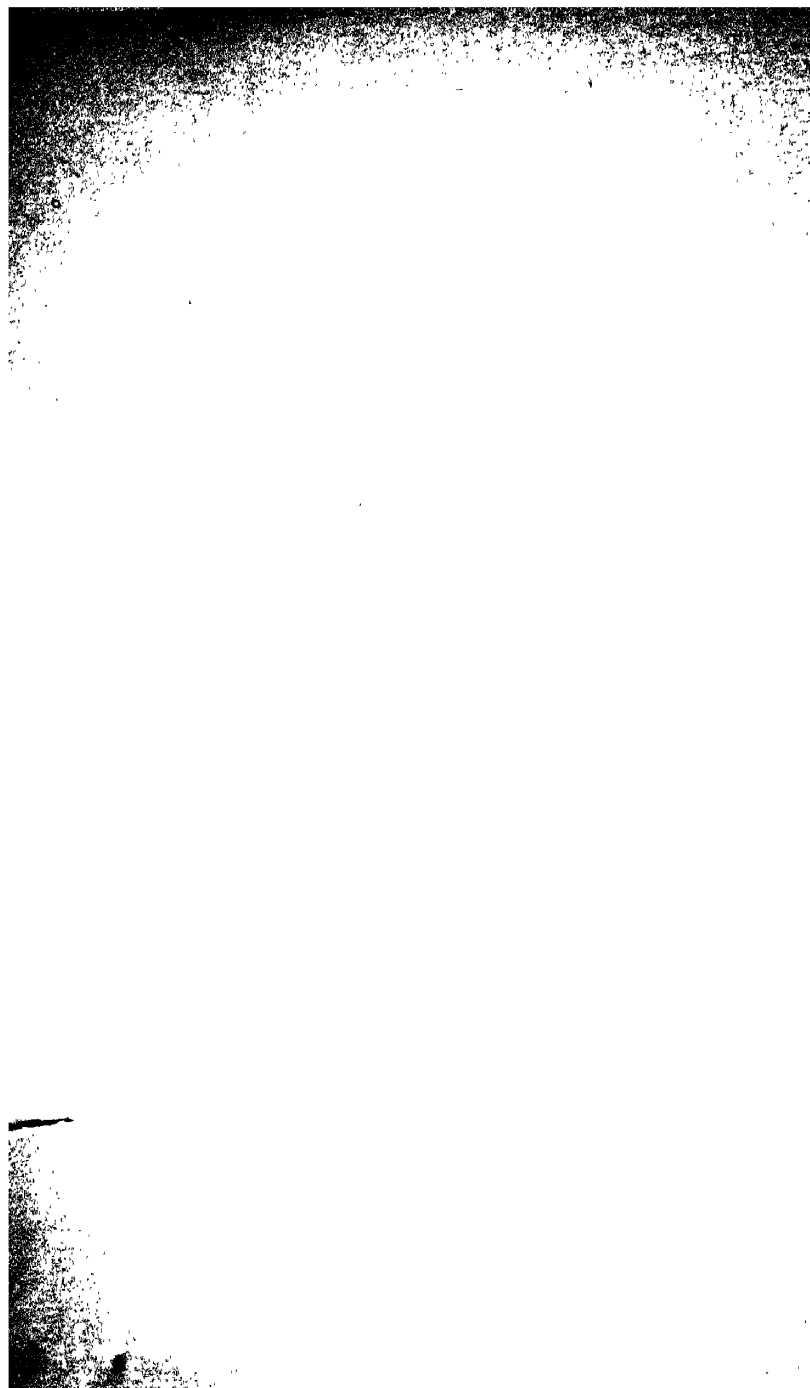
ON THE CORNISH COAST. PRADANACK POINT.

smooth. "A little before two," writes the Queen, "we landed in the beautiful Mount's Bay, close below St. Michael's Mount, which is very fine. When the bay first opened to our view the sun was lighting up the beautiful castle, so peculiarly built on a rock which forms an island at high water." The sun shone out gloriously as the Queen passed Penzance, and the smooth sea spread itself like an azure plain under a cloudless sky. "Soon after our arrival," she says, "we anchored, and the crowd of boats was beyond everything; numbers of Cornish pilchard fishermen, in their curious large boats, kept going round and round, and then anchored, besides many boats full of people." "They are," says her Majesty, "a very noisy, talkative race, and speak a kind of English hardly to be understood." "During the voyage," adds the Queen, with maternal satisfaction, "I was able to give Vicky (H.I.H. the Empress Frederick) her lessons;" indeed, all through these yachting cruises the Queen insisted, in true English fashion, on acting personally as her children's teacher. In fact, it was only when the pressure of public and social duty became too severe for such labours that her Majesty

would ever consent to delegate the tuition of her children to others; and even then, she and Prince Albert bestowed on it most vigilant personal superintendence. In the afternoon the Royal party, "including the children," rowed to the *Fairy*, and steamed round the bay. They visited St. Michael's Mount and the smelting works at Penzance, which monopolised the attention of Prince Albert. "We remained here," her Majesty writes, "a little while to sketch, and returned to the *Victoria and Albert* by half-past four, the boats crowding round us in all directions; and when 'Bertie' (the Prince of Wales) showed himself the people shouted, 'Three cheers for the Duke of Cornwall.'"

Next day they visited the quaint little town of Marazion, or Market Jew, which lies behind the Mount, where the Jews used to traffic in old times. They inspected the castle, and Prince Albert played on the organ in the chapel, to the great delight of the Queen and "the children;" after which he made what the Queen describes as "a beautiful little sketch" of St. Michael's Mount itself. On the following day (the 7th) the municipal dignitaries of Penryn invaded the Royal yacht, and begged to be introduced to "the Duke of Cornwall." "So," writes the Queen, "I stepped out of the pavilion on deck with Bertie, and Lord Palmerston told them that that was the Duke of Cornwall; and the old Mayor of Penryn said 'he hoped he would grow up a blessing to his parents and to his country.'" The Fal, winding between wooded banks of dwarfed oaks, and the beautiful Ruan, with its shores clad with foliage to the water's edge, were explored; and at the city of Truro, says the Queen, the whole population turned out on the banks to give her a welcome, "and were enchanted when Bertie was held up for them to see." On the following day the Royal tourists visited Fowey, "driving," writes the Queen, "through some of the narrowest streets I ever saw in England," and proceeding to the ivy-clad ruins of Restormel, a castle which belonged to "Bertie" as Duke of Cornwall.

Here her Majesty was bold enough to explore the iron mines. "You go in on a level," she writes. "Albert and I got into one of the trucks and we were dragged in by the miners, Mr. Taylor" (mineral agent to the Duchy) "walking behind us. The miners wore a curious woollen dress with a cap, and they generally have a candlestick in front of the cap. This time candlesticks were stuck along the sides of the mine, and those who did not drag or push carried lights. The gentlemen wore miners' hats. There was no room to pass between the trucks and the rock, and only just room enough to hold up one's head, and not always that. It had a most curious effect, and there was something unearthly about this lit-up cavern-like place. We got out and scrambled a little way to see the veins of ore, and Albert knocked off some pieces." On the way back they visited Lostwithiel; and then they returned to Osborne, vastly delighted and refreshed by their tour.

The Queen's new house at Osborne was now ready for occupation, and she and her husband held a "house-warming" ceremony on the 16th of September.

"Our first night," writes Lady Lyttelton in one of her letters, "in this house is well spent. Nobody smelt paint or caught cold, and the worst is over. After dinner we were to drink to the Queen and the Prince's health as a *house-warming*. And after it the Prince said, very naturally and simply, 'We have a hymn' (he called it a psalm) 'in Germany for such occasions. It begins,' and then he repeated two lines in German which I could not quote right—meaning a prayer to bless our going out and coming in." * Miss Lucy Kerr, one of the Maids of Honour, insisted in her Scottish fashion on throwing an old shoe after the Queen as she crossed the threshold for the first time, and she further diverted the company by her desire to procure molten lead and sundry other charms of Scottish witchcraft to bring luck to the Royal pair.

During the yachting cruise round the south coast, Baron Stockmar appears to have used his opportunities of close and intimate companionship with the Queen and her consort to note the changes that time had wrought in their characters. In his "Memorabilia" he records his impressions. "The Prince," he writes, "has made great strides of late. . . . He has also gained much in self-reliance. His natural vivacity leads him at times to jump too rapidly to a conclusion; and he occasionally acts too hastily; but he has grown too clear-sighted to commit any great mistake." "And the Queen also," writes the same keen and watchful critic, "improves greatly. She makes daily advances in discernment and experience; the candour, the love of truth, the fairness, the considerateness with which she judges men and things, are truly delightful; and the ingenuous self-knowledge with which she speaks about herself is simply charming." †

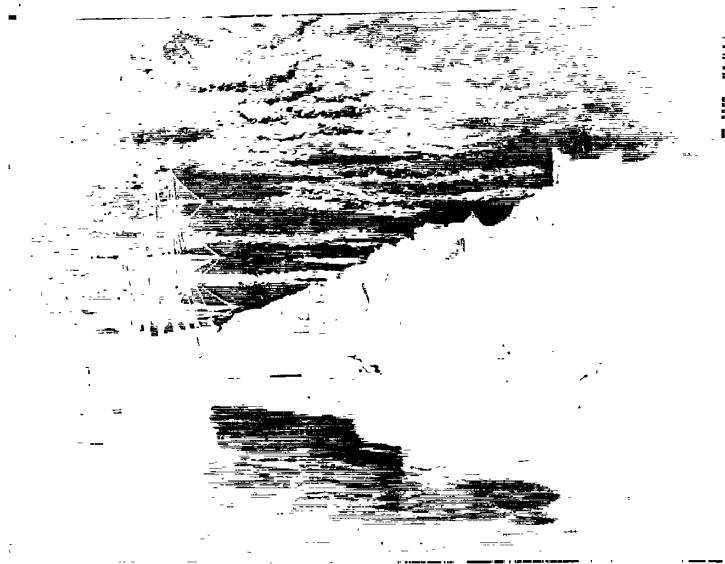
In the autumn, too, some other German friends cheered the Queen with a visit. The Princess of Prussia, afterwards the Empress Augusta, came on a visit to her aunt, the Queen Dowager Adelaide, and in September her Royal Highness went to Windsor. The Baroness Bunsen, who was in her suite, has given us a charming picture of the happy family circle round the Queen into which she then found herself introduced. In a letter to her mother from Windsor Castle, the Baroness writes:—"I arrived here at six, and at eight went to dinner in the Great Hall, hung round with the Waterloo pictures. The band played exquisitely, so placed as to be invisible; so that, what with the large proportions of the hall, and the well-subdued lights, and the splendours of plate and decoration, the scene was such as fairy tales present; and Lady Canning, Miss Stanley, and Miss Dawson were beautiful enough to represent an ideal Queen's ideal attendants. The Queen looked well and *rayonnante*, with that pleased expression of countenance which she has when pleased with what surrounds her, and which, you know, I like to see." ‡

In October the Queen and Prince Albert paid another round of visits.

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

† Stockmar's Memorabilia.

‡ Life and Letters of Baroness Bunsen, by A. J. C. Hare, Vol. II., p. 82.

hey left Windsor on the 19th and drove to the Queen Dowager's place t Cashiobury, where they spent three days in strict privacy. After that hey drove to Lord Clarendon's seat near Watford, and went on to the Iarquis of Abercorn's at Stanmore Abbey. Taking a circuitous route by leading, they drove to Hatfield, where they visited the Marquis of Salisbury. ut the weather was most disagreeable, and even St. Albans failed to ut up the usual arches of welcome, and bedeck itself in congratulatory unting. Four miles from Hatfield they were met by Lord Salisbury and the

ARUNDEL. (After the Picture by Vicat Cole, R.A.)

uke of Wellington. There was a pleasant party of friends at Hatfield aiting to welcome the Royal guests, including Lord Melbourne and Lord ohn Russell, the latter brooding over the growing uneasiness of the country nd the painful dispute with the Court of France, the former gay and bonair, as if he had never known what it was to face the storms and strife State. The Queen, it seems, was greatly interested in the treasures of the brary, and spent much time poring over the Cecil papers. Her visit was ng talked of in the district, for, in true baronial style, five hundred labourers re feasted in commemoration of the event at Hatfield, a great ox being asted for the banquet, at which home-brewed ale flowed generously in hogsads. In December her Majesty visited the Duke of Norfolk, Master of the orse, at Arundel. At Portsmouth and Chichester she was welcomed with

cordial demonstrations of affection, and not only was Arundel illuminated, but, what pleased her still more, a substantial dinner was given in her honour to every poor person in the town. Prince Albert, Lord John Russell, and the Earl of Arundel amused themselves with field sports; but the Queen,

PROFESSOR FARADAY.

attended by her host, the Duke of Norfolk, and the old Duke of Wellington, explored objects of interest in the neighbourhood. She held a formal reception in the great drawing-room of the Castle, and charmed all the "country people" with her simple, winning ways and sweet courtesies. It is recorded that at the ball held after this reception her Majesty distinguished herself by the hearty manner in which she joined in the dancing, an amusement which was ever a favourite one with her in those happy days of her golden youth.

But life in the Royal circle was not all amusement. Baron Stockmar bears testimony to the zeal with which both the Prince and the Queen devoted themselves at this time to business and graver studies. And many events were happening, many intellectual and social movements beginning to develop, which keenly interested them. The unsatisfactory position of British art—emphasised by the fate of Haydon, who committed suicide in despair of ever interesting the English people in the higher forms of art—the development of the great movement in favour of popular education, and the rise of what afterwards came to be known as the Party of Secularism, were keenly canvassed during the latter part of this eventful year in every circle where thoughtful men and women met.

Among the many remarkable movements that arose when the country was liberated from the strain of the Free Trade agitation, was that which originated the strife between parties as to the share which the Church and the State should take in the work of education. A crude and rudimentary scheme of national education was part of Lord John Russell's programme, and the attention of the country had been excited by a pamphlet published by the late Dr. Hook, then Vicar of Leeds, afterwards Dean of Chichester, in which he proposed a plan which very much resembles that which the late Mr. W. E. Forster induced Parliament to accept in 1870. Her Majesty and Prince Albert were deeply interested in Dr. Hook's plan, the leading points of which were: (1) Schools to be universally supported by the State; (2) Education to be secular, but one day in the week to be set apart for religious instruction, which should be given by each denomination to the children of its own members.

The Secularist Party owed their origin to Mr. Holyoake, who at this time began to propagate the system of ethics known as Secularism, a system which aimed at promoting the welfare of mankind by human means, and measuring it by utilitarian standards. The service of others he held to be the highest duty of life. Secularism rejoiced in life as the *sphere of exalting duties*. It was a religion of doubt, neither affirming nor denying the existence of a Deity. Ultimately it came to be termed Agnosticism, and the working classes seemed to be considerably influenced by Mr. Holyoake's teaching during this year and a few of the years that followed.

In the year 1846 the scientific world was greatly interested by the publication of a most extraordinary series of experimental researches in electricity conducted by Faraday, illustrating alike the genius of the man and the spirit and methods of scientific investigation during the early part of the Victorian epoch. That spirit was, in the main, antagonistic to vacuous speculation or unprofitable theorising. It was daring enough in its utilitarianism to track by direct experiment the subtle elements of, or prove by tangible demonstration what were the occult relations which subsisted between, forms of matter and modes of force. "I have long held the opinion,"

wrote Faraday, "that the various forms under which the forces of matter are made manifest have one common origin, or, in other words, are so directly related and mutually dependent, that they are convertible, as it were, into one another, and possess equivalents of power in their action. . . . . I recently resumed the inquiry by experiment in a most strict and searching manner, and have at last succeeded in magnetising and electrifying a ray of light and in illuminating a magnetic line of force."* The phrase is not a felicitous one to express the idea of the transformation and transmutation of the forces, but it is worth citing as the original expression used. The paper from which it is taken simply proved that a ray of polarised light sent through certain transparent substances in the line of action connecting the two poles of a magnet, became visible or invisible just as the current was flowing or was stopped. In another paper "On New Magnetic Actions," Faraday proved that a non-magnetic body suspended freely in the line of a magnetic current is repelled by either pole, and takes up a position at right angles to the line, and, therefore, at right angles to the line a magnetic body would assume in similar circumstances.

But perhaps one of the most interesting events, to Prince Albert at least, was the laying of the first submarine telegraph cable at Portsmouth on the 13th of December, 1846. In the year 1843 telegraphic communication from the Nine Elms terminus at Portsmouth to Gosport had been established. Then the wires were continued to the Clarence Victualling Yard. The harbour, however, still intervened between the end of the wire and the Port Admiral's house, and it was supposed to be impossible to connect the two points electrically under water. The first plan suggested was to lay the wires in metal cases, to be fixed in position by divers with diving-bells. But it was finally agreed to lay the wires in a stout cable, and this was done without the use of a return wire. The first message sent over it thus demonstrated that water would act as a ready conductor in completing the electrical circuit, and almost immediately projectors were developing a plan for laying a submarine cable to France. This and the discovery of the use of ether as an anæsthetic in surgery—the first painless operation being performed on a patient under its influence by Mr. Liston in University College Hospital—were the chief practical achievements in science during a year which closed with anxious forebodings from Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, where the scourge of famine was again smiting the people.

* Experimental Researches in Electricity, by Michael Faraday, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c. From the Philosophical Transactions, Part I. for 1846.

THE LAKES OF KILLARNEY.

(*From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.*)

CHAPTER XVI.

A DISTRESSFUL COUNTRY.

The Irish Crisis—Famine and Free Trade—Evictions and Imports—Fiscal Policy and Small Holdings—Shocking Scenes among the Irish People—The Mistake of the Government—Lord John Russell's Relief Measure Rejected by his Colleagues—An Autumnal Cabinet Meeting—Opening of Parliament—The Queen and the Distress—The Remedial Measures of the Government—Rival Schemes of the Protectionists—Lord George Bentinck's Railway Subsidies Bill—A Rival Ministerial Scheme—The Attack on the Bank Act of 1844—The Currency Controversy—Peel on a Convertible Currency—The Effect of the Railway Mania—Blaming the Bank—The Education Question—Opposition of Dissenters—Colonisation and Emigration—Lord Lincoln's Motion—Is Emigration a Remedy for a Redundant Population?—The Cabinet and the Ten Hours Bill—Mr. Fielden's Victory—Opposition of Manufacturers—Evading the Act—The Budget—The Queen and the Duchy of Lancaster—Lord Campbell and the Queen—A Famous Duchy Dinner—Privy Councillors at "High Jinks"—Death of Lord Bessborough—Lord Clarendon appointed Irish Viceroy—Death of O'Connell—Growing Weakness of the Cabinet—Prorogation of Parliament—Dissolution—The General Election—The State of Parties—Appalling Outrages in Ireland—Another Commercial Panic—Suspension of the Bank Act—The Queen and Sir Robert Peel—Parliament Summoned—A Coercion Bill for Ireland—Ireland and the Vatican—Lord Palmerston's Correspondence with Lord Minto—Denunciations of the Queen's Colleges—Projected Renewal of Diplomatic Relations with Rome—Lord Palmerston's Objections—The Jews in Parliament—New Bishops—The Hampden Controversy—Baffled Heresy-hunters

DISTRESS is the word that sums up the life of the nation during 1847. If there be any inadequacy in the summary, it may be made good by the addition to it of—sectarian bigotry. Famine in Ireland, two commercial panics in England, religious controversies of the narrowest and most paltry character, and over all, the wind of Socialism moaning bodefully—there, in a sentence, we have a picture of this melancholy year. It will spot black in English history as the year of the Great Irish Famine. Whether Free Trade did or did not aggravate the distress in Ireland will always be a moot point with

riters and historians who are partisans. The Protectionists warned Parl-
ament that Free Trade would bring hard times to the rural poor in Ireland,
nd in 1847 they began to take credit for being good prophets, for it was

GLENDALOUGH VALLEY, CO WICKLOW—VIEW IN GLENDALOUGH.

(*After Photographs by W. Lawrence, Dublin.*)

ot only famine that had to be dealt with in that country; it was famine
lus pauperism and pestilence.

Looking back at the condition of affairs that obtained in Ireland in
847, one is surprised that statesmen did not foresee what was coming.
rish industries, with the exception of the manufacture of linen, had been
rushed by the commercial policy of England. It was not till 1825, a
uarter of a century after the Union, that a true commercial union between
reland and Great Britain was effected, and absolute Free Trade was established

between the two countries. By that time English industries had got a great start, and when Free Trade was conceded to Ireland, she was no longer fit to compete with England, even in the industries that were indigenous to her soil. But as her wealth was chiefly agricultural, in husbandry, at all events, she might have been expected to hold her own. The high prices that followed the wars with France made Irish farmers, large and small, both rich and prosperous. But in 1815 the piping times of peace brought ruin to many of them. The fall in prices tempted the tenants to demand more land, so that, by carrying on tillage on a larger scale, they might be able to hold the market. This logically led to consolidation of holdings, which, in turn, led to evictions, agrarian outrage, and crime.

In one respect, however, the position of Ireland was safeguarded. The Corn Laws, which imposed a prohibitory duty on foreign grain, allowed Irish corn to enter the English market freely. Corn was therefore largely grown in Ireland under Protection. But when Protection was abandoned, Irish farmers lost the only prop they had—the tariff which left them profits in excess of rent. The effect of Free Trade in Ireland was naturally to reduce prices. It therefore did not pay after 1846 to grow corn in Ireland, and the alternative crop was cattle. But the rearing of cattle is best managed on a large scale and on large farms. Hence a movement in Ireland was set on foot for further consolidation of holdings—a movement, in other words, for a fresh policy of eviction that brought outrage in its train. Mr. Jephson has shown that "the adoption by Great Britain of free importation of food supplies from any part of the world must have revolutionised Irish agriculture and vitally affected the circumstances of the Irish, and it is not on the political connection between the two countries (which the Nationalists are now trying to break), but it is on the economic dependence of Ireland on England (which is unbreakable) that must be thrown the responsibility."* A very curious and instructive table of figures might be drawn up to prove this point:—

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN IRELAND

Year.	Above One Acre to Five Acres	Above Five Acres to Fifteen Acres	Above Fifteen Acres to Thirty Acres.	Above Thirty Acres
1841	310,436	252,800	79,342	40,625
1851	88,083	191,854	141,311	149,090
1861	85,469	183,931	141,251	157,833
1871	74,809	171,383	138,647	159,303
1881	67,071	164,045	135,793	159,834

Thus it is seen that since Free Trade was adopted, small holdings in Ireland have been diminishing, whereas large holdings have been increasing; and that would be in favour of Lord George Bentinck's contention, which in

* *Times*, 13th January, 1886.

1847 gave the utmost annoyance to Mr. Cobden and his friends, that Free Trade caused the Irish Famine. Perhaps the true view is, that in manufacturing districts, where the mass of the people did not live by selling produce from the soil, the fall in the price of grain which followed Free Trade was a boon. To a country like Ireland, on the other hand, where the mass of the people lived on the profits of tillage on a small scale, Free Trade came as a disaster. Coupled with the failure of the potato crop, it meant famine in 1847.

Literally, the great mass of the Irish people were by this time starving. Their savings were gone, and as for economising, it was hopeless. A nation that lives on potatoes alone—the cheapest and worst form of human food the earth can yield—has already lowered its standard of comfort to zero. Beggary is the only alternative to a potato diet: for potato-feeders, as Mr. J. S. Mill has observed, "retrenchment is impossible." Public works were therefore started for the relief of the people, and to these tottering skeletons dragged themselves in despair, often to die almost as soon as they began their task. A few ounces of oatmeal were reckoned a day's ration for a family, and those who survived cold and hunger were swept away by typhus. The scenes in the overcrowded workhouses recalled the horrors that are immortalised in Defoe's "History of the Plague." In the towns the sufferings of the people were not less keen and cruel. "Daily in the street," writes Mr. A. M. Sullivan in "New Ireland," "and on the footway, some poor creature lay down as if to sleep, and presently was still and stark. In one district it was a common occurrence to find, on opening the front door in the early morning, leaning against it the corpse of some victim who in the night had 'rested' in its shelter. We raised a public subscription and employed two men with horse and cart to go round each day to gather up the dead. One by one they were taken to Ardrahahair Abbey, and dropped through the hinged bottom of a 'trap coffin' into a common grave below. In the rural districts even this rude sepulchre was impossible. In the fields and by the ditches the victims lay as they fell, till some charitable hand was found to cover them with the adjacent soil." And yet during this time, as Lord George Bentinck said, the food exports of Ireland were greater than those of any other country in the world, not merely relatively but absolutely in proportion to people or area. As Mr. Henry George observes,* "grain and meal and butter were carted for exportation along roads lined with the starving, and past trenches into which the dead were piled."

During the preceding autumn the Government had quite under-estimated the gravity of the situation in Ireland. They had given a pledge that they would not disturb the food market, and they relied on the ordinary capital of the nation to obtain supplies for a starving country, in the greater part of which there was by this time neither capital nor commerce. They imagined

* Progress and Poverty, Chap. II.

THE IRISH FAMINE: INTERIOR OF A PEASANTS HUT.

that the law of supply and demand would feed the people, and that whenever hunger smote them in a desolate district, there merchants and retailers of food would spring up as if by magic. Meetings of the Cabinet Council were

LORD BROUGHAM, 1850. (*From a Sketch of the Period.*)

held, it is true; and a glimpse at their deliberations is afforded us by Lord Campbell, who says he was summoned to attend a meeting of the Cabinet on the 20th October, at which the impending aggravation of the calamity was discussed. He adds:—"Lord John Russell has been severely blamed for not

having immediately made an Order in Council to open the ports for the introduction of corn *duty free*. He actually proposed this measure, but was overruled, his colleagues being almost unanimously against him. In our then state of knowledge I think we were right not to tamper with the law as it had been recently settled, particularly as an Order in Council of this nature would have induced a necessity for the immediate meeting of Parliament, which, on account of the state of Ireland, was universally deprecated. The course we adopted was applauded till the accounts of Irish destitution became daily more appalling. We employed ourselves in considering the Bills which were to be brought forward at the meeting of Parliament, and Committees of the Cabinet were appointed to prepare them. Cabinet dinners were given once a week, and we were still in good spirits, hoping that the scarcity of this winter would not be more severe than that of the preceding."* Ministers were painfully undeceived.

When the Session of Parliament opened on the 19th of January, 1847, the Queen, in reading her speech, seemed downcast and sorrowful, and her voice is said to have trembled and fallen low as she spoke of the sufferings of the Celtic population, and commended the patience and exemplary resignation with which their hardships were borne. And well might her voice and heart sink, for at that time the newspapers teemed with descriptions of scenes of suffering in Ireland, more harrowing than any which the most lurid pages of history record—scenes in which pestilence dogged the track of famine, and perishing wretches fought with each other like wild beasts for carrion. They were more dreadful even than those that live for ever in the ghastly narrative of Josephus, and, as Lord Brougham said in the Upper House, they recalled the canvas of Poussin and the dismal chant of Dante.†

Lord John Russell explained, on the 25th of January, the plans of the Government. Some £2,000,000 were advanced to feed the Irish people on doles of Indian meal, and to give them work and wages. A new Irish Poor Law, based on the English principle that property must support pauperism, was introduced, much to the disgust of the Irish landlords. The Corn Law and Navigation Acts were to be temporarily suspended. The Tories, not to seem laggards in the race of philanthropy, through Lord George Bentinck brought in a Bill to raise £16,000,000 for the construction of new railways in Ireland, so that employment might be given to the poor. His plan was that for every £100 expended on a line, £200 should be lent to its promoters by the Government at the same rate of interest at which it had been borrowed, and it was significant that in drafting his measure Lord George had been guided by Mr. Hudson, "the Railway King," who made railways, and Mr. Alderman Thompson, who supplied materials for their construction. The House rejected the project as one designed to invest the money of the taxpayers

* Life of Lord Campbell, Vol. II, p 215.

† Hansard's Debates, 19th January, 1847.

in speculative enterprises for the benefit of financial "rings," who had duped the Protectionist leader. Ministers, however, to the surprise of the House, followed up this rejected measure with a Bill of their own on the 26th of April, providing for advancing Treasury Loans, amounting in all to £620,000, repayable at 5 per cent. interest, to Irish railways, 50 per cent. of whose capital was paid up. In fact, it was the fag end of Lord George Bentinck's proposal, and, as Sir Robert Peel said, if the Government had saved money on the expenditure in relief works, it would have been wiser to increase the Treasury balances than subsidise private speculators in Ireland. On the other hand, there was a popular feeling that some aid should be given to Irish railway enterprise, which might lead to an absorption of unemployed labour, and the objections to Lord George Bentinck's gigantic scheme—namely, its interference with the ordinary operations of trade, and the absence of adequate administrative machinery—did not lie against a proposal to assist great arterial lines of railway already under construction.

During the discussions on these measures, Sir Robert Peel's Bank Restriction Act of 1844 was continually attacked by the Protectionists as the cause of the prevailing financial distress. The object of that Act was to insure the convertibility of paper currency into gold, so that the holder of a bank-note might always be certain that he could get an equivalent in coin for it on demand. The country was suffering from a scarcity of money to trade with, and this scarcity was traced to the restriction of the Bank's paper issues. On the contrary, it was really due (1) to failure of the food crops, which involved a loss of £16,000,000 sterling of capital; (2) to the rise in the price of cattle, due to a failure of crops; (3) to a loss of £16,000,000 in gambling speculations during the railway mania of 1845-46.

This mania, which produced such monstrous schemes during the close of 1845, began to bear evil fruits when holders of scrip, in face of falling markets, were haunted with visions of bankruptcy. A return was issued, by order of the House of Commons, containing the names of the unhappy individuals who, during the Session of 1845, had subscribed towards railways in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for sums of less than £2,000. It is a huge catalogue, extending over 540 folio pages, and forms the oddest jumble of "all sorts and conditions of men." Vicars and vice-admirals elbow each other in the reckless race after easy-gotten gain. Peers struggle with printers, and barristers with butchers, for the favours of Mr. Hudson, "the Railway King," who was the presiding genius of this greedy rabble. Cotton-spinners and cooks, Queen's Counsel and attorneys, college scouts and Catholic priests, editors and flunkeys, dairymen and dyers, beer-sellers and ministers of the Gospel, bankers and their butlers, engineers and excisemen, relieving officers and waiters at Lloyd's, domestic servants and policemen, engineers and mail-guards, with a troop of others whose callings are not describable, figured in the motley mob of small gamblers. Lord

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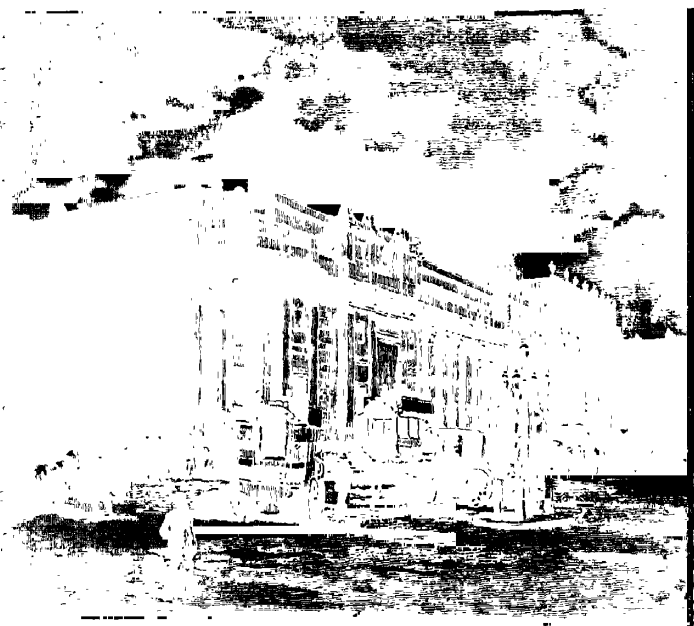
Beaconsfield's brilliant and satirical sketch of Mr. Vigo's fortunes in "Endymion" is based on the mania with which Mr. Hudson infected England, and which exhausted the floating capital of the country in a time of famine. In the beginning of 1846, when in obedience to the Standing Order of the House the deposit of 10 per cent. on railway capital had to be lodged with the Accountant-General, the Money Market was greatly alarmed. It

THE BANK OF ENGLAND

was estimated that £10,000,000 would have to be lodged in compliance with the law on the 29th of January, and on the 10th the *Times*, in a memorable article, declared that to lock up half that sum for a week in the circumstances would produce "the greatest inconvenience and pressure." *

It was in vain that the officers of the Crown and the Government were implored by the trading community, who dreaded a Gold Famine, to sanction a deviation from the rigid rule of the Standing Order in face of the exceptional outbreak of an epidemic of speculation. This reached its height, it seems to us, just a month before the Governor of the Bank of England could be persuaded that the potato-rot was rendering famine inevitable. In the quarter ending September, 1845, there were in the market for sale £500,000,000 of

* *Times*, City Article, 10th January, 1846.

tock, scrip, or letters of allotment. The shocking waste of resources that his covered is proved by two sets of figures. According to the Chancellor f the Exchequer, in the years 1842-46, the capital authorised to be raised as in each year respectively £6,000,000, £4,500,000, £18,000,000, £59,000,000, nd for the last of these years £126,000,000! In 1842-45 the amounts

THE QUEEN IN THE ROYAL GALLERY, ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

(*After the Portrait by G. E. Dawe*, 1846.)

pended, however, were only £3,000,000, £4,500,000, £6,000,000, £14,000,000, id £36,000,000. In the latter half of 1846, of an authorised capital of 46,000,000, only £27,000,000 was spent. But in the records of the ctorian epoch there is nothing more curious than this fact—that of the st sum expended during this mania, one-fifth was spent on buying land id on Parliamentary expenses, and the remaining four-fifths on materials id labour, skilled and unskilled. Some idea of the resources and the

y of the England of Queen Victoria's youth may be gained from the t that, during the period 1843–47, £170,000,000 were raised—£130,000,000 shares and £40,000,000 by loans—in order to open 3,665 miles of railway traffic.* It has been said that the Railway Mania was at its height in e quarter ending September, 1845. The Bank rate of interest then stood 2½ per cent. In November it rose to 3½ per cent., and then panic smote aid investors. They glutted the market with their shares. And yet the rious thing is that the witnesses who were examined before the Committee the House of Commons on Commercial Distress seem to agree in asserting at the general trade of the country was active at the time, and that very w people had the slightest suspicion that it was utterly unsound. Mr. R. ardner of Manchester, in his evidence, gave an excellent and vivid sketch industrial England at this period, when he said: "The commercial diffilty began, I think, about the middle of 1846. A good deal of business was ne in 1846, but trade was not in a wholesome state; it appeared to flourish the great abundance of money, and the great facility in getting long paper scounted. . . . . I think, in the early part of 1846, *we were at about the ight of our apparent prosperity*. . . . . In the manufacturing districts there is a greater supply of goods than was justified by the demand. Immediately ter the China Treaty, so great a prospect was held out to the country of a eat extension of our commerce with China, that there were many large lls built with a view to that trade exclusively, in order to manufacture that ss of cloth which is principally taken for the China market. . . . . This ade turned out most ruinous; the losses averaged from 10 to 60 or 70 per nt."† This is a fact which may be commended to the attention of a werful Party in the latter years of the Queen's reign which cherishes the rfectly erroneous belief, that an aggressive foreign policy necessarily and variably stimulates commerce by "opening up new markets."

No issue of paper money in 1847–48 could relieve a strain due to such uses as these, though some blame must be given to the Bank for not ecking the drain of gold by raising the discount rate at the beginning of e year, when the failure of the potato crop in Ireland was manifest. But issue £2,000,000 of notes without any increase in the real capital of the intry, which could alone command foreign produce, would have been an isory measure of relief. The heated discussions on these and cognate estions ended in May; in June the pressure on the Money Market began be relaxed, and the crisis passed away for the time—only to reappear, as shall see, later on in the autumn.

The Education Vote in 1847 raised a great storm of sectarian controversy,

* Return in Appendix D to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Comial Distress, 1848. P. Paper, No. 395.

† Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Commercial Distress. Minutes of Evidence : Q. 4861–4876.

ntly in Parliament, but throughout the country. The first sign that the in England gave of awakening to the educational destitution of the country n 1833, when the House of Commons voted £20,000 in aid of elementary instruction. In a burst of generosity, £39,000 was voted in 1839. In the grant was raised to £100,000, but the money could only be shared otestant schools, because the Privy Council decreed that no school was subsidised unless "the Authorised Version of the Scriptures" was read This of course cut off the Roman Catholics from any participation grant; and when, in 1847, the Education Vote came before the House mmons, all liberal-minded men condemned the sectarian restrictions in ising the grants which were imposed by the Government. Sir Robert Mr. Macaulay, and Sir W. Molesworth all attacked the regulation of ouncil, which pressed so harshly against the Roman Catholics; and Lord Russell was fain to give pledges that the rule would be relaxed. During debates, some of the High Church Tories, like Sir Robert Inglis, the er for the University of Oxford, accused Peel of supporting the policy leration in order to conciliate Catholic voters at the coming election. curious to note that the plan of the Government, offering equal pecuniary equal terms to all schools accepting Government inspection, was opposed e Dissenters; and even Mr. Bright declared that it was a dangerous erence with the voluntary exertions of the people to educate themselves. is time it was thought a lesser evil to let the children of the poor remain unt, than to establish a system of education which was made applicable sects, by omitting distinctive points of sectarian teaching from the s given in the schools. The Dissenters objected to the Established h getting a new endowment in the shape of grants in aid of their schools. ecularists objected to public money in any form being spent in subsidising ian schools, even though these were under State inspection.

June the subject of colonisation stirred up some discussion in the y. Ever since Mr. Charles Buller, in 1843, had emphasised the dis- on between colonisation and emigration, a party had existed who taught t was not wise to leave the settlement of our Colonial Empire to the es of casual or voluntary emigration. Lord Lincoln attempted to enforce teaching by drawing the attention of the House of Commons, on the ' June, 1847, to the importance of this question in its bearing on Irish s. He moved an Address to the Queen praying her to take into con- tion the means by which colonisation might be made subsidiary to other ures for the benefit of Ireland. He urged that the Government should vour to direct the surplus or redundant labouring population of Ireland nada and Natal, and suggested the appointment of a Commission of y. The plan was opposed by Mr. Vernon Smith as vague, and as likely ve too costly for an embarrassed country like Ireland; and by Lord John ll, who thought that the Colonies would be alienated if the mother

country led them to suspect she was exporting to them the dregs of her population. Still, on the general principle that it was well for a weak Government to be conciliatory, Lord John Russell permitted Lord Lincoln to carry his Address, but only on the understanding that it was not to lead to any practical result.

JOSEPH HUME.

Emigration, however, was a painful remedy for famine in Ireland, because the Celt regards exile with horror. Nor was the emigrant in those days treated very much better in his journey over the Atlantic, than the slave during the time when tales of the "middle passage" thrilled the nerves of English philanthropists. The overcrowding in the ships was scandalous, most of them carrying double their complement of passengers, utterly regardless of the law. Twelve times as many died on the voyage, as perished in ordinary

cumstances. In quarantine the death rate rose from 1·75 to 40 per 1,000. ree thousand emigrants are said to have perished in Montreal in half a ar. The emigrants were weaklings, ill-fitted for the rough life of a colony, l, when they landed with the symptoms of famine fever, they were shunned e lepers, save when they found a refuge in a hospital. "There is no bject," says the late Sir Charles Trevelyan, "of which a merely one-sided view more commonly taken than that of emigration. The evils arising from the

THE WOODS BEFORE THE EMIGRANT: VIRGIN FOREST IN CANADA.

wded state of the population, and the facility with which large numbers persons may be transferred to other countries, are naturally uppermost in minds of landlords and ratepayers; but her Majesty's Government, to ch the well-being of the British population in every quarter of the globe confided, must have an equal regard to the interests of the emigrant and the colonial community of which he may become a member. It is a great take to suppose that even Canada and the United States have an unlimited acity of absorbing a new population. The labour market in the settled rict is always so nearly full, that a small addition to the persons in ach of employment makes a sensible difference; while the clearing of land uires the possession of resources and a power of sustained exertion

ordinarily belonging to the newly-arrived Irish emigrant. In this, as well as in the other operations by which society is formed and sustained, there is a natural process which cannot with impunity be departed from. A movement is continually going on towards the backwoods on the part of the young and enterprising portion of the settled population and of such of the fewer emigrants as have acquired means and experience, and the room thus made is occupied by persons recently arrived from Europe who have only their labour to depend on. The conquest of the wilderness requires more than the ordinary share of energy and perseverance, and every attempt that has yet been made to turn paupers into backwoodsmen has ended in signal failure. As long as they were rationed they held together in a feeble, helpless state, and when the issue of the rations ceased they generally returned to the settled parts of the country."*

These considerations were rather lost sight of in this curious discussion which, with the best of motives, Lord Lincoln initiated. The feeling of the landed class as reflected in the debate was that, whenever too many people were reared on their estates, the Government should in some way or other help them to get rid of their surplus labour. In Ireland for years a redundant population had been encouraged for political purposes by the landlords who owned their votes; and it is curious to observe that those who favoured the growth of that population do not seem to have considered that they, and not the State, should assist them to emigrate. A redundant population in every case is obviously an incident of property in land, and it has to be endured and dealt with like any other drawback of territorial ownership. The landlord who has to pay out of his own pocket the emigration expenses of his surplus labourers, will not be eager to promote emigration to an extent likely to injure his country.

The weakness of the Government was further illustrated by their manner of dealing with the Labour Laws. They did not, like their predecessors in Sir R. Peel's Ministry, flatly oppose all projects for lessening the hours of factory work. But they refused to make them Ministerial questions, though it must be admitted that Lord John Russell, undismayed by the attitude of the Radical manufacturers, did not flinch from supporting these benevolent measures.

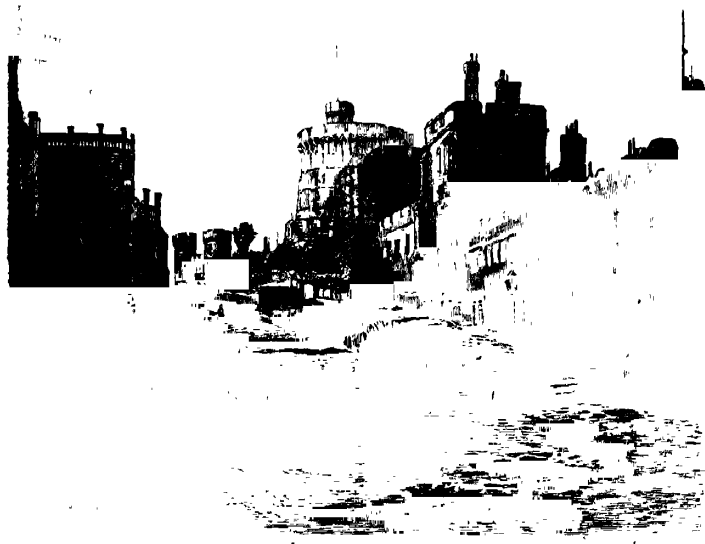
Here it may not be amiss to say that for several years Lord Ashley had fought hard to get what was called the "Ten Hours Bill" carried—the Bill limiting the hours of employment of children and young persons in factories. The Tory Government had opposed and thwarted him. Radical Free Traders like Mr. Bright had been among his fiercest antagonists Lord Ashley's courage, however, was undaunted, and he persistently returned year after year to the charge. In 1846, unfortunately, he disappeared from the Parliamentary arena. He approved of Sir Robert Peel's Free Trade policy, but deemed it his duty to resign his seat, so that his constituents in Dorsetshire, who had elected

* *Edinburgh Review*, 1848.

him as a Protectionist, might express their opinions on his change of front. They rejected him, and thus it came to pass that Mr. John Fielden, Member for Oldham, took charge of the Ten Hours Bill in his stead. Mr. Fielden was hopeful of making progress with the measure because, though Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues had steadily opposed it, the chief of the new Ministry, Lord John Russell, had favoured the project. Then it so happened that a large number of the old Tories who followed Lord George Bentinck were to be counted on as sympathetic allies. The repeal of the Corn Laws they regarded as a blow dealt by the manufacturing class at the landed interest. If they voted now for the Ten Hours Bill, they would in turn be dealing a blow at the manufacturing interest—and, moreover, they would be delivering a vote of vengeance against the Peelites. When on the 26th of January Mr. Fielden obtained leave to bring in a Bill limiting the hours of labour of women and children in factories to ten hours a day, the Government seem to have found it an embarrassing question. They therefore determined to treat it as an "open" one. They appear to have arranged that whilst the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Sir C. Wood—and Mr. Milner Gibson should vote against the Bill, Lord John Russell, Lord Morpeth, and Sir George Grey should vote for it, distinctly saying at the same time that they desired not a ten hours but an eleven hours Bill. It has been usual to represent the beneficent factory legislation with which Lord Ashley's name is associated as one of the triumphs of Tory policy. It was nothing of the kind. For years the Tory Government, under Peel's guidance, had resisted the measure, and Lord Ashley's chief antagonist in those days was Sir James Graham. Lord Ashley was a Peelite himself—but Peel was one of the strongest opponents of a measure the principles of which, however, his father approved. Against the Bill the chief speakers were Mr. Joseph Hume, Mr. Bright, Dr. Bowring, Mr. Mark Phillips, and Mr. Roebuck. For the Bill were Mr. Fielden, Lord John Manners, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Muntz, Mr. Sharman Crawfurd, and Sir Robert Inglis—an odd mixture of Liberals and Tories. On the 17th of February the second reading was carried by a vote of 195 to 87, and Lord John Russell received the most effusive expressions of gratitude from all parts of the country, for using his influence as Premier in favour of the Bill. The third reading passed by a majority of 88, and in the Lords the opposition, despite the furious assault which Lord Brougham made on the measure, dwindled down so that the second reading was carried by a vote of 53 to 11.

Yet the Bill was not a model Bill. The Factory Act of 1844 fixed 69 hours a week as the working time for women and children. Mr. Fielden's Act fixed the hours at 63 from the 1st of July, 1847, and at 58 from the 1st of May, 1848. But it allowed the period in the day when employment was offered to remain as fixed by the Act of 1844. The Act of 1847 was therefore systematically evaded. The ten hours' work could be exacted between 5.30 a.m. and 8 p.m. Mills were accordingly kept running during the full period of employment, with what the

mill-owners pretended to be "relays" of hands, but in such a manner that the inspectors found it impossible to prevent breaches of the law. The competition in business was so keen that an extension of the "shift" and "relay" system was inevitable—and the Act was so badly drawn that when the legality of the system was tested, the Court of Exchequer ruled that it was not forbidden.

The Session of 1847 was dull. Members were worn out by the reaction

THE LOWER WARD, WINDSOR CASTLE.

from the passionate excitement and the repeated shocks of those Ministerial crises which exhausted Parliament in 1846. One gap in the long line of Irish relief measures we can descry, and even then it was made by an eleemosynary measure giving compensation to West India planters for the loss they were likely to suffer from the abolition of the differential duties on foreign sugar. A Bill to shorten service in the army, and one establishing a new Bishopric at Manchester, were also among the measures passed during the Session. On the 22nd of February the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Charles Wood—afterwards Lord Halifax—made his financial statement. Wood was a member of the Grey section of the Cabinet, and it was of him in after-years that Mr. Grant Duff once impudently remarked, "Providence, in its inscrutable purposes, had deprived him of clearness of

expression—nay, almost of the gift of articulate speech itself." The reporters of the old school used to tell merry tales of their difficulties in making sense of his financial speeches, but with some of his colleagues he was popular. He showed courage in fighting the Irish famine, and he did not flinch in the monetary crisis of October which followed it. But his *brusquerie* of manner and indistinctness of speech made many enemies, especially among deputations who waited on him. He was not, therefore, the fittest person to make heavier demands on the national purse than had been heard of for many years —and yet that was just what he did. But there was one consoling fact on which he dwelt. In spite of distress, the revenue from customs and excise during 1846 had far exceeded Mr. Goulburn's estimates. It had left Sir C. Wood with a balance of £9,000,000 in hand, and though it showed no signs of falling off, yet a commercial crisis was to be looked for similar to those of 1825 and 1836. Sir C. Wood therefore estimated for a forthcoming revenue of £52,065,000; but then he said he had to provide for an expenditure which, owing to the changes wrought by the introduction of steam power into the navy and the arsenals, must rise to £57,570,000. Still, as £10,000,000 would be wanted as extraordinary expenditure on Irish distress, there was a deficit to be made good. This he proposed to meet by borrowing £8,000,000 —the other £2,000,000 consisted of advances to local authorities, and would be repaid—fresh taxation being ill adapted to hard times. His surplus was £489,000, and to it would be added £450,000 he hoped to get from China. The Famine Loan was floated at £3 7s. 6d. per cent., but so eager were the Government to get the money that a discount of 5 per cent. was by a resolution of the House of Commons ordered to be given to those who paid in their contributions before the 18th of June.

During the early part of the Session the Queen's interest seems to have been chiefly limited to the ceremonial side of affairs, though, of course, foreign policy, which she made a constant study, the affairs of the Duchy of Lancaster, and, in some degree, the measures for relieving famine, engaged her attention. As to ceremonies, her Majesty and Prince Albert were always curious, and keen to trace out the origins of the old customs to which she had to defer. "On Thursday," writes Lord Campbell in a letter, dated 6th February, 1847, "I went down to Windsor and shook hands with Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and their Royal Highnesses the Princess Royal and the Princess Alice. By-the-by, there was an amusing scene in the Queen's closet. I had an audience that her Majesty might prick a Sheriff for the county of Lancaster, which she did in proper style with a bodkin I put into her hand. I then took her pleasure about some Duchy livings and withdrew—forgetting to make her sign the parchment roll. I obtained a second audience, and explained the mistake. While she was signing, Prince Albert said to me, 'Pray, my Lord, when did this ceremony of pricking begin?' CAMPBELL: 'In ancient times, Sir, when sovereigns did not know how to write

their names.' Queen (as she returned me the scroll with her signature): 'But we now show that we have been to school.'"

Her Majesty's interest in the affairs of the Duchy was abiding. Writing on the 9th of March to his brother, Lord Campbell says:—"I have been to Osborne attending a Council. Had it not been so bitterly cold I should have enjoyed it. I had a private audience of her Majesty; and when my business was over she said, 'How you were attacked in the House of Lords the other night, Lord Campbell—most abominably.' I gave a courtier-like answer," adds this unblushing old political comedian, "without telling her Majesty of the dinner I am to give on Saturday to Lord Stanley and Lord Brougham" (who had attacked him), "for she was excessively angry with them; and she would not understand the levity with which such matters are treated among politicians of opposite parties." * The attack, it may be explained, was due to an indiscreet proposal made by Lord John Russell to appoint new Councillors for the Duchy without a view to Party, who should serve permanently. Lords Lincoln, Hardwicke, Spencer, Portman, and Sir James Graham were named, and the whole project was attacked as a Whig job, designed to conciliate the Peelites, whose precarious alliance was worth purchasing. When the fight was over, Campbell invited all the combatants to dine with the Councillors, old and new; and he gives a most amusing account of the banquet—telling how all these public enemies met on the easiest of convivial terms in private; how Brougham "shook hands with the Premier, and called him John;" and "Stanley said to Sir James Graham, 'Graham, how are you?'" and how Brougham "related a supposed speech of Sir Charles Wetherell's, complaining that death is now attended with a fresh terror from Campbell writing the life of a deceased person as soon as the breath was out of his body." One wonders if the Queen would have wasted much sympathy on Campbell, or much indignation on his enemies, had she known that they "sat at table till near eleven," and that, as "Lyndhurst was stepping into his carriage, he was overheard to say to Lord Brougham, 'I wish we had such a Council as this once a month.'"

It is pleasing, however, to record that those who had to deal not only with the hereditary but private revenues of the Sovereign had proved themselves this year able and faithful servants. On that topic Mr. Charles Greville writes in his Journal, on the 8th of March, 1847:—"George Anson told me yesterday that the Queen's affairs are in such good order, and so well managed, that she will be able to provide for the whole expense of Osborne out of her revenue without difficulty; and that by the time it is finished it will have cost £200,000. He said also that the Prince of Wales, when he came of age, would have not less than £70,000 a year from the Duchy of Cornwall. They have already saved £100,000. The Queen takes for his maintenance whatever she pleases, and the rest, after paying charges, is invested in the Funds or in land, and accumulates for him."

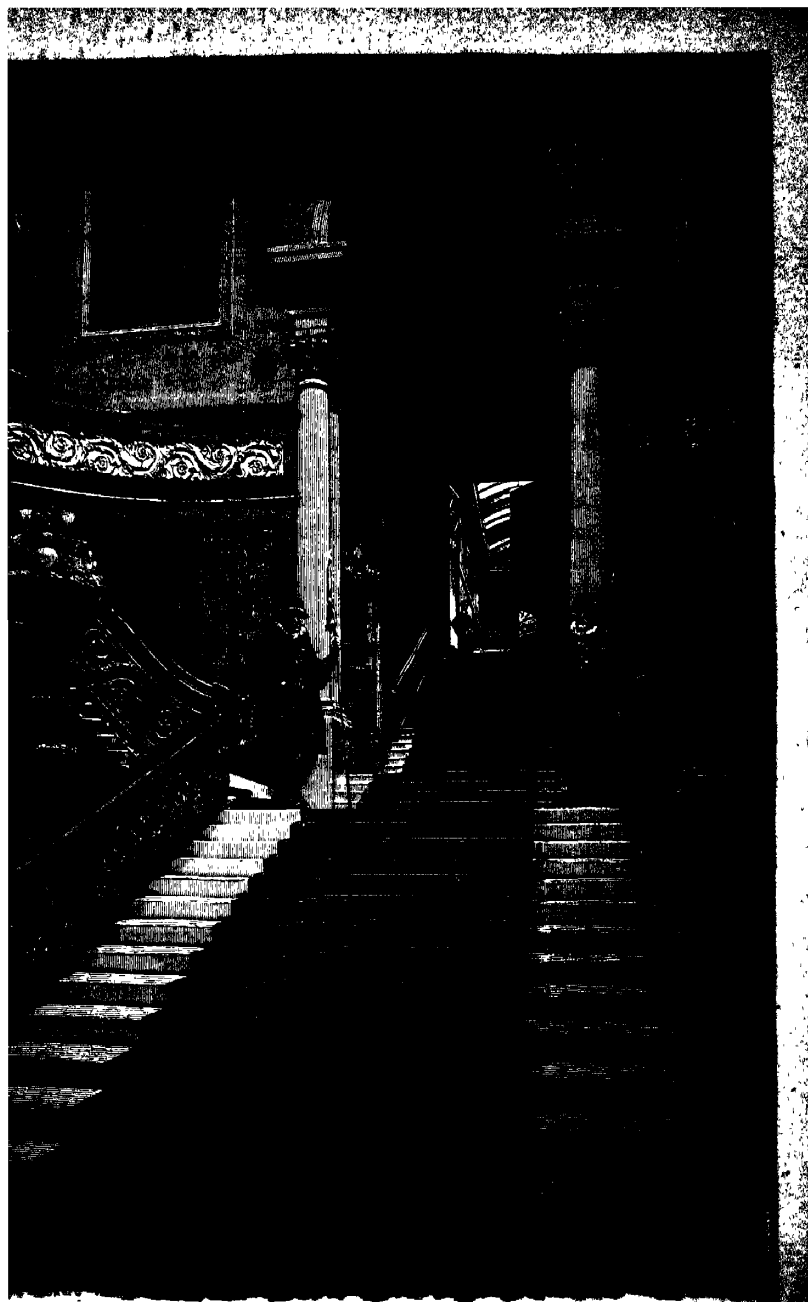
* Life of Lord Campbell, Vol. II., p. 218.

The death of Lord Bessborough in June left the Viceroyalty of Ireland vacant; and there was some difficulty about selecting his successor. Lord John Russell would have abolished the office and appointed a Secretary of State for Ireland, but for the menaces of the Repealers and Orangemen. The two favourite candidates for the post were the Duke of Bedford, who was afraid to take it, and Lord Clarendon, who was anxious to have it; but who desired to make the world believe that he was making a great sacrifice

THE CUSTOM HOUSE, DUBLIN

in accepting the office. He was ultimately appointed, and for five years ruled Ireland well, with a firm and neutral hand.

The death of O'Connell on the 15th of May, at Genoa, "made little or no sensation here,"* says Mr. Greville. He had quarrelled with half his followers, and the younger Repealers had grown sick of his policy of fruitless agitation. But in Dublin, when the news was posted in Conciliation Hall, vast crowds of mournful patriots assembled and silently read the placards. The Catholic chapels tolled their dismal death-knells, and the Corporation met and adjourned for three weeks as a mark of respect for the Liberator's memory. In the famine-stricken districts the anguish of public sorrow sharpened the pangs of popular distress. His remains were laid in Glasnevin cemetery with imposing funereal pomp and pageantry. Indeed, no funeral in Ireland has ever been more numerously attended, for it was reckoned that at least 50,000 persons marched in the procession of mourners. Few people of high rank and station were there; but the middle and lower classes of the populace

* C. C. Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. II, p 35.

THE GRAND STAIRCASE, BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

(From a Photograph by Mr. H. N. King.)

were conspicuous. Even many afflicted persons from the poorest quarters were found struggling at daybreak round the mortuary chapel in Marlborough Street, to catch one glimpse of the remains of a man whom they believed to have been sent on earth with a divine mission, whose ultimate translation to the saints was to them a certainty, and a sight of whose very corpse might perchance work a miracle that would cure their infirmities.

The Cabinet, despite the weakness of its action, the instability of its support, and false reports of dissensions among its Members, had held well together. Even Lords Grey and Palmerston behaved as if they had ever been on terms of fraternal amity. In July, however, Ministers began to feel that they were in office but not in power. Bill after Bill had to be withdrawn. Some of the Peelites, too, whose support was necessary, took umbrage at the effusive compliments which were bandied about between Lord John Russell and Lord George Bentinck; indeed, this feeling was shared by Sir James Graham and by Peel himself. Concessions were made to opponents to an extent that destroyed the prestige of the Ministry, which, though indispensable, was neither popular nor respected. In July, the Cabinet therefore came to the conclusion that it would be well to appeal to the country to return a new House of Commons which might fill them with fresh strength. Ministers had appointed a Committee to feel the pulse of the constituencies, of which Lord Campbell, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was one; and they reported that not a day should be lost in bringing about a Dissolution in the interests of the Party. So eager were they to go to the country at once that "it was even suggested," says Lord Campbell, "that, to expedite the Election by a day, the Queen should dissolve Parliament in person from the Throne. I found one precedent for this since the Revolution, in Lord Eldon's time; but I pointed out a better expedient—that the Queen should prorogue, as usual, and that, holding a Council immediately after, she should then sign the Proclamation for the Dissolution and the calling of a new Parliament, the writs going out by the post the same evening. This course was successfully adopted."

The Dissolution took place on July 23, almost immediately after the prorogation of Parliament. The Whigs, more or less loosely in alliance with the Radicals, formed one party; the Tory Protectionists, under the leadership of Lord George Bentinck and Lord Stanley, formed a second; the Tory Free Traders, under Peel, formed a third. Discord therefore reigned throughout the whole established system of party Government, and the dissensions caused by the Free Trade settlement were aggravated by the religious controversy, as to the possibility of giving State aid to Roman Catholic education and worship. Public suspicion had been roused by a declaration which Lord John Russell had made in the House of Commons as to the expediency of establishing formal diplomatic relations with Rome. It was intensified by the Secretary at War, who included in the Army Estimates votes providing means of worship for Roman Catholic soldiers on foreign service. It was

further strengthened by the promised relaxation of the rule, which virtually cut off Roman Catholic schools from all share in the Education Grant. "There was," says Mr. Evelyn Ashley, "little enthusiasm on either side. The Free Trade Question appeared settled; and, though a more vigorous policy was anticipated from a Russell than from a Melbourne Administration, no great organic changes were expected from it. On the other hand, the remnants of the Conservative Party had nothing to hold out beyond vague professions of attachment to an ancient institution."* The result was the return of 337 Whig and Liberal Free Traders, and 318 Conservatives and Protectionists—the Protectionists numbering about one-half of the Conservative return.

Between the Election and the assembling of Parliament the Government was greatly disturbed by the renewed outbreak of outrages in Ireland, and of the commercial panic which had long been imminent. These two events caused Ministers to summon Parliament on the 18th of November. The panic in spring, which we traced to dearth and high prices of food-stuffs, was eased in Midsummer by the fall in prices. This, however, in its turn, produced the second panic in the autumn, for speculators had bought corn in advance at rates far above those which began to rule the market. Then money became "tight." On the 5th of August the Bank raised the rate of discount to 5½ per cent., and Funds fell 2 per cent. in a week—from 88¾ to 86¾. At the end of August failures to the extent of £3,000,000 were announced, and on the 1st of October the Bank of England refused to make any further advances on Stock. At the end of the week consols fell to 80½. On the 19th of October they were sold for money at 78, and for the account at 79, and Exchequer bills fell as low as 30 per cent. discount. Banking-houses of national importance now began to close their doors, and confidence vanished from the commercial world. On the 25th of October the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in response to piteous appeals from merchants and bankers all over the country, recommended the directors of the Bank of England "to enlarge the amount of their discounts and advances upon approved security," but that the rate of interest should be 8 per cent., so as "to retain this operation within reasonable limits." They were promised an indemnity if this course led them to infringe the restrictions of the Bank Act. As the offer of advances at 8 per cent. was not tempting, the Bank never required to break the law, which established a fixed ratio between their gold and their securities, but the announcement that the Bank Act was virtually suspended, restored confidence by restoring hope. Lord Campbell seems to indicate in his Autobiography that Ministers themselves were frightened, "there being an apprehension that the dividends may not be paid, and that the Bank of England may stop, and that there may be a pecuniary crash, public and private." All through this crisis Sir Robert Peel's Bank Act was virulently attacked as being one of the causes of the distress. He himself behaved with signal

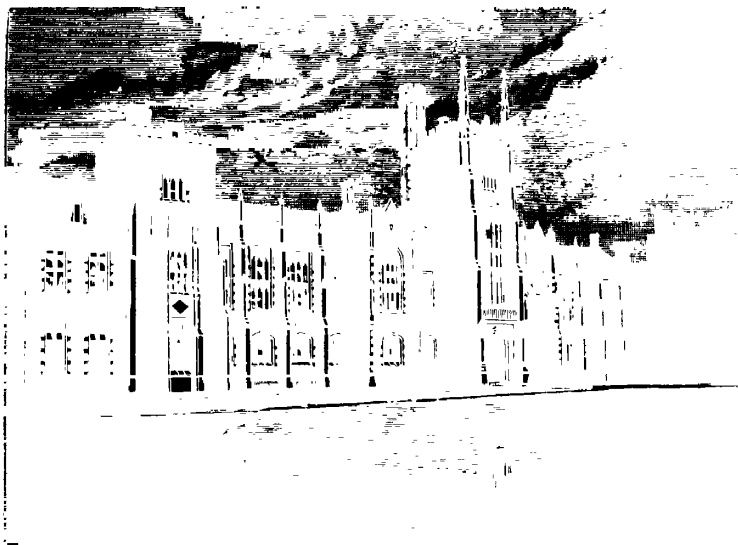
* Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol II., p. 41.

generosity. He recognised the necessity for giving way to popular prejudices at a time of panic, and when the Queen informed him at Windsor that Lord John Russell had decided virtually to suspend the Act, he observed that the step was

LORD PALMERSTON.

justifiable in the circumstances, and that he would support the Bill of Indemnity promised to the Bank. That the attacks on Peel were unfair, seems evident from the fact that the suspension of the Act had no practical, though it had a moral, effect on the Money Market. No indemnity was needed, so that,

whatever improvement followed, it could not be due to the banks expanding their issues, or to their system of advancing more generously on securities.

Next came the dismal Irish Question. The Cabinet had, after some controversy, arrived at the conclusion that they must bring in a Coercion Bill for Ireland, although they were fully aware that they exposed themselves to the taunt that they had turned out Sir Robert Peel's Government for proposing to introduce one. But the case was urgent. That crime had increased to an appalling extent in Ireland is indicated by the fact that Sir Robert

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.

(From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

Peel, resisting a very natural temptation to retaliate on his adversaries, supported the Government and asked the House of Commons to pass the Bill. His generosity is enshrined in one phrase of his speech—"The best reparation that can be made to the last Government will be to assist the present Government in passing this law." The Bill was carried by a majority of 213.

Some of the murders in Ireland at the end of the year were truly of a revolting character. Here is an example. A farmer named St. John, who was done to death near Lisnamrock, in county Tipperary, had a dispute with his younger brother about the possession of a farm. The younger brother seems to have been in the right, and this roused local feeling. On the 16th of December a party of men went at night, and, dragging the elder St. John out of bed, ripped his body open and cut off his head before

his wife's eyes. There was, in fact, an epidemic of crime in the land. Murder was the remedy that was applied to redress all kinds of grievances or wrongs, and everybody went about the ordinary affairs of life armed to the teeth.

What was worse, too, was the hostility of the priesthood to the Government, and one manifestation of it was regarded as particularly offensive by her Majesty. That was the Papal Memorandum condemning the Queen's Colleges. Although Lord John Russell had actually drafted a Bill legalising the renewal of diplomatic relations with Rome, the Pope and the Roman Catholic clergy made but a sorry recompense for his goodwill. The Sacred Congregation denounced the Queen's Colleges—"an ungrateful return," writes Lord Palmerston in a letter to Lord Minto,* which "can only be explained on the supposition that it was extorted by intrigue and false representations made at Rome by McHale, and that the Pope acted ignorantly, and without knowing the mischief he was doing." Lord Clarendon, the Irish Viceroy, thought that good results might follow the visit of a confidential agent from the Vatican to Ireland. But Lord Palmerston, fearing that the Papal emissary would be suborned by Archbishop McHale and the enemies of the Government, objected to such an experiment. In another letter, on the 3rd of December, Lord Palmerston urges Lord Minto to assure the Pope that "in Ireland misconduct is the rule and good conduct the exception in the Catholic priests," and he points to the murder of Major Mahon, which followed a priestly denunciation at the altar, as an illustration of the manner in which the Irish priesthood were instigating crime. He says he cannot consider it prudent to bring in a Bill for Legalising Diplomatic Intercourse with the Court of Rome at a time when there is in Ireland "a deliberate and extensive conspiracy among the priests and peasantry to kill off and drive away all the proprietors of land." Public feeling in England, always easily roused, would have swept away the Ministry in a tempest of wrath if such a measure had been introduced at such a moment. On the other hand, it is only fair to the Pope and Cardinal Ferretti to say that they seemed to be hopelessly ignorant of Irish affairs, and that they assured Lord Minto they utterly disapproved of the political activity of the Irish priesthood.

Two other religious disputes, maintained by the zealots, excited the country. One was waged over the admission of the Jews to Parliament. The other gave rise to the famous Hampden controversy, which is so constantly alluded to in the literature and memoirs of the day.

At the General Election one of the members returned for the City of London was Baron Rothschild, a Jew by race and religion. As such he could not take his seat, for he could not take the Oath of Allegiance on the true faith of a Christian. Lord John Russell, his colleague, submitted to the House

* Life of Lord Palmerston, by the Hon. E. Ashley, Vol. II., p. 46.

f Commons a Resolution declaring that it was expedient to remove all civil lisabilities affecting the Jews—in other words, the removal of the phrase "on he faith of a Christian" from the Parliamentary Oath. Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Gladstone, supported the Resolution. A Bill founded on t was carried in the Lower House, but rejected in the House of Lords.

On the 20th of December Parliament adjourned.

The Government were decidedly unfortunate during 1847 in their distribution of ecclesiastical patronage. They appointed the Rev. J. P. Lee, Head Master of King Edward's School, at Birmingham, to the newly-constituted see of Manchester, after he had been publicly charged with drunkenness by a local surgeon, and had never met the accusation. It was inexplicable that Lord John Russell, when informed of the fact, should have refused to cancel or delay the appointment. Between his nomination and his consecration Mr. Lee, however, prosecuted his traducer for libel, and completely and triumphantly vindicated his character.

When the see of Hereford fell vacant Lord John Russell, as if in sheer defiance of the feelings of Churchmen, appointed Dr. Hampden as the new Bishop. Dr. Hampden had been censured for heresy by the academic authorities of Oxford, and deprived, as Regius Professor of Divinity, of authority to grant as a privilege certificates of attendance at his lectures to students for Holy Orders. To designate him as Bishop was taken as a direct insult by the clergy. Hence the Bishop of London, representing the High Churchmen, and the Bishop of Winchester, representing the Low Churchmen, along with thirteen Bishops, protested against the appointment. The Dean of Hereford, Dr. Merewether, threatened to vote against Dr. Hampden's election by the Chapter. This threat drew from Lord John Russell a curt reply to the effect that he acknowledged receipt of the letter in which the Dean intimated he would violate the law. Dr. Merewether's action also drew attention to the empty formality of the *congé d'élire*, whereby the Crown permits the Dean and Chapter of a Cathedral to elect the nominee recommended by the Crown as Bishop. Should they refuse they incur the pains and penalties of præmunire—deprivation of benefices, confiscation of property, and imprisonment during the Royal pleasure.

Hampden was a rather dull man, with a ponderous, obscure style,* whose offence lay, first, in advocating the admission of Dissenters into the University, and, secondly, in not only attributing, in his Bampton Lectures, the terminology and phraseology of Christian doctrine to the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages, but in further describing that philosophy as "an atmosphere of mist!" He was supposed to be ambiguous on the Atonement, and it had been whispered that Blanco White had "crammed" him for his Bampton

* It was so obscure that Dr. Wilberforce says, playfully, in one of his letters to his brother: "N.B.—Could we not pass a vote that Hampden should always preach in Hebrew?"—*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, Vol. I., p. 93.

Lectures. White was one of the small group of Broad Churchmen at Oriel College, Oxford, whom Newman dreaded, and as he had since become a Socinian, suspicions of Dr. Hampden's heterodoxy were intensified. The Bishop of Oxford, after joining in the hue and cry against Hampden, declined to send him up for trial, on the ground that there was no valid case against him. There is no doubt, however, that when he discovered the Queen had espoused Dr. Hampden's cause, Wilberforce's zeal cooled rapidly. As for Prince Albert, he bombarded Lord John Russell with letters urging him to prosecute Dr. Merewether, who seems to have been far from a disinterested defender of the faith, if it be true, as is asserted, that he memorialised the Queen and Lord Lansdowne to terminate the controversy by appointing him to the see of Hereford in the meantime, and then consoling Dr. Hampden with the promise of the next vacancy! Much importance attached to the opposition which the Bishop of Exeter offered to Hampden. But, according to Mr. Greville, the Bishop of Exeter had, a few years before this strife, called on Hampden at Oxford to express to him the pleasure with which he had read his Bampton Lectures.* Archbishop Longley, who told Lord Aberdeen that he would go to the Tower rather than confirm Hampden's nomination, subsequently begged the Bishop of Oxford to stay proceedings in the interests of the Church.

Lord John Russell, it need hardly be said, obstinately refused to cancel Hampden's nomination. After the Queen had sanctioned his appointment, to annul it would have virtually transferred to the Universities the supreme authority of the Crown over the Episcopate. Preparations were made to resist the confirmation of Dr. Hampden at Bow Church. The only question admitted to argument there was whether the Court was competent to hear objectors summoned by its own apparitor to state their objections before it. On the 11th of January the Vicar-General of Canterbury, Dr. Burnaby, with Sir John Dodson and Dr. Lushington as assessors, decided against the competence of the Court. An application for a *mandamus* to compel the Archbishop to hear objectors was refused by the Queen's Bench—the judges being equally divided. On the 15th, in the House of Lords, Lord Denman defended the decision, and declared that "it was not to be supposed for a moment that the Crown would nominate to the high position of a Bishop an unfit person; and that the law would certainly be in a strange state if it should require an archbishop, before he proceeded to confirm or consecrate a party nominated by the Crown, to call upon all the world to throw scandal upon the nominee." He further said that "the form in the proclamation was a mere form which was never used; that, if used, the prerogative of the Crown would be most seriously interfered with;" and he warned the House against "the fatal consequences of allowing objections to be made to the nominees of the Crown," for "by checking every attempt at such interference the Church was protected from great danger and mischief."

* Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. II., p. 115.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE COURT AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ord George Bentinck's Imprudence -French Intrigues in Portugal—England and the Junta—A Vulgar Suspicion—The Duke of Wellington and National Defences The Duke's Threatened Resignation—The Queen Soothes Him—Famine in the Queen's Kitchen—Royal Hospitalities—The Queen's Country Dance—A German Impostor—Discovery of Chloroform The Royal Visit to Cambridge—Prince Albert's Installation as Chancellor of the University—Awkward Dons—Anecdotes of the Queen at Cambridge—Royalty and Heraldry—The Visit to Scotland—Highland Loyalty A Desolate Retreat—Politics and Sport at Ardverikie—A New Departure in Foreign Policy Lord Minto's Mission—The Queen's Views—Prince Albert's Caution to Lord John Russell—The Queen's Amusements at Ardverikie—A Regretful Adieu—Home Again

DURING 1847-48, Foreign Affairs chiefly occupied the attention of the Queen and Prince Albert. The annexation of Cracow, long meditated by Metternich, was rendered easy to Austria by the coolness which had sprung up between England and France. It was felt that French and English protests, though presented, must be unavailing, because every one knew neither Power would go to war for the sake of Poland. Mr. Hume brought the incident under the notice of the House of Commons, his proposal being to stop the payments to Russia by Great Britain on account of the Russo-Dutch Loan—in other words, to fine Russia for sanctioning Austria's evil-doing. It was the subject of a debate which would have been tame but for Lord George Bentinck's imprudent eulogium on the three despotic Powers—which vastly displeased his Party, and as Lord Palmerston, in a letter to Lord Normanby, said, extinguished him as a candidate for office.* Hume's motion was not pressed to a division.

French influence had been at work in Portugal to estrange the Queen from her English alliance. The dynastic connection between the Houses of Coburg and Braganza rendered Portuguese affairs intensely interesting to Queen Victoria at this time. The King Consort of Portugal—Prince Ferdinand, son of the younger brother of the reigning Duke of Coburg—had, it was rumoured, quarrelled with the Queen, who was tempted to carry out in her dominions the arbitrary policy of the Bourbons. The people rebelled; and in view of a possible Franco-Spanish intervention, England, not uninfluenced by the views of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, stepped in between the Portuguese Sovereign and her people. English intervention was at the outset purely diplomatic. It was limited to the arrangement of a compromise between the contending parties. Ultimately our diplomacy was successful; but the proposals of the English Envoy were finally rejected by the Portuguese Junta, and a Protocol was

* Bulwer's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. III., p. 188.

drawn up with Portugal, Spain, and France, for the purpose of bringing the Junta to submission. The General Election was now impending in England and it was feared that on a motion in the House of Commons, censuring the Government for interfering to coerce the Junta, a combination of Protectionists and Radicals with Lord Palmerston's enemies would defeat the Government. Sir Robert Peel held some anxious conferences with Prince Albert on the subject; and the Queen was afraid lest a vulgar suspicion might get abroad that the policy of her Government had been dominated, not by British but by Coburg interests. Luckily, no serious coercion was needed, and the Junta finally submitted on the 30th of June.

It was on the 11th of June that Mr. Joseph Hume brought forward his motion attacking the Portuguese policy of the Government. The debate was fierce and bitter. Peel, who spoke eloquently on the side of the Ministry privately warned Prince Albert that Mr. Hume might carry his motion. Lord John Russell wrote to the Queen, saying she must be prepared to receive his resignation by the end of the week; and in the House of Lords also the attack was led by Lord Stanley, with characteristic impetuosity. Naturally then, everybody was amazed when, after three days' furious wrangling, the debate ended in a count-out in the House of Commons, and the defeat of Lord Stanley in the House of Lords by a majority of twenty. This ridiculous result was due to some misunderstanding between Mr. Hume and Lord George Bentinck, who permitted the "count-out," and it led to endless recriminations. On the 5th of July, Mr. Bernal Osborne brought Portuguese affairs before Parliament once more; and then Lord Palmerston, who had not spoken in the three days' debate, explained his policy. His object, he said, was neither to serve the Portuguese Crown nor oppress the Portuguese nation. He found Portugal a prey to wasting anarchy. But as it was most important that Portugal should be a strong ally of England in maintaining the balance of power, he had felt justified in interfering between the Queen and her people, in order to gain for the latter the constitutional securities which by the advice of bad Councillors her Majesty had suspended. In bringing the war to a peaceful termination, in transferring the struggle from the field of battle to the arena of Parliamentary debate, the Government seems to have fairly earned, if it did not freely receive, the thanks both of England and Portugal.

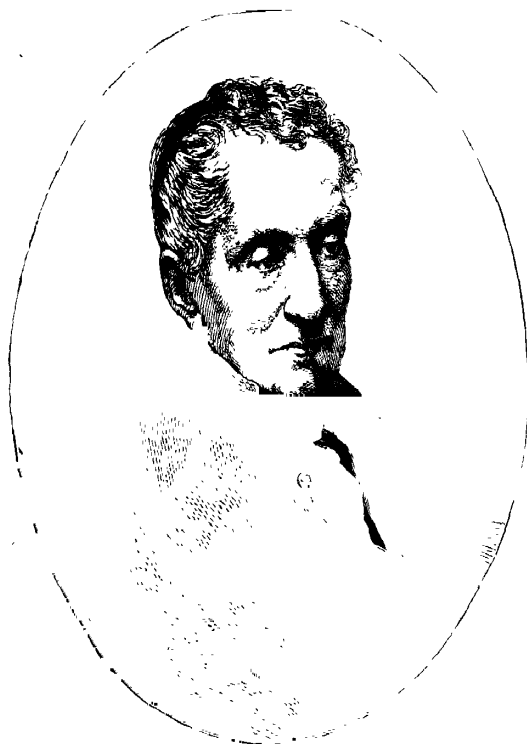
The dispute between France and England over the Spanish marriages, the personal quarrel between Lord Normanby, the English Ambassador at Paris, and M. Guizot, and the deep distrust of Lord Palmerston, which poisoned the mind of Louis Philippe, bore bad fruits. Lord Normanby allied himself more closely than ever with M. Thiers and the leaders of the Opposition in the French Chambers, who harried the Government with their attacks. M. Guizot began to lean for support on the Northern Powers, and he cultivated the fatal friendship of Metternich. His policy was thus one under which revolution naturally ripened. The unsatisfactory state of our

foreign relations rendered the Duke of Wellington most anxious about the defence of the country; in fact, he was, says Charles Greville, "haunted" by it night and day. Lord Clarendon and Lord Palmerston* were with the Duke. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was against him; as for Lord John Russell, he was neutral.

In January, 1848, the Duke of Wellington, however, startled the country by a letter which he had addressed to General Sir John Burgoyne early in 1847 on the unfortified state of England. At that moment, he averred, the fleet was the only defence the nation possessed. He doubted if 5,000 men of all arms could be sent into the field, unless we left those on duty, including the Royal Guards, without any reliefs whatever. He pleaded for the organisation of a militia force at least 150,000 strong, and for strengthening the defences of the South Coast from the North Foreland to Portsmouth. This letter was a private one. Lady Burgoyne and her daughters, however, had distributed copies of it among their friends, and one Pigou, "a meddling zealot," says Mr. Greville, "who does nothing but read Blue Books and write letters to the *Times*," got hold of a copy and printed it in the newspapers, much to the annoyance of the Duke and Lord John Russell. The Duke of Wellington all through the latter half of the year had indeed given the Ministry and the Queen some uneasiness, and this might have had serious consequences, but for the fine tact and delicate social diplomacy of her Majesty. Enfeebled by age and anxious as to the defences of the country, which the Government persisted in neglecting, the "Great Captain" querulously threatened to resign—a step which the Queen dreaded because she considered that it would greatly reduce public confidence in the Government. A statue in the worst possible taste had been put up on the archway opposite Apsley House—the first equestrian statue, indeed, ever erected in England to a subject. It was put there only provisionally, but the Duke held that to take it down would be an insult to him, and this further strengthened his resolution to retire. The Queen, however, was "excessively kind to him," and her winning courtesies soothed the irritated veteran. "On Monday," says Mr. Greville, writing on the 19th of June, "his granddaughter was christened at the Palace, and the Queen dined with him in the evening. She had written him a very pretty letter, expressing her wish to be godmother to the child, saying that she wished her to be called Victoria, which name was so peculiarly appropriate to a granddaughter of his." After that the country was no longer disturbed by rumours of the Duke's impending resignation.

Of Court life outside the sphere of politics, in this year of distress, we gain some interesting glimpses in the Memoirs and Diaries of the period. In February wheat was selling at 102 shillings a quarter, and in May the Queen herself

* A strong Memorandum by Lord Palmerston on the National Defences, December, 1846, is given *in extenso* in Lord Dalling's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. III., p. 390.

says she had been obliged to limit the allowance of bread to every one in the Palace to one pound a day, "and only secondary flour to be used in the Royal kitchen." Still a generous but not ostentatious hospitality was dispensed by her Majesty all through this dismal season. The Baroness Bunsen says, in her Diary, on the 1st of March, 1847:—"We dined at Buckingham Palace

PRINCE METTERNICH

on Monday, where there was a ball in the evening—that is, a small dancing party, only Lady Rosebery and the Ladies Primrose coming in the evening, in addition to those at dinner. The Queen danced with her usual spirit and activity, and that obliged other people to do their best, and thus the ball was a pretty sight, inspirited by excellent music."

Another description of a Royal dinner-party at this time is given by Lord Campbell, in his Autobiography.* Writing to his brother, Sir George

* Vol. II., p. 220.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, FROM THE "BACKS."

[illegible], on the 22nd of March, 1847, he gives us a bright glimpse of Palace [illegible]. "You will see," he says, "by the *Court Circular* that Mary and Loo and I dined at the Palace on Saturday. The invitation only came on Friday, and we were engaged to dine with Sir John Hobhouse. There is not much to tell to gratify your curiosity. On our arrival a little before eight, we were shown into the picture gallery, where the company assembled. Burnes, who acted as Master of the Ceremonies, arranged what gentleman should take what lady. He said, 'Dinner is ordered to be on the table at ten minutes past eight, but I bet you the Queen will not be here till twenty to twenty-five minutes after. She always thinks she can dress in ten minutes, but she takes about double the time.' True enough, it was nearly twenty-five minutes after eight before she appeared. She shook hands with the ladies, bowed to the gentlemen, and proceeded to the *salle à manger*. I had to take in Lady Emily de Burgh, and was third on her Majesty's right—Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar and my partner being between us. The greatest delicacy we had was some very nice oatcake. There was a Highland piper standing behind her Majesty's chair, but he did not play as at 'State dinners.' We had likewise some Edinburgh ale. The Queen and the ladies withdrawing, Prince Albert came over to her side of the table, and we remained behind about a quarter of an hour; but we rose within the hour from the time of our sitting down. A snuff-box was twice carried round and offered to all the gentlemen; Prince Albert, to my surprise, took a pinch. On returning to the gallery we had tea and coffee. The Queen then came up and talked to me. . . . She does the honours of her palace with infinite sweetness and grace—and considering what she is, both in public and domestic life, I do not think she is sufficiently loved and respected. Prince Albert took me to task for my impatience to get into the new House of Lords, but I think I pacified him complimenting his taste. A dance followed. The Queen chiefly delighted in a romping sort of country dance called the *Tempête*. She withdrew a little before twelve, and we went off to Lady Palmerston's."

Again, writing on the eventful day when the Royal Household had been put on short rations, the Baroness Bunsen, in a letter to her mother, says:—"Last night we were asked to the Queen Dowager's, who had invited a small party, at which the Queen was present and the Duchess of Gloucester. The object was to give a German named Löwe, who had come with prodigious recommendations from Coburg, opportunity of showing his musical talent, and it turned out that he had none to show"*—not by any means the first imported adventurer who has tried to take advantage of the Queen's good nature, and her sympathy for Art.

The great scientific event of the year was a discovery in which the Queen not only [illegible] deep personal interest, but the application of which she

* *Life and Letters of Baroness Bunsen*, Vol. II., p. 8.

subsequently used her influence to popularise. It was the substitution of the use of chloroform for ether as an anæsthetic agent in operative surgery. Chloroform was first introduced into Great Britain by Dr. James Young Simpson, Professor of Midwifery in the University of Edinburgh, and he claimed for it several advantages over ether. A smaller quantity produced unconsciousness. It acted more rapidly, and was less evanescent than ether. It was alleged to be safer, though this is still a matter of doubt. The old masters of surgery used to consider a surgical operation the opprobrium of their art. By rendering all operations painless, Simpson did not remove this opprobrium, though he reduced it to a minimum.

Two great events in the domestic life of the Court in 1847 were the visit to Cambridge and the visit to Scotland, which took place after Parliament was dissolved. Baron Stockmar was not the only quiet observer who had noticed that Prince Albert had "made great strides lately." Learned men in England had come to recognise in the thoughtful and scholarly young Prince a choice and kindred spirit. On the 12th of February, 1847, his Royal Highness was deeply gratified to receive from Dr. Whewell, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, a letter asking permission to nominate him for the vacant Chancellorship of the University. Acting quite independently of Dr. Whewell, Lord Lansdowne sent a similar request, and Mr. Anson, Prince Albert's secretary, received a communication from the Bishop of London (Blomfield), assuring him that a great many of the leading members of the University were deeply interested in the election of his Royal Highness, and would consider his acceptance of office alike honourable and advantageous to Cambridge. The Queen was touched with these expressions of kindly feeling, for if there had ever been a shadow over her happiness, it had been due to a lurking suspicion that her husband was not fairly appreciated by the people, among whom for her sake he had elected to work out a career of self-effacement. Here, at last, it seemed to her Majesty, there was an indication that her husband's high qualities were meeting with their just reward. The offer of the Chancellorship of Cambridge she regarded as an honour conferred on the Prince for his own sake rather than for hers—as the first mark of distinction won by him in England, outside the sphere and range of her influence.

This feeling was strengthened when, on the 18th of February, there arrived at Buckingham Palace an address, signed by all the most distinguished resident members of the University, urging the Prince to accept nomination. But in Cambridge, as elsewhere, little local jealousies often rob great movements of some of their grace and sweetness. St. John's, ever envious of Trinity, thought the University should have a Chancellor of its choosing, and had accordingly put Lord Powis in nomination. The Prince, not quite estimating these petty academic rivalries at their true value, shrank from the competition, and ordered his name to be withdrawn. Dr. Whewell

and his supporters, however, disregarded this request, and insisted on going to the poll against the Prince's wishes, which put them at a signal disadvantage. The contest was keen—perhaps one might even say a trifle acrimonious—but it ended in the triumph of the Prince, whose supporters defeated Lord Powis by a vote of 953 to 837. Nineteen out of thirty-seven wranglers, and sixteen out of twenty-four professors, voted for the Prince. The resident vote was three to one in his favour, so that, as is usual in

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

University elections, the strength of the "Marplots" lay in the rural electorate. Still, the Prince had scruples about accepting the office. His candidature had been carried on against his express desire, and he harped on the idea that victory, without some approach to unanimity, could only give rise to discord in the University. His friends, however, urged him to take office, and they had a powerful ally in the Queen. As Sir R. Peel said at the time, "to decline the office would give a triumph to the partisans of Lord Powis—who would feel no gratitude for the concession—and would cause deep mortification and disappointment to all those who voted for the Prince, and of whom the greater number cannot be held responsible for the nomination of the Prince against his declared wishes." The smallness of the majority was, of course,

largely due to the fact that the Trinity party had pressed the Prince's candidature after he had publicly withdrawn. They were, in fact, asking electors to vote for a candidate whose acceptance of office if elected was doubtful. On the other hand, the Prince could not force his partisans to stop proceedings, except by publicly declaring that in no circumstances would he accept, even if chosen, the Chancellorship of the University, which would have been justly construed into an insult to Cambridge. Ultimately the Prince agreed to take office, and on the 25th of March the ceremony of inauguration took place at Buckingham Palace, where the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Philpott, at the head of an imposing academic deputation, presented the Prince with the Letters Patent of his office. The venerable Laureate, Wordsworth, himself a Cambridge man, kindly responded to a suggestion that he should write the Installation Ode, and, as he observed in a letter to Colonel Phipps, "retouch a harp, which I will not say with Tasso, oppressed by misfortunes and years, has been hung up upon a cypress, but which has, however, been for some time laid aside." That he excluded the Ode from his collected works indicates that he felt the ancient founts of inspiration had almost run dry, and yet there are many passages of stately beauty in the poem. It begins by referring to the rescue of Europe from the grasp of Napoleon, and to the wail of sorrow that resounded through England when the Princess Charlotte died:—

> "Flower and bud together fall—
> A nation's hopes lie crushed in Claremont's desolate hall."

Then a noble strophe announces the birth of the Princess Victoria, and celebrates her happy destiny:—

> Love, the treasure worth possessing
> More than all the world beside,
> This shall be her dearest blessing,
> Oft to Royal heads denied."

But the strength and resonance of the Ode chiefly lie in the passages addressed to the Prince in relation to his duties:—

> "Albert, in thy race we cherish
> A nation's strength that will not perish
> While England's sceptred line
> True to the King of Kings is found;
> Like that wise ancestor of thine
> Who threw the Saxon shield o'er Luther's life,
> When first above the yells of bigot strife
> The trumpet of the Living Word
> Assumed a voice of deep portentous sound,
> From gladdened Elbe to startled Tiber heard."

Brilliant sunshine gilded those joyful July days when the Queen and her husband set out with a gay and gladsome party for the ceremony of Installation. "The great Railway King, Mr. Hudson himself," writes the Queen in her Diary, took charge of their train. But perhaps the freshest and brightest

account of the journey, and of the proceedings all through, is that of the Baroness Bunsen, a gifted lady who accompanied the Royal party, and who was an eye-witness of what occurred. In a letter to her mother, under date the 8th of July, 1847, she says:—"On Monday morning we were at the station before nine, just before Prince Waldemar, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and Prince of Oldenburg arrived, for whom the Queen had added a special train, and one of those carriages called Royal, like a long omnibus, just holding the Princes, their gentlemen aides-de-camp, Bishop Stanley, and Sir George Grey, Prince Löwenstein, and ourselves. The station was a curious spectacle, as usual—all ranks and materials of human society hurrying and jostling or standing together. Our little Aaron Elphick, advanced from a college at Hurstmonceux to be knife-cleaner at Oak Hill, from thence brought to London last year, grown and dressed into a sort of embryo footman, and *lent* to Prince Löwenstein for the journey to Cambridge, stood guarding the Prince's portmanteau, whilst close by, talking across Aaron, stood three Princes and a Bishop. As we shot along, every station and bridge and resting-place and spot of shade was peopled with eager faces watching for the Queen, and decorated with flowers; but the largest and the brightest, and the gayest and most excited assemblage, was at the Cambridge Station itself, and from thence along the streets to Trinity College the degree of ornament and crowd and excitement was always increasing. I think I never saw so many children before in one morning, and I felt so much moved at the spectacle of such a mass of life collected together and animated by one feeling, and that a joyous one, that I was at a loss to conceive 'how any woman's sides can bear the beating of so strong a throb' as must attend the consciousness of being the object of all that excitement and the centre of attraction for all those eyes; but the Queen has Royal strength of nerve. We met the well-fed magistrates and yeomanry going to await the Queen, as they desired to fetch her from the station, and walk in procession before her into the town. We saw her entrance into Trinity College as we stood at the window of the Lodge, and the academic crowd, in picturesque dresses, were as loud and rejoicing as any mob could have been. Soon after I went with Mrs. Whewell, Lady Hardwicke, and Lady Monteagle, to take our places in the yet vacant Great Hall of Trinity, where the Queen came to receive the Chancellor's address, and a few minutes after she had placed herself on the Throne (*i.e.*, arm-chair under a canopy at the raised extremity of the Hall). Prince Albert, as Chancellor, entered from the opposite end, in a beautiful dress of black and gold, with a long train held up, made a graceful bow, and read an address, to which she read an answer with a peculiar emphasis, uttering *approbation* of the choice of a Chancellor made by Cambridge! Both kept their countenances admirably, and she only smiled upon the Prince at the close, when all was over, and she had let all the heads of houses kiss her hand, which they did with exquisite variety of awkwardness, all but one or two. Afterwards, the Queen dined with the Vice-Chancellor,

hall of a small college, where but comparatively few could be admitted. My husband was among the invited, but not myself, and I was very glad to ... with Mrs. Whewell, Lady Monteagle, and three of their suite—Colonel Phipps, Mr. Anson, and Meyer. Later in the evening I enjoyed a walk in the beautiful garden belonging to the Lodge, where flowers, planted and cared for

DR. WHEWELL.

n the best manner, combine with fine trees and picturesque architecture. The Queen went to a concert, contrived as an extra opportunity of showing er to the public. On Tuesday morning all were up early to breakfast at ... (but I had crept into the garden and admired the abundance of roses ... before that), to be ready before ten at the distribution of prizes and ...ance of the Installation Ode in the Senate House. The English prize ..., by a Mr. Day, on Sir Thomas More, had really merit besides the merit ... subject. The Installation Ode I thought quite affecting, because the

election of striking points is founded on fact, and all exaggeration and humbug were avoided . . . . . Then the Queen dined in the Great Hall of Trinity, and splendid did the Great Hall look—330 people at various tables . . . . . In the afternoon we had all been at luncheon at Downing College, and enjoyed dancing in a refreshing shade, and the spectacle of cheerful crowds in brilliant sunshine. The Queen came thither and walked round to see the Horticultural Show, and to show herself and the Chancellor.

THE QUEEN IN THE WOODWARDIAN MUSEUM. (See p. 315.)

After this was the real dinner, the Queen and her immediate suite at a table across the raised end of the Hall, all the rest at tables lengthways. At the Queen's table the names were put on places, and anxious was the moment before one could find one's place. I was directed by Lord Spencer to take one between him and the Duke of Buccleuch, and found myself in very agreeable neighbourhood.

"Yesterday morning I went with the Duchess of Sutherland and Lady Desart through the Library, King's Chapel, Clare Hall, and the beautiful avenues and gardens—with combinations of trees, architecture, green turf, flowers, and water—which, under such a sun and sky as we had, could nowhere be found. The Duchess was conducted by Dr. Whewell, Lady Desart by Lord Abercorn, and my honoured self by *Dr. Meyer in uniform* (as all had been attending the

Chancellor's levee in the morning), and we passed among the admiring crowd who followed us at a respectful distance, for the hero, Sir Harry Smith, as Lord Fortescue said, was taken for the Duke of Wellington. Till twelve we walked, and at one the Queen set out, through the Cloisters, and Hall and Library of Trinity College, to pass through the gardens and avenues, which had been connected for the occasion, by a temporary bridge over the river, with those of St. John's, and we followed her, thus having the best opportunity of seeing everything, and in particular the joyous crowd that grouped among the noble trees. Then the Queen sat down to luncheon in a tent, and we were placed at her table. The only other piece of diplomacy was Van de Weyer; but Madame Van de W. did not come, being unable to undertake the fatigue. The Queen returned by Trinity Lodge, and left for good at three, and as soon as we could afterwards we drove away with Prince Waldemar. I could still tell much of Cambridge, of the charms of its trim gardens, and of how well the Queen looked, and how pleased, and how well she was dressed, and how perfect in grace and movements."

Another little vignette of the stately academic pageant, in which the Queen shone as a sweet and charming figure, is rapidly sketched by another eye-witness. Bishop Wilberforce, writing to Miss Noel, July 5th, 1847,* says:—

"The Cambridge scene was very interesting. There was such a burst of loyalty, and it so told on the Queen and the Prince. C. would not there have thought that he looked cold. It was quite clear that they both felt it was something new; that he had earned, and not she given, a true English honour; and so he looked so pleased and she so triumphant. There were also some pretty interludes—when he presented the address and she beamed upon him, and once half smiled, and then covered the smile with a gentle dignity, and then she said, in her clear, musical voice, 'The choice which the University has made of its Chancellor has my most entire approbation.'"

The Royal lady's voice may have been clear and distinct, but, as a matter of fact, she was thrilled with nervous excitement, quite unusual to her, and evidently due to the fulness of her heart in sharing her husband's first great personal triumph over English prejudices. "I cannot say," the Queen records in her Diary, "how it agitated and embarrassed me to receive this address, and hear it read by my beloved Albert, who walked in at the head of the University, and who looked dear and beautiful in his robes, which were carried by Colonel Phipps and Colonel Seymour. Albert went through it all admirably—almost absurd, however, as it was for us." And the same thought shines through the last entry which the Queen makes with reference to the event. "We had spent," she writes in her Diary, "a truly pleasant and most interesting time. To see my Albert honoured and esteemed, as he deserves, gives me the deepest satisfaction. . . . We reached Buckingham Palace at half-past four, and

* Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. I., p. 398.

found the children all well. I felt tired and *étourdie*. We walked a little in the garden, then dined alone, and spent a dear, peaceful, happy evening."

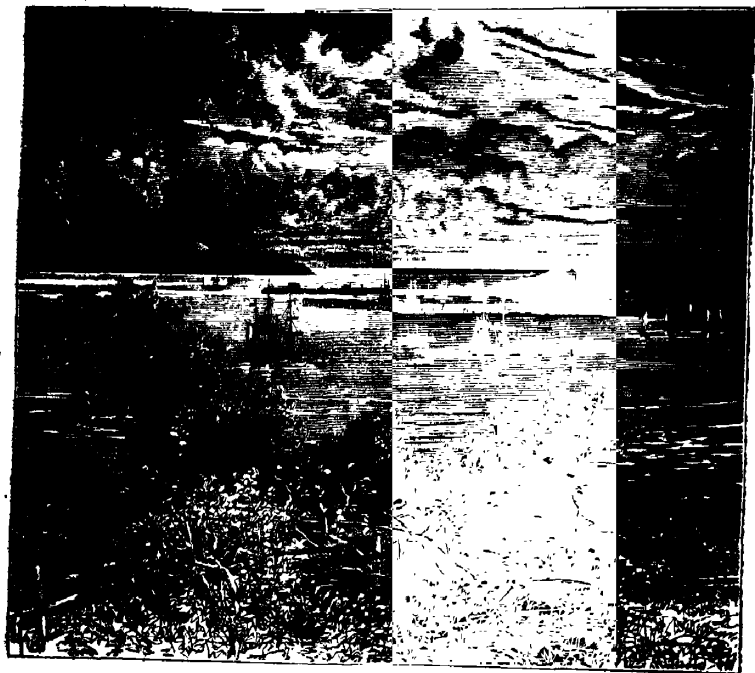
Here, perhaps, it may be permissible to say that Cambridge has ever been endeared to her Majesty by reason of many pleasant associations of her early married life which gather round it. As has been stated in a previous Chapter, it was at Cambridge in October, 1843, that Prince Albert first gained any insight into the English University system, during a visit which he and the Queen paid, quite informally, to Dr. Whewell, the Master of Trinity.* They had a brilliant reception on that occasion, some two thousand horsemen accompanying them with shouts of welcome. The Royal pair had Whewell for a host and a cicerone, and Prince Albert, in a letter to Baron Stockmar, gives a glowing account of the enthusiasm with which he was received. Many good stories were told of the visit in the University after they left. Professor Sedgwick, the geologist, held some interesting conversation with the Prince in the Woodwardian Museum, and was quite surprised to find that he was a geologist of sound culture, who took much pleasure in teaching the Queen all he knew about the monsters of the Old World, whose history seemed greatly to interest her. The Professor was, however, nonplussed when her Majesty asked him where the head of his pet Ichthyosaurus, which he was unpacking, came from, and was fain to cover his ignorance for the moment by saying, much to her Majesty's amusement, that doubtless "it came as a delegate from the monsters of the lower world to greet her Majesty on her arrival at the University." †

It was on this occasion that the Queen made the acquaintance of her rugged but kindly host—the Master of Trinity—a rough diamond who had raised himself by sheer ability from the humble position of a sizar, to be virtually the intellectual head of the University. "W. and I," writes Mrs. Whewell to her mother,‡ "received commands to dine with the Queen at eight o'clock; hasty notices were sent out to those whom she would receive in the evening. At dinner, the Queen, and, still more, the Prince, asked my husband questions about the University and College, to which he gave such full answers, and they seemed to take so much interest in hearing them, that it quite took off the disagreeable effect of a Royal categorical conversation. . . . Certainly the Queen and Prince seemed to like it. After dinner, in the drawing-room, the Queen asked me if these were prints which lay on the table. I had taken care to place some interesting ones there, for the chance of her looking at them. The book she took most notice of was an old book by Sir Edward Stanhope, of coats-of-arms of our founders and benefactors, which we had got out of the Muniment Room. I pointed out some of the changes—Henry VIII.'s, for instance, with the rouge dragon of Cadwallader,

* It is supposed to be the special prerogative of Trinity to receive Royal visitors to Cambridge.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. X.

‡ Whewell's Memoirs.

the last of the Britons, for a supporter; James I.'s, with the unicorn. When Prince Albert came up-stairs she pointed it out to him. He seemed a very good herald, and told me several foreign coats that had quite puzzled me, and also Lord and Lady Maybrooke, who are great heralds." On going away the Queen gave Mrs. Whewell a pretty bracelet, "saying she wished to give it to me with her own hands. . . . She spoke very kindly indeed, and Prince Albert came and said that the only thing he regretted was the

FALMOUTH HARBOUR.

shortness of the visit. She proceeded to the door; the Master was on the stairs. We accompanied them, walking as much backwards as we could." This part of the etiquette seems to have severely exercised the kindly Cambridge dons, unused as they were to Court ceremonial. Sedgwick says, for example, with reference to the Royal visit to the Woodwardian Museum, "I will only add that I went through every kind of backward movement to the admiration of all beholders, only having once trodden on the hinder part of my [illegible], and never once having fallen during my retrogradations before the face of the Queen. In short, had I been a king-crab I could not have moved backwards better." Of the Queen the brusque old Master of Trinity

himself wrote :—"She was very kind in all her expressions to us; told Cookslin that everything in her apartments 'was so nice and so comfortable,' and at parting gave her a very pretty bracelet. The Prince was very agreeable, intelligent, and conversible, seemed much interested with all he saw, and talked a good deal about his German University, Bonn. . . . At dinner I was opposite the Queen, who talked easily and cheerfully. I had also a good deal of occasion to talk to her, in showing her the lions of Cambridge,

THE ROYAL VISIT TO FINGAL'S CAVE. (See p. 319.)

which she ran over very rapidly. It is no small matter to provide for the Queen's reception, even as we did. We had about forty servants of the Queen in the house, besides a dozen men belonging to the stable department who were in the town. The Queen's coachman is reported to have said that he had taken her Majesty to many places, but never to anywhere where she was so well received, or *where the ale was so good.*"

These little reminiscences of the Queen's early life are not, when rightly regarded, altogether trivial. They give us a delightful picture of a nature doubly royal—royal not merely by birth, but by what birth can never give—the easy affability of manner, the unaffected determination to please and be pleased, the true politeness and tender graces of demeanour which

[illegible] the natural sunshine of the heart, and before which the pedantries of etiquette seem ghastly unrealities. Nothing can illustrate her Majesty's simple geniality of heart better than a story about her visit to Cambridge, which it may be remarked Whewell does *not* tell. He was no courtier, as all the world knew, and he treated the Queen in the old-fashioned hospitable manner which the middle-class gentry in England assume towards their guests. The morning after her arrival he accordingly came down bustling into the room quite unceremoniously, and, to the horror of the Lords and Ladies in waiting, ignoring all Court etiquette, he walked up quite coolly and saluted her with brusque frankness as follows:—"Good-morning, your Majesty! How d'ye do? Hope your Majesty slept well. Fine morning, isn't it?" to which the Queen, to the astonishment of her suite, returned an equally cordial answer, wreathed in the sweetest of smiles.

The visit to Scotland was arranged in August, after the General Election brought peace for a time into the political world. On the 11th of August the Royal party left Osborne in the Royal yacht; "our party," says Prince Albert, "being composed of Victoria and myself, the two eldest children, with Miss Hildyard, Charles (Prince of Leiningen), the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk, Lady Jocelyn, General Wemyss, and Sir James Clark." On the 12th they succeeded, in spite of the mist, in getting well out towards the Atlantic, but though the Prince, thanks to the advice of Admiral Sir Charles Napier, whose panacea for sea-sickness was a glass of port wine, stood the voyage well, some of the party were so sea-sick that they had to abandon the yacht at Falmouth. On the 13th they paid a hazardous visit to "the dogs of Scilly"—as one of the party observed to the Prince, "That is a very good thing over; I should think you will never care to see them again;" and on the 14th, under brighter skies and over smoother seas, they neared the Welsh coast, making land at Milford Haven, and anchoring under the shadow of its red cliffs. The Prince paid a flying visit to Pembroke Dockyard and Castle, but the Queen sat on deck sketching, as was often her favourite custom in these cruises to Scotland. On the 15th they were opposite the Isle of Anglesea, gazing with silent rapture on the hoary head of Snowdon rising from the midst of a sea of surrounding verdure. The *Victoria and Albert* was then sent to Holyhead, the Royal party proceeding in the *Fairy* through the Menai Straits, and passing the old Keep of Carnarvon, and Plas Newydd, and many other places recalling to the mind of the Queen touching reminiscences of a Welsh tour which, when Princess Victoria, she had made with her mother. On the 16th they ran into Douglas Bay and Ramsey Harbour in the Isle of Man, where, remarks Prince Albert in a letter to Stockmar, the good people "put in their paper that I led the Prince Regent (the little Prince of Wales) by the hand." "Usually," he adds humorously, "one has a Regent for an [illegible] but in Man it seems precisely the reverse." On the 17th they were [illegible] in wonderment before the beetling cliffs of Ailsa Craig, their ears

deafened by the screams of the sea-birds that wheeled and whirled in clouds between them and the sun; but as the creatures kept out of range, "with almost mathematical precision," says Prince Albert mournfully, not one fell to his gun. The noble outlines of the Isle of Arran then broke on their view, and they sped on through Lamlash and Brodick Bays, past the Isle of Bute, past the Cumbraes, and up the romantic Firth of Clyde, with its great sea fiords eating their way northwards into the heart of the Highlands, to Greenock, where, embarking in the *Fairy*, they flew along to Dumbarton, "pursued in the literal sense by upwards of forty steamers." The castle on the old rock here was explored, and the party then returned to Rothesay Bay, where the people were delighted to see their young Duke (the Prince of Wales). On the 18th they ran through the far-famed Kyles of Bute, on to Inverary, where an old-fashioned Highland welcome awaited them from the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, and a large family party of old friends. "Outside," writes the Queen, "stood the Marquess of Lorne, just two years old, a dear, white, fat, fair little fellow, with reddish hair, but very delicate features, like both his mother and father; he is such a merry, independent little child. He had a black velvet dress and jacket with a sporran, scarf, and Highland bonnet." There was luncheon in the castle, stalwart clansmen in their tartans lining the fine feudal hall with halberts in their hands.

The Royal yacht then glided down Loch Fyne, whose waters sparkled in the mellow sunshine, the Queen watching, with keen enjoyment, the long swathes of golden light that fell athwart the mighty shoulders of the mountains. Lochgilphead, the Sound of Jura, and Staffa were all reached in turn, and, the weather being fine, they ran into Fingal's Cave in the Royal barge, with the Royal standard floating at the stern. "On me," observes Prince Albert, "the cave produced a most romantic impression, on the ladies a very eerie and uncomfortable one." The Queen writes:—"At three we anchored close before Staffa, and immediately got into the barge, with Charles, the children, and the rest of our people, and rowed towards the cave. As we rounded the point, the wonderful basaltic formation came into sight. . . . It (the cave) looked almost awful as we entered, and the barge heaved up and down on the swell of the sea. . . . It was the first time the British standard, with a Queen of Great Britain and her husband and children, had ever entered Fingal's Cave." Next day rain confined the Queen to her cabin, but in the afternoon she was able to come on deck and see Loch Linnhe, Loch Eil, and the entrance to Loch Leven. At Fort William the yacht anchored, and Prince Albert, with the Prince of Leiningen, went up the grim and gloomy Pass of Glencoe, haunted by the wraiths of the massacred Macdonalds.

When they returned the Queen landed from the yacht. In a drenching Scotch mist she was enthusiastically welcomed by a vast gathering of clansmen in characteristic tartans, and wearing their tribal badges, who turned [illegible]

...her. By a rough and dreary road the Royal tourists drove through the mist to their destination—the lonely shooting-lodge of Ardverikie, by the wildly-beautiful but desolate shores of Loch Laggan. Ardverikie belonged to Lord Henry Bentinck, but at the time of the Queen's visit it was let to Lord Abercorn: its great charm lay in its being, as the Prince said, a most "un-come-at-able" place, and here the Royal family, despite the atrocious weather, enjoyed a pleasant time of freedom and peace. Lord Grey and Lord Palmerston visited them in turn, and with both the Prince talked gravely on foreign politics—with the latter more especially, on impending troubles in Italy.

It was on the 28th of August that the Queen and Prince Albert were startled by a letter from Lord John Russell, intimating that Lord Palmerston and he were desirous of sending Lord Minto to Italy as an unofficial envoy to strengthen and encourage Pope Pius IX. in his reforming policy. This step, one may say in passing, was the one at which Mr. Disraeli jeered when he ridiculed the Whigs for sending their emissary to teach politics to the countrymen of Machiavelli. Her Majesty and her husband were of opinion that great caution would be necessary in arranging this mission, as it was illegal for the English Government to hold direct diplomatic intercourse with the Vatican; but they fully agreed that the time had come for England to adopt an independent line in foreign policy. "England's mission," wrote the Prince to Lord John Russell, "is to put herself at the head of the diffusion of civilisation and the attainment of liberty," and they felt that it was no longer possible to adopt a purely passive attitude in the growing contest between Absolutism, as represented by Austria, and the forces of Liberalism which were beginning to strain the fetters in which the policy of Metternich confined them. But England, in the opinion of the Queen and her husband, was to wisely act the part of a sympathetic guide, and not push any nation beyond its own march, nor "impose on any nation what that nation does not itself produce." But, says the Prince, boldly, "let her declare herself the protector and friend of all States engaged in progress, and let them acquire that confidence in England that she will, if necessary, defend them at her own risk." Long and anxiously had these matters been debated between the Queen, her husband, and Lord Palmerston, who was with them. It was, however, agreed that on these lines Lord Minto's instructions should be drawn up, and that similar instructions should be sent to all our diplomatic agents abroad for their guidance. The main idea of the new departure in foreign policy, according to the Prince, was that, whilst England should foster the cause of constitutional progress abroad, there must be no "pressing upon any State an advance which is not the result of its own impulse." In carrying out this policy Lord Palmerston contrived to embroil England with every great Power in Europe. That, however, does not prove that the policy was bad. It merely shows that Lord Palmerston's methods of dealing with foreign Governments were deficient alike in tact and taste—that his diplomacy, in fact, was

tainted with the *taquinerie*, of which M. Bastiat complained so bitterly to Mr. Cobden some years afterwards, and which ultimately rendered him as obnoxious personally to the Queen as he became to his own colleagues. About the end of September the Royal Family returned home, the Queen carrying with her, despite the bad weather, the brightest memories of lonely Ardverikie.

How complete, restful, and enjoyable the change of scene and occupation must have been for the Queen is brightly indicated by Lord Palmerston. He

HIGHLAND COTTAGES IN LOCHABER.

told Lord Campbell that her Majesty was greatly delighted with the Highlands, in spite of the bad weather, and "that she was accustomed to sally forth for a walk in the midst of a heavy rain, putting a great hood over her bonnet, and showing nothing of her features but her eyes. The Prince's invariable return to luncheon at two o'clock, in spite of grouse-shooting and deer-stalking, is explained by his voluntary desire to please the Queen, and by the intense hunger which always assails him at this hour, when he likes, in the German fashion, to make his dinner." * One is not surprised, then, that in some of her Majesty's letters to her relatives abroad, a note of regret is sounded over the exchange of this life of perfect freedom, for the

* Life of Lord Campbell, Vol. II., p. 226.

ceremony, constraint, and semi-publicity which make up the daily round of life at Court.

Out of the conversations and discussions with Lord Palmerston and Prince Leiningen at Ardverikie grew projects for a policy of alliance with Germany, and foreshadowings of the great movement towards Unity which the Fatherland was, in the opinion of the Prince, bound to make under the leadership of Prussia. Nothing can be clearer than the Prince's prevision in discussing this theme, or sounder than his arguments for an Anglo-German alliance, based on geographical and ethnical considerations. Lord Palmerston apparently agreed that England and Germany had reason to fear the same enemies, France and Russia, and that they had therefore an obvious interest in strengthening each other. But the German Zollverein, excellent as it was as a means of paving the way for German Unity, imposed prohibitory duties on English goods, and Lord Palmerston stoutly held that an English Minister would neglect his duty to his country if he did not use his influence to prevent every German State not yet in the Customs Union from joining it. To sacrifice the Zollverein was to destroy the germ of German Unity, and here the divergence between Palmerston's views and those of the Court became patent. He was quite prepared to sacrifice the Zollverein in the cause of Free Trade. The Court was not.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REVOLUTION.

At Osborne—Beginnings of Revolution—The Reform Banquets in Paris—Lola Montes and the King of Bavaria—Downfall of Louis Philippe's Government—Flight of the King—Establishment of the Second Republic—The Queen and the Orleans Family—The Chartist Movement—Its Secret History—Its Leaders—The Queen Retreats to Osborne—The Chartist Meeting at Kennington—London in Terror—The Duke of Wellington's Precautions—Abortive Risings at Bonner's Fields and in Seven Dials—Riots in the Large Towns—Collapse of Chartism—Ireland and the "Young Irelanders"—The Rebellion of "'48"—The Battle of the Cabbage Garden—Arrest of Smith O'Brien and the "Young Ireland" Leaders—Austria and Prussia in Anarchy—Flight of Metternich—The Berlin Mob and the King—Anxiety of the English Court—The Queen's Correspondence with her Half-Sister—The Anglo-Spanish Quarrel—Sir H. Bulwer Expelled from Madrid—The Queen's Indignation at Lord Palmerston—Conversation between the Queen and Lord John Russell—Palmerston's Victory—The "Three Budget" Session—The Anti Income-Tax Agitation—Blundering in Finance—"Scenes" in Parliament—Irish and Colonial Controversies—The Encumbered Estates Act—Repressive Legislation—Dawn of the Reform Agitation.

DURING the autumn Session of Parliament, while the Irish Coercion Bill was under debate, the Queen and her family retired to Osborne. Pleasant experiments in landscape gardening there formed an agreeable diversion from the distracting anxieties of foreign politics in London. And truly by this time affairs on the Continent began to assume a more threatening aspect than ever. In Switzerland the rebellion of the seven Catholic cantons of the Sonderbund

had been crushed by General Dufour, who commanded the forces of the other fifteen cantons. The rising was suppressed before the Cabinets of England, Austria, France, Russia, and Prussia had time to intervene. But in Italy the popular party, excited by rumours of Lord Minto's sympathy with their movement, were stirring up the people against their Austrian masters. The Pope was growing afraid of his own diluted Liberalism. France was rapidly becoming demoralised. Sensational trials in the law courts revealed a shocking amount of corruption in official circles in Paris. The deficit in the Budget was greater than had been anticipated. Louis Philippe was accused of debauching the electorate and the Representative Chamber by bribery; his quarrel with England, and his futile attempt to win compensatory alliances elsewhere, destroyed his prestige; the Liberal Party, secretly encouraged by his enemy, Lord Palmerston, attacked his Government with every weapon of invective and ridicule; his Ministers had lost the confidence of the people, and the demand for a wide extension of the franchise accordingly became loud and deep. To this demand, perfectly reasonable in itself, the King and his Minister, M. Guizot, offered the most dogged and infatuated opposition.

The movement in North Italy against Austrian domination also created an agitation for reforms in the Two Sicilies, to which the King would make no concessions whatever. The Royal troops, in January, 1848, were beaten in an attempt to quell a revolt in the island of Sicily, and a futile compromise was scornfully rejected by the insurgents, who insisted on nothing less than the Constitution of 1812, and the assembly of a Parliament at Palermo. Naples in turn became restive, whereupon the terrified King dismissed his autocratic advisers, formed a Liberal Ministry, and granted a Constitution, with an amnesty, on the 12th of February. Even Lord Minto, Palmerston's unofficial emissary to "Young Italy," failed to persuade the Sicilians to accept it. But these concessions, barren as they were, forced the hands of the Pope and of the rulers of Tuscany and Sardinia, who in turn granted Constitutions. In fact, the tide of revolution was rising fast, and threatened to sweep everything before it in the Italian Peninsula.

Opinions differ as to what was the spark that lit the conflagration which made 1848 the *annus mirabilis* of Revolution. It has been customary to say it was the stupid opposition of Louis Philippe and M. Guizot to the Reform banquets in France, which were fixed for the 22nd of February. Lord Malmesbury, however, traces the origin of the outbreak to the popular disturbances in Munich early in the month. The people of Munich, it seems, were incensed against the King, who had dismissed his Prime Minister, Prince Wallenstein, for advising him to expel his mistress, Lola Montes, from Bavaria after her infamous influence had become paramount in the Royal councils.* Lola Montes had a most extraordinary career. She first appeared in society in London in Lord Malmesbury's house, where she sang ballads—Spanish

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 208.

ballads—and was spoken of as the widow of a certain Don Diego Leon, who had been shot by the Carlists. His lordship, an easy, good-natured man, had made her acquaintance in a railway carriage coming up from Southampton, and that was the story she had told him. She was permitted to sell laces, veils, trinkets, and "curios" to Lord Malmesbury's guests at his private concerts, so that she might earn a little money, while trying to dispose of some

THE REVOLUTION IN PARIS. CROWDS SINGING "MOURIR POUR LA PATRIE."

"property," about which there was much mystery. Then she went on the stage at the Opera House as a dancer, but was a failure. It ultimately turned out that she was a rank impostor, for instead of being the widow of a Spanish Don, she was a "Spaniard" from Cork, who had married an Irish officer called James, in the Company's service in India. It was after her failure at the Opera House that she captivated the King of Bavaria, who used to permit her to review the Royal army, and amuse him by slashing the faces of his veteran generals with her riding-whip, when their troops failed to reach her standard of smartness. On the 19th of February she was driven from Munich —the troops refusing to fire on the people. Her house was sacked, and her collection of pictures destroyed.

M. Guizot, on the 21st of February, prohibited the Reform banquet in

Paris. On Tuesday the 22nd the National Guard had revolted, and the mob from behind barricades attacked the troops. On Wednesday not one-tenth of the National Guards answered the roll-call. The Government was paralysed with panic; Ministers resigned, and M. Odillon Barrot impeached M. Guizot. The insurrection rapidly made headway, and on the 24th Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his son, the Comte de Paris, and fled from his capital.

LANDING OF LOUIS PHILIPPE AT NEWHAVEN. (See p. 325.)

As soon as the Royal Family had left the Tuileries, the mob gutted the Palace, smashing everything in it but the throne, which they carried through the streets, amidst shrieks of derision. M. Lamartine formed a Provisional Government, which proclaimed a Republic. The King and Queen, it seems, made their way to Dreux, where, thanks to a friendly farmer, they procured disguises. After wandering to Trouville and Honfleur, they ultimately embarked in a fishing-boat, and were picked up by the Southampton steamer, *Express*, which had been hovering off Havre to meet the fugitives. On the 3rd of March, about midnight, his Majesty, under the name of "Mr. Smith," was shivering in a little public-house at Newhaven, called the "Bridge Inn." On the 4th they reached London, and immediately drove to Claremont. Other members of the Royal Family of France arrived by devious ways, after much

ariety of perilous adventure, and were received by the Queen with a generous hospitality, the warmth of which was indeed far from pleasing to the English people.

England had neither forgotten nor forgiven the hostile duplicity of Louis Philippe's foreign policy, and even Prince Albert had to beg her Majesty—whose heart has always been easily touched by the spectacle of sorrow or misfortune—to moderate her expression of sympathy for the dethroned monarch. In the House of Commons some of the Radicals, alarmed at the Ministerial proposals to increase the military expenditure of the country, professed to see in these courtly demonstrations of compassion additional proofs of hostile designs, on the part of England, against the French Republic. Cobden, in a letter to his friend, Mr. George Combe, of Edinburgh, said he dreaded the revival of the Treaty of Vienna, for he suspected that the Court and the aristocracy were eager to make war on the Republic. So far as Prince Albert was concerned this, as we have seen, was an unjust suspicion. But it was equally unjust to the Queen. "We do everything we can for the poor family," she wrote to King Leopold, "who are indeed sorely to be pitied. But you will naturally understand that we cannot make common cause with them, and cannot take a hostile position to the new state of things in France."* In truth, Louis Philippe—who complained to the Queen that Palmerston's intrigues with the Liberals in France had upset his Government—deserved his fate. The outbreak which followed the foolish prohibition of the Reform banquet was only that of a turbulent mob. The King had a large and loyal army at his back, and the proverbial "whiff of grapeshot" would at the outset have quelled the rising. Louis Philippe, however, lacked the courage to defend his crown, and his flight transformed a riot into a revolution. At the same time the French people acquiesced in the Revolution of '48 for various reasons, which have been very fairly stated by two of the shrewdest observers of the day, Sir Robert Peel and M. Alexis de Tocqueville. When Mr. Hume crossed the floor of the House of Commons one evening, and carried the news of Louis Philippe's fall to Peel, the latter whispered to Hume:—"This comes of trying to govern the country through a narrow representation in Parliament, without regarding the wishes of those outside. It is what the Party behind me wanted me to do in the matter of the Corn Laws, and I would not do it."† M. de Tocqueville, three weeks before the Revolution, predicted the catastrophe in a speech in the Chamber, in which he warned the Government that it was trembling on a volcano of Socialism.‡ In a letter to Mr. Senior he says that the real cause of the Revolution was "the detestable spirit which animated the Government during this long reign; a spirit of trickery, of baseness, and bribery, which has enervated and degraded the middle classes, destroyed

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XXIV.

† Cobden's Speeches, Vol. II., p. 548.

‡ *Le Moniteur*, 28th January, 1847.

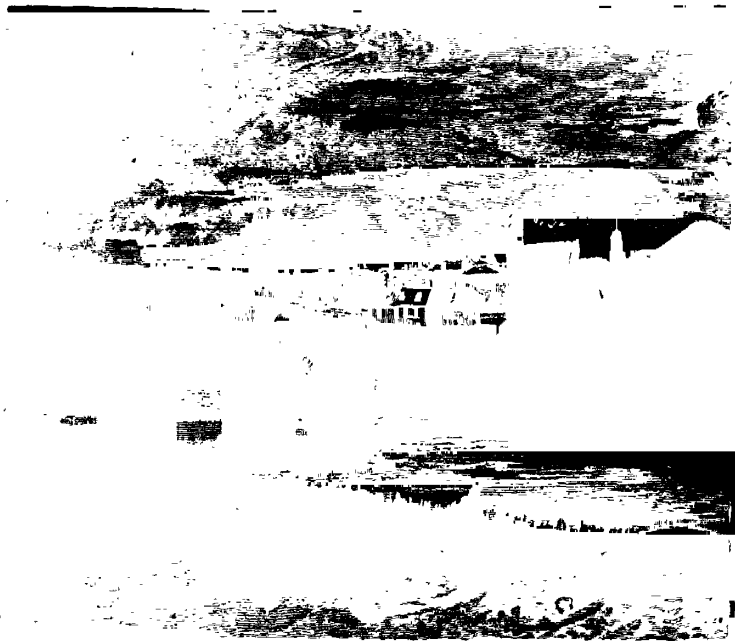
their public spirit, and filled them with a selfishness so blind as to induce them to separate their interests entirely from those of the lower classes, from whence they sprang," who were thus delivered over to the quacks of Communism, and the tyranny of ideas, destructive not merely of ministries and dynasties, but of moral order and civil society.* An elected legislature, springing from a narrow franchise, and a strong centralised Government, were both manipulated for dynastic, as distinguished from national, purposes, by a selfish monarch, who had not the courage to defend his throne. The vast increase in material wealth which Louis Philippe's reign brought to France, held as it was by a limited class, who had forfeited the respect of the nation, failed in these circumstances to avert the calamity that gave birth to the Second Republic.

England, more fortunate than France, was but lightly touched by the edge of the Revolutionary cyclone. It caused a few Chartist riots in Great Britain, and the rising of the Nationalist Party in Ireland, headed by Mr. Smith O'Brien.

On the 6th of March, whilst the Budget controversy was raging in the House of Commons, Mr. Cochrane, a defeated candidate for the representation of Westminster, organised a popular demonstration against the proposal to increase the Income Tax. A misguided mob, who had no incomes to tax, converted the meeting into a riot in Trafalgar Square, which the police suppressed. On the 5th of March Glasgow was surprised by a mob of unemployed workmen, and it took three days ere the police and the military forces, reinforced by special constables, restored order. Riots were also suppressed in Edinburgh, Manchester, and Newcastle. In London, however, the Chartists threatened to assemble on Kennington Common 150,000 men. Under the leadership of Feargus O'Connor they were to march to Westminster, ostensibly for the purpose of presenting to the House of Commons a monster petition, explaining their grievances, and demanding reform.

The grievance of the Chartists was really the grievance of the working classes. Their alliance and support enabled the middle classes to wring from the Crown and the Peers the Reform Bill of 1832. But the middle class alone profited by that Bill, which transferred political power from the aristocracy to the shopocracy, leaving the artisans and manual toilers unenfranchised. Why their persistent agitation for political privileges since 1832 should have led people to believe that revolution was impending in 1848, has been considered a mystery, especially as the outbreak on Kennington Common was a *fiasco*. Yet there was good reason for this panic. From Lord Grey's correspondence it is now clear that the country was on the brink of civil war in 1831, when the King resisted Reform. But from 1831 to 1848, the resistance to an extension of the franchise had come not from the Crown, but from the

* Correspondence and Conversations of Alexis de Tocqueville with Nassau William Senior, edited by M. P. Simpson, Vol. I., p. 37.

House of Commons. When, however, the House of Commons obstructs progress in England—and it is apt to do so whenever it gets the chance—the situation becomes serious. Obstruction from the Sovereign, if unreasonable and malignant, can always be met by the power of the Commons to stop supplies. Obstruction by the Upper House can be met by the power of the Crown to create new Peers. For obstruction by the House of Commons,

BRIDGE AND CASTLE, NEWPORT, MON.

however, it was felt that there was no real remedy but argument or revolution—argument if the people were comfortable and patient, revolution if they were hungry and impatient.

The Chartist organisation of 1839—which collapsed with the Newport riots—was really a gigantic secret society. It was organised by Major Beniowski, a Polish teacher of mnemonics, three working men—Cardo, a shoemaker, Warden, a gardener, one Westropp (occupation unknown)—and a mysterious individual, said to be a foreign police spy. On a given hour, on a given day, twenty cities were to be burned to the ground, and a reign of terror was to be inaugurated. The late Mr. David Urquhart claimed to have discovered the conspiracy, and to have broken it up by demonstrating to some of the leading

workmen implicated that two of its chiefs were Russian agents, who had some time before planned a similar outbreak in Greece. Suspecting they were being used as tools of a Foreign Power, the English conspirators countermanded the order for a simultaneous rising, and thus it came to pass that the outbreak in Wales, where Beniowski was in command, was the sole result of the movement. There is good reason to believe that the Chartists were working

JOSEPH STURGE.

with Continental revolutionists, but it must not be forgotten that Mr. Urquhart suffered from a monomania, which took the odd form that everybody who differed from him was a Russian spy.* The political position of the Chartists was rather curious. The Tories were the only Party who showed them any sympathy, for they shared their antagonism to the Reform settlement of 1832, which was essentially a Whig settlement. Then the Chartists were

* For much interesting information on Chartism, the reader who desires to study the subject further may profitably refer to Forty Years' Recollections, by Thomas Frost; Frost's Secret Societies of the European Revolution; Urquhart's *Diplomatic Review;* Molesworth's History of England; Memoirs and Correspondence of Thomas Slingsby Duncombe; Gammage's Narrative of the Chartist Movement; and Sybil, or the Two Nations, by Lord Beaconsfield.

always suspicious of the Free Trade movement as a capitalists' agitation, the real object of which was not to give the people cheap bread, but to get them to work for low wages on the strength of reducing the price of food. Mr. Cobden's friends often complained that the Anti-Corn-Law League meetings were broken up by Chartist roughs, who were incited to violence by Tory Protectionists.

After the collapse of the conspiracy at Newport, the Chartists formed a purely political organisation, whose objects were admirably described in the able and moderate speech in which Mr. Sharman Crawford, in 1842, attempted, without success, to pledge the House of Commons to take the People's Charter into consideration. The motion was contemptuously rejected by 226 to 67. The Chartists were then divided into two parties—the London Convention, representing the "physical force" Chartists, and the smaller Birmingham Convention, identified with Mr. Joseph Sturge. He aimed at reconstructing the alliance between the working and middle classes, that had carried Parliamentary Reform in 1832, and at starting an agitation for an extension of the Franchise, and for triennial Parliaments. Both factions joined in bringing the pressure of agitation on Parliament in 1848, an agitation which it now seems was quite peaceful in its intent, though the revolutionary excitement in France naturally induced the well-to-do classes to see in it an anarchical conspiracy. The first check the Chartists received was the intimation that their meeting and their procession would be prohibited because both were likely to lead to disturbances.

It is amusing to look back now on the panic that smote the upper and middle classes at this time. On Friday, the 7th of April, Lord Campbell wrote to his brother, declaring that "many people believe that by Monday we shall be under a Provisional Government." It is only fair to say that the Duke of Wellington scoffed at all these alarmist rumours—in fact, he told Lady Jersey that there was no reason to be alarmed, and he advised ladies who consulted him to drive about as usual.* "I suppose," writes Lord Campbell again, "we shall all fly to Hartrigge—if I can escape in disguise." On the 9th of April Campbell again writes:—"(Yesterday) we were considering in the Cabinet how the Chartists should be dealt with, and when it was determined that the procession should be stopped after it had moved, we agreed that the particular place where it should be stopped was purely a military question. The Duke of Wellington was requested to come to us, which he did very readily. We had then a regular council of war, as upon the eve of a great battle. We examined maps and returns and information of the movements of the enemy. After long deliberation, plans of attack and defence were formed to meet every contingency. The quickness, intelligence, and decision which the Duke displayed were very striking, and he inspired us all with perfect confidence by the dispositions which he prescribed. There are now above 7,000 regular troops in London, besides a train of artillery. The special constables are, as you will see, countless.

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, by Lord Malmesbury, Vol. I., p. 224.

We are most afraid of disturbances after the procession is dispersed, and of the town being set fire to in the night." This was a memorable Cabinet meeting, and Macaulay said he should remember it to his dying day.*

The demonstration, which frightened everybody except the Duke of Wellington, took place on Monday, the 10th of April—a hot spring morning favouring the objects of the agitators. The delegates first of all met in convention at 9 a.m. in the Literary and Scientific Institution, John Street, Fitzroy Square, and received an intimation from the Commissioners of Police that the "Monster" Petition might be taken to the House of Commons, but that no procession would be allowed to accompany it. Mr. Feargus O'Connor gave the delegates prudent and pacific advice, but they resolved to adjourn to Kennington Common, hold their meeting, and then proceed in procession with the petition to Westminster in spite of all opposition.

Gradually the ever-increasing mass of agitators marched on, crossing the Thames at Blackfriars Bridge, and reaching Kennington Common at 11.30 a.m. A communication was then made to Mr. O'Connor by the police authorities, the result of which was that a compromise was arrived at. Mr. Mayne, the Commissioner of Police, agreed to permit the prohibited meeting to be held, and Mr. O'Connor agreed to abandon the idea of a procession, and to pass his word that the demonstration would be conducted in an orderly manner. The authorities had arranged to block the bridges with police and, if need be, troops. Even "physical force" Chartists like Mr. Ernest Jones could only accept the situation, whilst regretting that the meeting had not been held on the other side of the river, in which case they would not have had to recross the bridges to march on the House of Commons. Mr. Jones admitted, however, that they were not prepared to fight the authorities, and he, too, advised the meeting to disperse peacefully. Spasmodic outbreaks of horseplay and demonstrations of displeasure from isolated groups of agitators took place. A man called Spurr, supported by Mr. Cuffey, insisted on going on with the procession until they were stopped, whereupon they could withdraw the petition on the ground that they had met with illegal resistance.

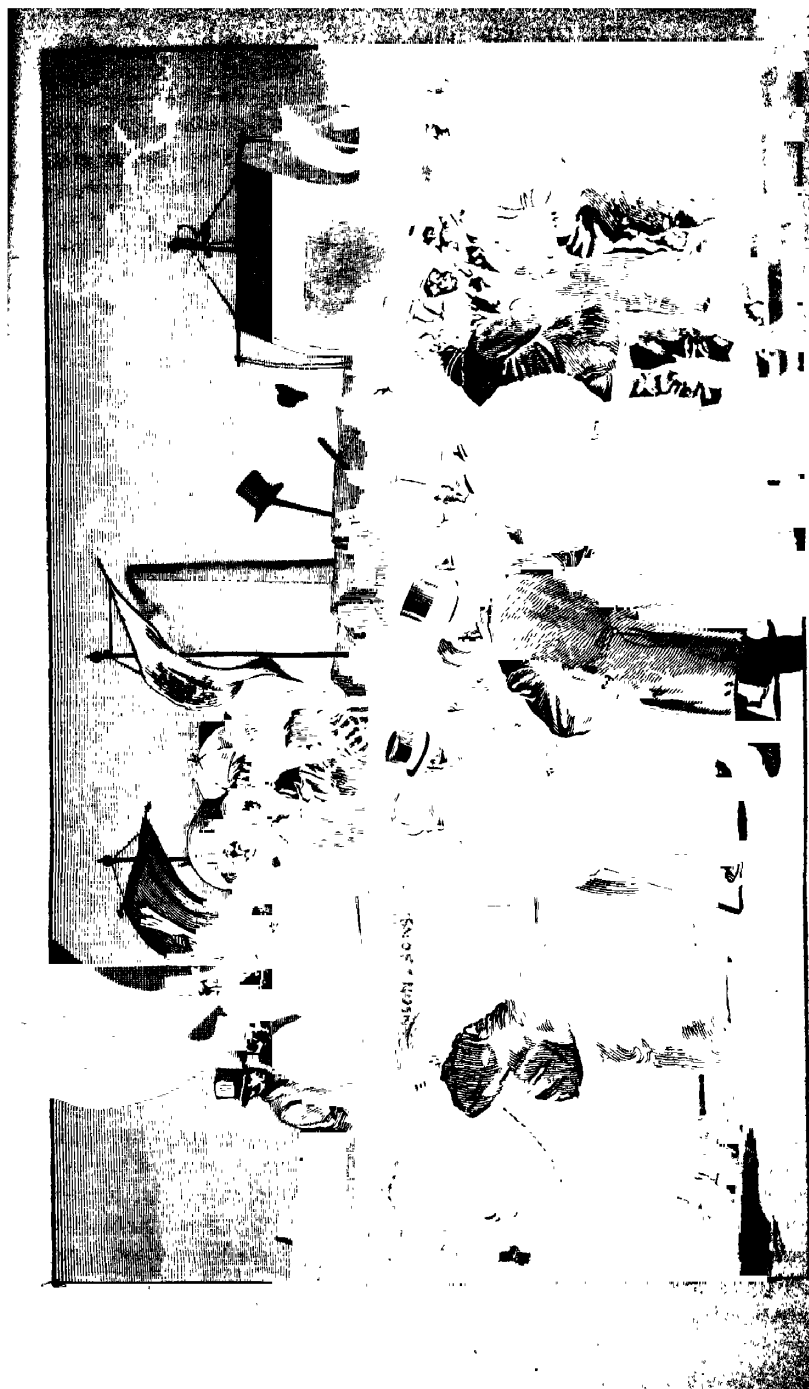
During the day the streets presented the appearance of a holiday. The police were withdrawn from their beats, and concentrated on special points, the town being patrolled by special constables—among whom, by the way, Prince Charles Louis Bonaparte, afterwards Napoleon III., was enrolled—who wore white bands on their arms, and carried truncheons as emblems of authority. These patriotic citizens were mercilessly ridiculed by their ungrateful fellow-citizens, who passed rude remarks on their awkward appearance and their incongruities of stature and costume. People were extremely unfeeling in their comments on the appearance of certain "specials" who wore spectacles or eyeglasses, and who carried umbrellas in addition to their staves. All the public buildings were garrisoned with troops; the

* Life and Letters of John, Lord Campbell, by the Hon. Mrs. Hardcastle.

clerks in the public offices formed special corps of defence, and many gentlemen of rank brought up their gamekeepers from the country, armed them, and prepared their mansions for a regular siege.* Trafalgar Square was occupied by 200 police. The parks were closed; a corporal's guard of the Household Troops held each entrance to them, and patrols of the Guards

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

marched up and down the Mall. Apsley House was barricaded, and Mr. Carlyle says Piccadilly was almost deserted, the Green Park shut, "even the footpaths of it;" and "in the inside stood a score of mounted Guardsmen, privately drawn up under the arch—dreadful cold, I daresay. For the rest, not a single fashionable carriage was in the street, not a private vehicle, but, I think, two surgeons' broughams all the way to Egyptian Hall, omnibuses running, a few street carts, even a mud-cart or two; nothing else; the flag pavements also

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister.

nearly vacant, not a fifth of the usual population there, and those also of th strictly business kind." * Buckingham Palace was protected by a strong forc under arms at Wellington Barracks, ready to march on it the moment it wa threatened. The Bank was fortified by a company of Sappers and Miners who built on the roof platforms for cannon, and guarded them with loophole breastworks of sandbags, &c., so that a mob could be swept away by grapesho at a moment's notice. Special constables, organised by Aldermen of the wards guarded the City. Hardly a single red-coat, however, was to be seen anywhere but at various strategic points troops were in readiness, to be let loose if th mob showed signs of fighting. There was a fight between the police and th mob at Blackfriars Bridge. But the police who guarded Waterloo Bridge wer able to amuse themselves as they pleased. No Chartists came near it—th bridge being guarded by something much more formidable to them than troops namely, the man who kept the toll-bar.

When the events of the 18th ended with the contemptuous treatmen which the House of Commons gave to the Chartist petition, two thing happened. The upper middle class burst into a chorus of triumph over thei successful suppression of anarchy. The working classes who joined th Chartist movement were flung into the arms of the "physical force party," who pointed to the failure of the petition and the demonstration, as a proo that the methods of agitation favoured by Mr. Sturge and the Birmingham Convention were futile. It is important to keep these facts in view, for th transformation of the Chartist movement into a movement of violence after th 10th of April, has led many writers to assume that the peaceful agitation which culminated in the Kennington meeting was truly a revolutionary conspiracy, which was put down by the courageous demonstration made by th Party of Order. The facts that the meeting at Kennington was unarmed, tha its numbers, so far from reaching 100,000, did not exceed 20,000, that th existence of a toll-bar on one of the bridges was sufficient to determine th direction which the "revolutionary" procession should take, and, above all the fact that the meeting was held on the Surrey side of the river, thus leaving the police and troops in complete command of the bridges in rear of the Chartists—all indicate that up to the 10th there was no serious idea of appealing to arms. It was absurd to argue that the event was dwarfed by the preparations which were made to meet it, for these preparations were kept secret. On the other hand, a good effect was subsequently produced by these preparations, for they showed that the Party of Order, though quite willing to give Mr. Feargus O'Connor full liberty to play the braggart and the fool were also determined to maintain the law against any mob of law-breakers however strong or however turbulent. They gave agitators fair warning that in England, at least, the resources of civilisation against anarchy were

* Letter to Mrs. Carlyle. Thomas Carlyle. A History of his Life in London, by J. A. Froude Vol. I., p. 434.

by no means exhausted. The Queen had with some hesitation yielded to the advice of the Cabinet, and had removed the Court to Osborne during this anxious period. But she and Prince Albert both kept a vigilant eye on events as they unfolded themselves in the metropolis. Writing to King Leopold on the 11th of April, she says:—"Thank God, the Chartist meeting and procession have turned out a complete failure! The loyalty of the people at large has been very striking, and their indignation at their peace being interfered with by such wanton and worthless men immense."* Albany Fonblanque had the fairness to admit that it was "clear that the bulk of the London Chartists have no disposition to commit themselves to the chances of involving it in outrage;"† and Mr. Cobden says, in one of his letters:—"In *my opinion* the Government and the newspapers have made too much fuss about it (the Chartist rising)."‡

The two men who got and deserved most credit for the happy termination of the Chartist meeting were Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, and the Duke of Wellington, whose opinions on the affair had the greatest weight with the Queen. On the 11th of April, when all was quiet, the Duke of Wellington met Lord Campbell, and the following conversation took place between them:—"I went up to him," writes Lord Campbell, "and said, 'Well, Duke, it has all turned out as you foretold.' *Duke*—'Oh, yes, I was sure of it, and I never showed a soldier or a musket. But I was ready. I could have stopped them wherever you liked, and if they had been armed it would have been all the same.' *Campbell*—'They say they are to meet next on the north side of the town, and avoid the bridges.' *Duke*—'Every street can be made a bridge. I can stop them anywhere.' *Campbell*—'If your Grace had commanded Paris on the 25th of February, Louis Philippe would still have been on the throne.' *Duke*—'It would have been an easy matter. I should have made the Tuileries secure, and have kept my communications open.' Then, *more suo*, laying hold of my arm, and speaking very loud, and pointing with his finger, he added—'Always keep your communications open, and you need have nothing to fear.'"§

When the *fiasco* of the 10th of April put the Chartist organisation under the control of the "physical force" party, the first step was initiated by Mr. Ernest Jones in the National Convention. It was to reconstruct the whole Chartist body as a secret society, on the pattern of the United Irishmen. Moderate men were removed from the Executive Council, and agitators like Dr. Macdowall, who had taken a prominent part in the troubles of '39 and '42, were elected in their places. The change in their methods was first

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

† Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque, p. 217.

‡ Morley's Life of Cobden.

§ This was a favourite idea with the Duke. He attributed our Afghan disasters to our failure to keep open our communications.

[illegible] by the sudden assemblage, without warning, of a vast meeting of [illegible] men on Clerkenwell Green and Stepney Green, on the evening of the [illegible] of May, when processions from all parts of London also moved by converging routes to Smithfield, and then marched along Holborn, Oxford Street, Pall Mall, the Strand, Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill, to Finsbury Square, where they dispersed. This was a demonstration arranged to test the working of the new secret organisation. Rifles and pikes began to appear in the lodgings of the Chartists. An alliance was formed with some of the turbulent leaders of the "Young Ireland" Party. Spies were swarming in every city, and a

CHARTIST AGITATION: THE POLICE FORCE ON BONNER'S FIELDS. (See p. 387.)

(Reduced, by permission, after the Engraving in "The Illustrated London News.")

Secret Committee, consisting of seven men, named Cuffey, Ritchie, Lacey, Fay, Rose, Mullins, and a man named Powell, *alias* Johnson, who, though pretending to be a workman, was really a professional pedestrian, known in sporting public-houses as the "Welsh Nurse," began to plot a regular insurrection. Powell joined the Committee to betray it, and his counsels breathed of fire and slaughter. Ernest Jones had by this time been imprisoned for proclaiming to a meeting that the green flag would soon wave over Downing Street; and another man had also been imprisoned—one Williams—because in a speech he had insinuated that the Government was brutalising the people by letting the police beat them with truncheons, when they came into collision with Chartist meetings on Clerkenwell Green. Whit Monday, the 12th of June, was the day fixed on for the Revolution, and on that day the Metropolitan branches of the Society were to assemble on Blackheath and Bishop Bonner's

Fields — meetings which were prohibited by the police as illegal. When warrants were issued for the arrest of Macdowall and the leaders, the Blackheath meeting was abandoned, and orders were given to concentrate a Chartist gathering on Bonner's Fields, so as to divert a large police force from the

WILLIAM SMITH O'BRIEN.

City. On the evening of the 12th, the Chartists resolved to abandon the meeting on Bonner's Fields, not because the authorities at Scotland Yard prohibited it, but because it was raining, comforting themselves with the reflection that they had detained a large force of police and troops there to watch them. They were then in hopes, as Rose, one of the leaders, said to Mr. Frost, that in London by that time "they are at it hammer and tongs."*

* Forty Years' Recollections, by Thomas Frost, p. 161.

But when the time came for striking, the conspirators were unprepared, nothing was done. Some of the leaders—like Cuffey—now felt that it hopeless to attempt an armed revolt, yet the forces behind them were strong to be controlled, and they were compelled to go on when they wc have drawn back. They accordingly fixed the 15th of August for the gr effort; but on that day, when waiting in the "Orange Tree" public-house, Orange Street, Bloomsbury, they were suddenly arrested by a small body armed police. "A sword," writes Mr. Frost, "was found under the coat one, and the head of a pike, made to screw into a socket, under that another. One had a pair of pistols in his pocket, and the fourth was provi with a rusty bayonet, fastened on the end of a stick. Some were with other weapons than shoemakers' knives. A pike, which no one would o was found under a bench."

At this moment groups of surly-looking labourers were lounging in streets and at the bars of public-houses in the Seven Dials. Suddenly man with haggard eyes and a face pale with fear was seen to rush i the midst of a group at the corner of St. Andrew's Street, and whispe few hurried words to a labourer, who with a pickaxe was fumbling ab a loose stone in the causeway. He was then seen darting from group group, from public-house to public-house, and very soon the police beg to hover in the distance. In a few minutes the groups of loungers h almost entirely disappeared, and the public-houses were mysteriously empti There is reason to believe that the flag of revolution was to have be first raised in the Seven Dials, where the first barricades were to ha been flung up, the spot, says Mr. Frost, who was a leading Chartist, bei chosen "on account of its contiguity to Whitehall, and the facilities offer by its narrow streets, radiating in so many directions from a common cent for a rapid advance." The pale-faced man, whose appearance was the sigr for the dispersal of the loungers round the Seven Dials, was an emissary fr the "Orange Tree," bringing tidings of the arrests there. Cuffey, Ritch Lacey, and Fay were tried for sedition, and sentenced to transportation f life. Mullins received a long term of imprisonment. Powell, the spy, inste of a handsome reward, only got a free passage to Australia, where, being idle fellow, he did not remain long. What became of him is not know The other spy, a constable named Mullins, was subsequently dismissed fr the police force for misconduct, and after a career of crime was hang for murdering an old woman called Elmsley, at Hackney, for the sa of a few pounds she had in her house. The Chartist organisation bro up. Its members, finding that the working classes alone could effect nothin sensibly reverted to the programme of Mr. Sturge and the Birmingham Co vention. They accordingly joined the Parliamentary Reform Association, whi was launched into existence by the middle-class Radicals, under the auspices Mr. Joseph Hume and his political associates.

Writing to Baron Stockmar about the collapse of the Chartist meeting a Kennington, Prince Albert says, in one of his letters—"I hope this wil read with advantage on the Continent. Ireland still looks dangerous." I had looked so "dangerous" at the end of 1847 that its condition, togethe with the commercial panic in England, had caused Parliament to be summone in the November of that year. Now the country, under the misguidanc of the "Young Irelanders," was drifting into civil war.

It is not difficult to be generous to a "lost cause," and in the "Young Ireland" movement, which ended in the disaster of '48, there is much tha enlists the sympathies of liberal-minded liberty-loving men. It sprang from a reaction among the youth of the educated and literary classes, against th coarse vulgarity of O'Connell's methods of agitation. His favourite weapo was race-hatred. This he roused by passionate appeals to bitter memories o the past, when "the base, bloody, and brutal Saxon" trod the Celt unde foot, tortured his priests, desecrated his altars, and proscribed his faith The "Young Irelanders," especially after Catholic Emancipation, felt tha no practical good was done to the rack-rented peasantry by denunciation of Cromwell's tyranny. Moving diatribes against Elizabethan oppression in their opinion, did still less to reform the bad government, the weal executive, and alien bureaucracy of Ireland in the Victorian era. O'Connell' aim was to pit the Celtic Catholics against the Protestant Anglo-Irish. Th "Young Ireland" Party aimed at uniting all Irish patriots, irrespective o creed or caste, in a purely political and secular movement for emancipatin the peasantry from landlordism, and Ireland from English government. Si Charles Gavan Duffy,* one of the founders of the movement, says that it leaders favoured constitutional agitation, but, if compelled to adopt stronge measures, they were ready to accept the arbitrament of the sword. Thei mistake lay in committing themselves to this latter part of their programme without possessing the means of carrying it out. When they did that, succes could alone distinguish their policy from treason.

The "Young Irelanders" were led by Thomas Osborne Davis, Charle Gavan Duffy, John Blake Dillon, and several other young men of enthusias and talent, and their movement was literary as well as political. They becam an organised party in 1842, when the *Nation* newspaper was started, unde Duffy's editorship—a paper, says the late Mr. P. J. Smyth,† which was "fille with a spirit of intense nationality." Its articles, political and historical, it ballads and lyrics, both pathetic and humorous, were all devoted to glorif the achievements of Irishmen in the past, or give voice to their passion aspirations, and demands in the present. All hereditary feuds, the "Youn Irelanders" said, must be forgotten. Ireland was to be Irish—not Anglo Irish or Celtic. All men who loved her were to be ranked as Irishmen

* Young Ireland: a Fragment of Irish History, by Sir C. Gavan Duffy (Cassell & Company).

† Young Ireland. *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1880.

Hereditary party spirit they regarded, wrote Sir C. Gavan Duffy, as an *ignis fatuus* in a country "where the lineal descendants of the O'Neils, O'Briens, and O'Connors were Ministers, and where Philpot Curran, Wolfe Tone, and Theobald Mathew sprang from Cromwellian soldiers." The agitators were a little hazy and vague and self-contradictory as to the precise amount of

CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY (1848).

allegiance which they would yield to the Imperial Government; and Davis, in his correspondence with Daniel Owen Maddyn, rails as much at English *ideas*—English Utilitarianism, Materialism, and "Sensualism"—as at the supremacy of the Pope or Protestant ascendency. Just before the outbreak of '48, too, Mr. Smith O'Brien's avowed object, as leader of the "Young Irelanders," was to set up in Ireland an independent Republic. On the land question, however, they were sound and moderate. They demanded security of tenure, fair rents, free sale of tenant-right, and reasonable facilities for the natural growth of

peasant proprietors. But, said they in their manifesto in the *Nation*, "we are not ready to jump into a servile war for this purpose," and, as Mr. P. J. Smyth has observed, they taught that "expropriation, if it could be realised, would be disastrous." Davis, who was poet-laureate of the movement, was a Protestant of Welsh descent, Duffy and Dillon were Catholics.

"Young Ireland" soon fell out with O'Connell and the patriots of Conciliation Hall. O'Connell's organ, the *Pilot*, attacked the *Nation* for its

THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1848: FORGING PIKES.

atheism. The *Nation* retorted that O'Connell betrayed Ireland by abandoning the "divine right of Revolution" for Whig alliances. In 1845 Davis died, and the leadership of the Party passed into the hands of William Smith O'Brien, his lieutenants being John Mitchell and John Martin. All three were Protestants. Mr. Smith O'Brien was descended from King Brian Borhoimè—who played the part of Alfred the Great in Irish history. A brother of Lord Inchiquin, he was an aristocrat and a Tory, with frigid manners, and a high and chivalrous sense of honour. He had drifted into the "Young Ireland" Party, firstly, because fourteen years' experience of the Imperial Parliament convinced him that it could not legislate wisely for Ireland, and, secondly, because he despaired of any other Party obtaining for Ireland the only Government that

could lift her to her place among the nations. As a speaker he was cold, logical, and stilted. But he had a severe and ascetic sense of public duty, and his fidelity and truthfulness secured for him the unswerving loyalty of his followers.

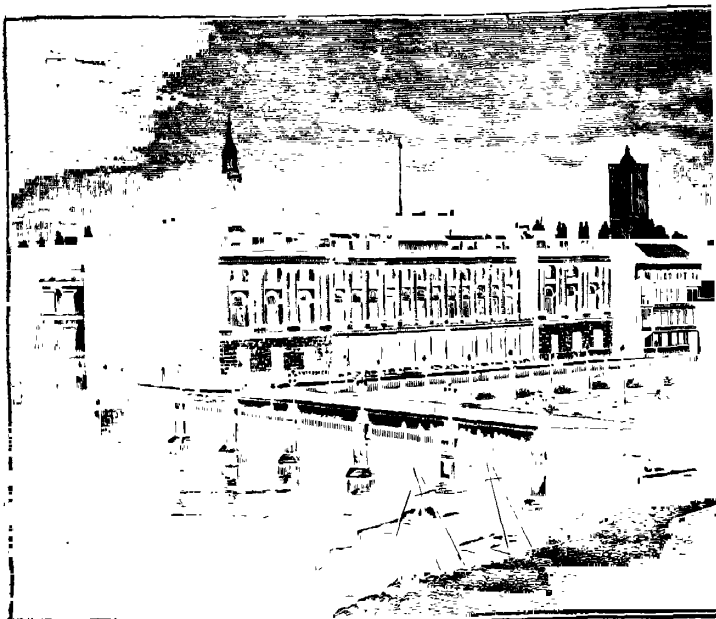
It was in 1847 that "Young Ireland" first came into collision with the authorities. John Mitchell, whose violent teaching was abhorred by O'Brien, virtually seceded from the Party represented by the *Nation*. He had started the *United Irishman*, and he made it a venomous advocate of Revolution. The outbreak in Paris, in 1848, put the game in Mitchell's hands. The populace imagined that no government could stand against a mob. "Confederate" Clubs sprang up like mushrooms, and Mitchell became so reckless in his appeals to force that the Government were compelled to "gag" him. He was arrested and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation for treason-felony, on the 20th of May, 1848. O'Brien and Meagher, who had been prosecuted in March, escaped because the juries disagreed. Dr. Kevin Izod O'Doherty—now Member for Meath—and Mr. D'Alton Williams, a fortnight after Mitchell's condemnation, brought out a new revolutionary organ, the *Irish Tribune*, and Martin, "honest John Martin," as he was called, followed up with the *Felon*, a paper whose teachings were so abominably bloodthirsty that Albany Fonblanque, in the *Examiner*, suggested it ought to be called the *Fiend*.* The sole defence for a truculence, which can be paralleled only by the ravings of Marat, is that the "Young Irelanders" had been goaded to madness by the terrible scenes of the famine, and the apparent impotence of the English Government either to prevent or cope with that hideous calamity. Five weeks after the *Felon* appeared, Martin, Williams, O'Doherty, and Duffy were arrested. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and warrants were out against Mr. Smith O'Brien and Meagher (pronounced Maar), the latter the fiercest and most eloquent of their orators. They felt they had now gone too far to draw back, though it would have been easy for them to do so by simply letting themselves be arrested. They considered it their duty to offer to head a rebellion before they were captured; but when they appealed to the people to rise, they found that the peasants hardly knew who they were. They were looked on askance as the men who had quarrelled with O'Connell, and were denounced by the priests. Even if the peasants had been willing, famine had left them physically unfit for battle. Why dwell on the story of the wretched *fiasco* that was called the "rebellion" of '48? The small band of patriots who joined the standards of the insurgents had few arms—pikes, old guns, and scythes were

* "It is a peculiarity of Irish rebellion that it counts so much on the co-operation of women, who are to be nothing less than unsexed for its purposes. Women are to squirt vitriol, and women are to put on hoops—not hoops on their own persons, but hoops on the persons of her Majesty's soldiers, hoops wrapped round with turpentine, steeped in tow and fired. . . . The *Felon* newspaper has run its short course. An apter name should be chosen for the next organ of the Mitchell doctrines. The *Fiend* should be the title."—*Examiner.*

their chief weapons. They had no commissariat, no generals, and no plan c campaign. A barricade, commanded by Dillon, was "rushed" at Killenaul At Ballingarry a party under Mr. Smith O'Brien, hailed by his followers a "King of Munster," on the 26th of July besieged six policemen, who ha taken refuge in a farmhouse belonging to a widow called Cormack. The polic refused to surrender, and on the 29th Mr. O'Brien, with reinforcements, agai appeared. Another party of policemen came on the scene. A few shots wer exchanged, and then the insurgents tried to fire the building. "The widov Cormack, whose five children were in the house," writes Mr. A. M. Sullivan, "rushed to the rebel chief, flung herself on her knees, and asked him if h was going to stain his name and cause by an act so barbarous as the destructio of her little ones." Mr. O'Brien ordered the combustibles to be flung asid and his followers, galled by the fire from the improvised fortalice, and disguste by his soft-heartedness, beat a hasty retreat. The leader of the insurrectio like Scott's Highland Chieftain, "took to the hills, and became a broken man. On the 5th of August he walked from his mountain refuge to Thurles Railwa Station. When taking a ticket for Limerick, a guard named Hulme recognise and arrested him. With Meagher, Leine, and O'Donoghue, who were capture in the same locality, he was lodged in Kilmainham Gaol. O'Brien and h comrades were tried at Clonmel on the 21st of September, and sentenced t death. This was subsequently commuted to transportation for life, whereupo the condemned men protested that the commutation was *ultra vires* on th part of the Queen, and that they had a legal right to be "hanged, drawn, an quartered," or set free! The protest was of no avail, for Parliament quickl passed a special Act, empowering the Crown to commute sentences of hig treason. Dillon, O'Gorman, and O'Doherty escaped to America. Duffy wa thrice brought to trial, but his advocate, Mr. Butt, thrice baffled his prosecutor Mr. Smith O'Brien and his companions were set free in Van Diemen's Lan on parole. Subsequently they were allowed to return home, but Mr. O'Brie died in retirement, never again taking part in public life. Hundreds of abl and promising young men fled from the country, and Ireland suffered no only by the exile, enforced or voluntary, of the most public-spirited men i her governing middle class, but from the reaction and the prostration tha always follow an abortive revolution.

Though the progress of the Revolutionary movement in England, Irelan and France engrossed the interests of the Queen and Prince Albert, was impossible for them to be indifferent to its progress in other countrie notably in Germany, where it took the form of a movement in favour o National Unity. Ferdinand I., a monarch weak alike in body and mind, a this time sat on the throne of Austria. He was, however, little better tha the tool of Prince Metternich, the energetic and unscrupulous Minister i whom Absolutism was incarnate. After the fall of Louis Philippe, turbule

* New Ireland, Sixth Edition, p. 91.

Viennese mobs demanded constitutional reforms in Austria. On the 18th March, the populace sacked Metternich's Palace, in Vienna, and the Minis himself, disheartened on finding that his Imperial master shrank from defendi his prerogatives, fled from the capital in disguise. "If emperors disappear, it never till they have come to despair of themselves," was the mocking observati with which Metternich placed his resignation in the hands of the Archdu Charles. Hungary naturally caught the contagion of Liberty, and Lo

THE EXCHANGE AND FREDERICK'S BRIDGE, BERLIN.

Kossuth carried in the Diet at Pesth an address to the Emperor Ferdinan demanding a national Government, from which the foreign—*i.e.*, the German element was to be eliminated. Feeble efforts at repression in Vienna end in the concession of a Free Press, a National Guard, and a Liberal Constituti for the Empire.

It almost seemed as if the Revolution of '48 had come to enforce the vie which the Queen and Prince Albert had in vain impressed on their Germ relatives. Those views were to the effect that the time had arrived wh the Princes of the Empire ought, as a matter of grace, to grant constitution liberties to their subjects. But their Teutonic Majesties and Serenities h lost their chance of conceding by policy what Revolution now extorted fro

THE KING OF PRUSSIA ADDRESSING THE BERLINERS.

them by force. The movement began in Baden, where, on the 29th of February, the Grand Duke was compelled to grant a Free Press, a National Guard, and Trial by Jury to his subjects. It spread fast through the minor States. In Munich it ended in the abdication of the King on the 21st of March. In the Odenwald the peasants sacked the baronial castles, and a servile war seemed imminent, even in Coburg. The Queen was therefore excited by every fresh outbreak, her only consolation being that Belgium—her uncle's kingdom—remained tranquil. The Prince Hohenlohe, the husband of her half-sister, and her half-brother, the Prince of Leiningen, were simply ruined. "All minds," writes the Princess Hohenlohe to the Queen, "are on the stretch. . . . Never was such a state of lawless vagabondage as there is now all over Germany, more or less. At all hours of the day young men are walking about the streets doing nothing." Business was at a standstill: there was neither buying nor selling, marrying nor giving in marriage; and the Queen's half-sister, in another letter, speaking of herself and her illustrious family, remarks, piteously:—"We are undone, and must begin a new existence of privations."

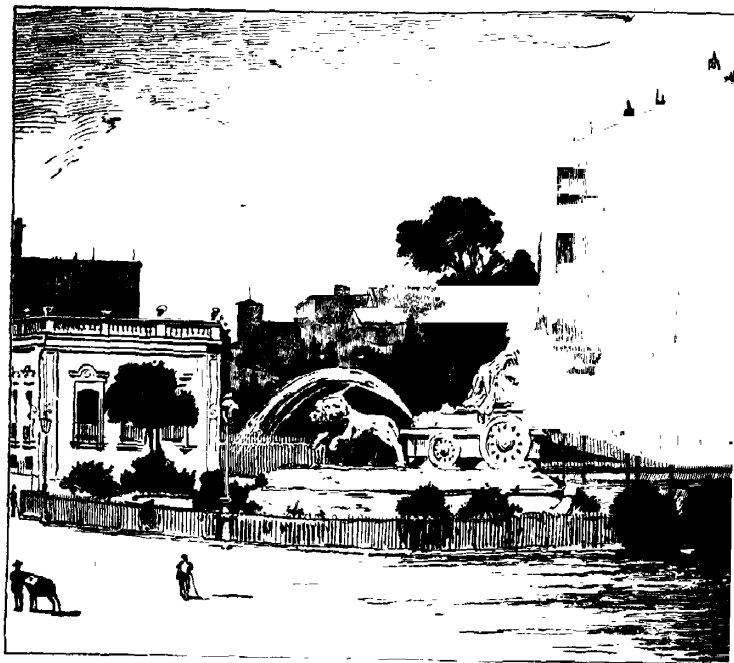
Prussia was stricken sharply by the revolutionary tempest. The very day after Metternich fled from Vienna the mob of Berlin rose against the Government. Riot after riot followed this outbreak, and the concessions proclaimed on the 18th of March came too late—though the King, Frederick William, imagined he would win the sympathies of the German race by advocating the formation of a United Germany, federated under one flag, one army, one law, and one executive. The people, full of joy at their triumph, went to the Palace to congratulate their Sovereign, who came forth to harangue them. A glimmer of steel, however, within the castle quadrangle in an instant transformed the loyal crowd into a raging and rebellious mob. "Bitter experience," says Mr. Charles Lowe,* "had taught them to distrust the word of their King. But instead of *retiring*, a squadron of dragoons, with a company of foot, *advanced* to clear the square; and either by accident or design, two muskets were fired into the crowd. 'Treason!' 'Revenge!' 'To arms!' was resounded on every side." Two hundred barricades rose in the streets as if by magic, "and the city was soon one wild scene of carnage," lit throughout the dark hours of night and morning by the red glare of sacked and burning houses. The troops virtually triumphed, but the King, grief-stricken, because of the slaughter of his "dear Berliners," suddenly gave the command next morning to "cease firing." The unpopular Ministers were dismissed. An amnesty was proclaimed, and the troops were ordered to quit the city. A Burger Guard was extemporised, and the King was compelled by the mob to stand bareheaded on the balcony of his Palace, and salute a ghastly procession of the dead who had been slain by his troops. On the 21st of March he rode through the streets, delivering many effusive and emotional speeches, promising a liberal constitution, and pledging himself, even in defiance of Austria, to head the movement for

* Prince Bismarck: An Historical Biography, by Charles Lowe, M.A., Vol. I., p. 63.

German Unity. The Crown Prince (now Emperor of Germany), who wa wrongly supposed to have ordered the troops to fire on the people, fled t England, and his Palace was saved from attack solely because some loya person artfully chalked over it the words, "National Property." He was mo hospitably entertained by the Queen till the end of May, when he returne to Berlin. "May God protect him," writes her Majesty to her uncle, Kin Leopold. "He is very noble-minded and honest, and most cruelly wronged."

Italy, already a hotbed of discontent, naturally participated in the revo lutionary movement. Early in March, Lombardy rose against the Austrian and Venice, led by Daniel Manin, proclaimed a Republic. Charles Albert, Kin of Sardinia, yielding to popular pressure, put himself at the head of th agitation for Italian unity, and on the 23rd of March advanced to Milanes territory. The people of Tuscany and the Papal States flew to arms, bu were pacified by the grant of constitutions, though the Pope was forced b the populace in May to levy war on Austria, his most faithful ally. Th Dukes of Parma and Modena fled for their lives from their capitals. I Sicily alone the revolution was suppressed by force. This seems to hav disheartened the liberators of North Italy—or, perhaps, it would be mor correct to say it encouraged their Austrian masters. Ignoring defeat aft defeat, the Austrians, under Radetsky, held on to their Italian province with grim tenacity. Pacific mediation was rejected on both sides, and, finall Charles Albert, who by this time found that Sardinia was expected to bea the brunt of the war single-handed, was rendered helpless by his fatal revers at Custozza (22nd of July) and Somma Campagna (26th of July). The Pop alarmed by the liberal movement he had encouraged, lost the confidence of h subjects, and on the assassination of Rossi, his secretary, fled from Ron to Gaeta (24th of November). From thence he issued a protest against th Revolutionary Government of the Holy City, which protest was prompt supported by the armed intervention of France.

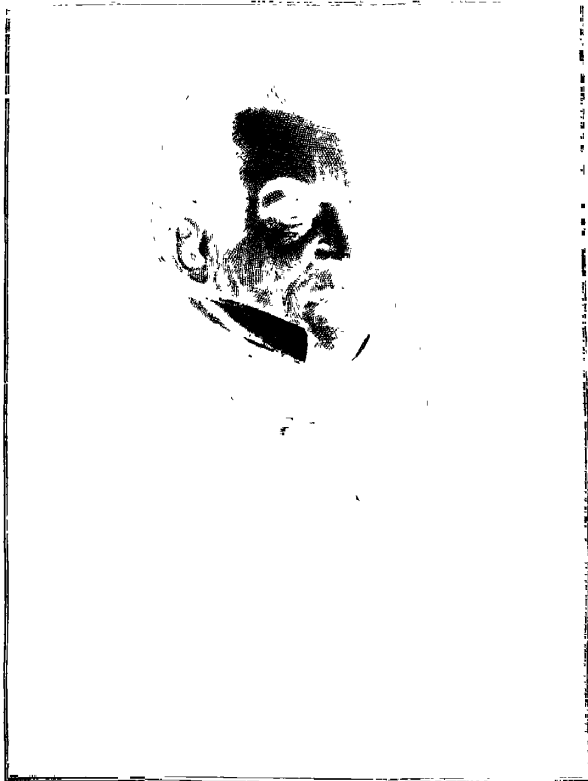
In Spain, however, the Revolution, in May, took a form which gave Quee Victoria the greatest anxiety. At first all parties in the Cortes were oppose to violence. Suddenly, however, the Party of Action waxed strong. Th Government foolishly prorogued the Cortes, and this was followed by a prote in the shape of a popular rising in Madrid, on the 26th of March. It wa suppressed, and a few of the most distinguished men in Spain were summari banished beyond the seas Lord Palmerston here interfered with characterist recklessness and audacity. On the 16th of March he wrote to Sir Hen Bulwer, the British Minister at Madrid, requesting him to advise the Quee of Spain to change her Ministers. Sir Henry Bulwer not only sent a co of this despatch to the Duc de Sotomayor, but also procured its publicati in the Opposition newspapers. The Spanish Government, incensed at Sir Bulwer's intrigues with the Party of Violence, not only resented this imper nent interference with their affairs, but haughtily returned the despatch to t

English Foreign Office. Lord Palmerston replied sarcastically to Sotomayor and not only approved of the conduct of Sir Henry Bulwer, but caused him to be made a K.C.B. Accordingly, on the 19th of May, the Spanish Government requested Sir Henry to leave Spain within forty-eight hours, which he did, and a cessation of diplomatic intercourse was the result. Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, had seen Lord Palmerston's ill-advised despatch

THE FOUNTAIN OF CYBELE, MADRID.

and having told Lord Palmerston that he objected to it, he naturally concluded it would not be sent. "Shortly after," writes Mr. Greville,* "he (Lord John Russell) was with the Queen, and, in conversation on this topic, he told her what had passed between Palmerston and himself, and what he had said. 'No! *did* you say that?' said the Queen. He said, 'Yes.' 'Well then,' she replied, 'it produced no effect, for the despatch *is* gone. Lord Palmerston sent it to me. I *know* it is gone.'"

There was quite a storm of indignation against Lord Palmerston in every political club and *coterie* when this affair became known. The Queen was angry, and so were Palmerston's colleagues, some of whom declared that they

* Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. III., p. 169.

could not defend his conduct. He was attacked by the Opposition in
Houses; and Lord Lansdowne, who had to plead for him in the Lords,
Lord John Russell that "this must never happen again," and that in fu
Lord Palmerston must not be allowed to send out any despatches unless

BARON STOCKMAR.

(Engraved, by permission, after the Portrait in Sir Theodore Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort.")

were sanctioned by Lord John himself.* It was morally certain that Si
Bulwer had, at Lord Palmerston's instigation, mixed himself up with
intrigues of the revolutionary party in Madrid, and on the 5th of June
Bankes gave expression to the true feeling of every section of the Hous
Commons, by moving a Vote of Censure on Lord Palmerston. Whigs, To
and Radicals were agreed that his conduct had been imprudent and
courteous. The Queen expressed to Lord John Russell her grief over his

* Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria.

and untoward management of diplomatic business. His colleagues condemned him in private, and yet the attack on him mysteriously collapsed. The debate, says Mr. Greville, cynically, was a fight "with muffled gloves," and why? Palmerston, for whom the stars in their courses fought, was saved by two strokes of luck. Sir Robert Peel, whose defence of him was a piece of exquisite irony, decided that as the Ministry refused to desert him he must be supported, Peel's sole object at this time being to protect the only Ministerial combination which could protect Free Trade. The Spanish Government had also put themselves in the wrong in ordering Sir Henry Bulwer to quit Madrid, merely because Lord Palmerston sent them, through him, an insolent and foolish despatch. Members who were prepared to vote for Mr. Bankes's motion felt that unless it were proved clearly that Sir Henry Bulwer had participated in revolutionary conspiracies, they must vote for the Government, on the score of national honour. The Spanish Ministry failed to prove this, because they dared not set forth their case. One of Sir Henry Bulwer's instruments in driving the Narvaez Government from office was Serrano, who from corrupt motives revealed the conspiracy to Narvaez. But Serrano was the lover of the Queen of Spain, and had his evidence been adduced against Lord Palmerston, her Majesty would have been unpleasantly compromised. The debate on Mr. Bankes's motion was thus a Parliamentary victory for Lord Palmerston. But it served to augment the distrust with which the Queen and his own colleagues regarded his harum-scarum method of conducting the business of the Foreign Office.

Parliament, which had been adjourned over the Christmas holidays, again met on the 3rd of February, 1848. Meeting as it did on the eve of a revolution in Europe, and at a time when the masses of the English people were in a ferment of discontent, one might suppose that it was greatly agitated by the tempest of sedition that raged outside its walls. On the contrary, it pursued its course with almost stoical indifference to "the condition-of-England question," and neither the sullen temper of the English working classes, nor the impending revolt of the "Young Ireland" Party, seems to have given the representatives of the people the slightest concern. In fact, the West Indies now took the place of Ireland and the manufacturing districts of England, as a scene of distress worthy of monopolising the attention of Parliament. What Mr. Disraeli said of similar events in 1834 might well have been said of those of 1848, namely, that "the mean position which the Saxon multitude occupied as distinguished from the Jamaica planters sank deep into their hearts." Again the attention of the working classes was drawn to the contrast between the interest which Parliament displayed in "a petty and exhausted colony" and "the claims for constitutional rights by the working millions of England."* Oddly enough, it was Mr. Disraeli's own leader, Lord George Bentinck, who, finding that the planters attributed their sufferings to

* Sybil, or the Two Nations, by the Earl of Beaconsfield, Book V., Chap. I.

the loss of the protection which differential duties on foreign sugar had given them in the English market, took up their case at this inopportune moment with more warmth than prudence. He moved for and obtained the appointment of a Committee to inquire into their grievances. In June the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Charles Wood, brought forward a proposal to advance £200,000—ultimately the sum was fixed at £170,000—for the purpose of helping planters to get coolie labour. Lord John Russell subsequently announced further concessions. He refused to exclude slave-grown sugar from the English market. He, however, proposed to reduce the duty on colonial sugar, leaving ordinary foreign sugar at its existing rate. But he applied to both colonial sugar and certain varieties of foreign sugar a descending scale of reduction, which would in 1855 end in equalising them, though up to that period a slight advantage would be given to the colonial sugar. The philanthropists attacked the scheme because they demanded the total exclusion of slave-grown sugars. Some Free Traders like Mr. Hume attacked it, because they thought the true remedy lay in letting the colonists have more freedom in importing labour, and in managing their own affairs. A painful scene took place during these debates between Lord George Bentinck and Lord John Russell. Lord George declared in violent language that Mr. Hawes, Under Secretary for the Colonies, had suppressed a despatch which threw light on colonial distress. Lord John Russell jeered at his antagonist's connection with the turf, where alone, he said, such tricks were common. Mr. Disraeli retorted by saying that for his services in detecting a turf fraud Lord George Bentinck had been thanked by a Committee, the chairman of which was the Duke of Bedford, Lord John Russell's brother. During this wrangling the House of Commons was converted into a bear-garden, and members roared and hooted at each other as if they were maniacs. The Government carried their proposal only by a majority of fifteen, and this, together with loss of prestige from bad management and clumsy Parliamentary tactics, further weakened the Cabinet in the eyes of the public. Even the Queen began to think she might soon have to send for Lord Stanley, for it was only Sir Robert Peel's support that kept the Administration alive.

The financial statement of the Government, which was made, not by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir C. Wood), but by Lord John Russell himself, early in the year, had been disappointing. He estimated a deficit of £2,141,209, and he said it must be met either by increasing taxation, or reducing the cost of the Army and Navy. But the agitation which had been raised by the Duke of Wellington about the defenceless state of the country drove the Ministry to increase the military and naval estimate by £358,000, in addition to which Lord John Russell decided to take a Militia vote of £150,000. He proposed, therefore, to continue the Income Tax, which was to expire in April, 1849, for five years, raising it from 7d. to 1s. in the pound. The duties on copper ore, equal to £41,000, were to be remitted, while

would leave a surplus of £113,000 on the Estimates. Never did a Budget raise such a storm of opposition. Were Ministers mad, asked Mr. Hume, that they proposed to increase taxation during a time of commercial distress and seething political discontent? He and Mr. Cobden demanded, like all the Radicals, a reduction of armaments to meet the estimated deficit on the Budget. All the Protectionists, of course, fell upon the Ministry, crying, "Behold the fatal results of Free Trade!" and demanding the substitution of indirect taxation, or import duties, instead of an increased Income Tax—a tax which, said they, they would never have permitted Sir Robert Peel to impose, had it had not been understood that it was to be only a temporary one. Sir Charles Wood in a few days offered to refer the Estimates to Select and Secret Committees, a proposition violently attacked, as tending to relieve Ministers of their constitutional responsibility, and permit Committees of the House to encroach on the true functions of the Executive. Then the country rose as one man against the Budget, and members were threatened with the loss of their seats if they voted for an increased Income Tax. On the 28th of February Sir Charles Wood accordingly brought in an amended Budget. He would continue the existing Income Tax for five, or, if the House decided, for three years; but for two years, to meet a deficit which he thought was temporary, he proposed to add 5 per cent. to it. This still further irritated the country, whose ideas on taxation the Government utterly ignored. The working classes scoffed at the House which fretted over the addition of sevenpence in the pound on the tax on their incomes, when *they* paid twice as many shillings in the pound on the great staples of their consumption. The middle classes complained that Ministers paid no heed to their demand that a distinction be made between permanent and precarious incomes, and for the adjustment of the tax to the means and substance of the taxpayer.

Meantime the Select Committee on the Estimates were reducing them. On the 25th of August Sir C. Wood stated to the House that the Committee had so adjusted revenue and expenditure that there would only be a deficit of £292,305 to meet. To that he had to add the extraordinary expenditure of the year, incurred on account of the Caffre War, together with sums for relieving fresh distress in Ireland, which brought the total deficit to be met to £2,031,226. This sum the Government proposed to borrow in the open market. After some protests from the Radicals against increasing the floating debt in time of peace, and against the refusal of the Government to reduce establishments, the Ministry carried their point. But the Cobdenites taunted them with Sir Robert Peel's remark, that he would not attempt to govern the country unless he could equalise its expenditure and its revenue.

Parliament in 1848 was tolerably free from discussions on the interminable Irish question. But Mr. Smith O'Brien, the leader of the Irish Party of Action, was in earnest, and his followers were full of enthusiasm for Irish nationality. Lord Clarendon had attempted to conciliate the priesthood,

but he had failed; and the Executive in Dublin sought for increased power to maintain order in Ireland. Hence a Bill aimed at seditious clubs was brought forward by the Government. It empowered the Lord-Lieutenant to arrest and detain any person whom he suspected of conspiring against the

SIR GEORGE GREY.

Queen's Government—in other words, it was proposed to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act.* The Bill passed rapidly through all its stages, even Radicals

* It is interesting to record that Lord Brougham, in the House of Lords on the 21st of July, 1848, read a letter in which the writer said that Mr. O'Connell had, in conversation, suggested, three weeks before Sir R. Peel's Coercion Act was passed, that a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act would be preferable, as it "would cure and not irritate." Mr. O'Connell further stated that he would support Peel in pursuing that policy, provided the Minister would pledge himself to introduce the measures of relief and justice to Ireland which he had so often promised.

like Mr. Hume voting for it, reluctantly, as a hateful incident in our Irish policy. They, however, warned the Ministry that they must lose no time in bringing in remedial measures, dealing with the Franchise, the Church, the Grand Jury laws, and Municipal Institutions in Ireland. On the 26th of July the Bill was passed through the Upper House. A few days afterwards Mr. Sharman Crawford, previous to the House of Commons going into Committee of Supply, moved that the distracted condition of Ireland demanded the constant attention of Parliament, and said that if he carried his motion he would follow it up with one which Lord John Russell had moved in 1844, referring the subject of Irish grievances to a Select Committee. He complained of the delays in remedial legislation; but Lord John Russell, though conciliatory, opposed the motion on the plea that it would be better to proceed gradually with the work of reform in Ireland, than to burden the House with the impossible task Mr. Crawford would impose on it. It was in this debate that Mr. Bernal Osborne complained that Ireland was governed, like a Crown Colony, with "a mock Sovereign, a Brummagen Court, and a pinchbeck Executive," and recommended the abolition of the Viceroyalty, the government of Ireland by a fourth Secretary of State, occasional sessions of the British Parliament in Dublin, and an annual visit of the Queen and Court to her Irish dominions. Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, also suggested that the Government would not be averse from modifying the position of the Established Church in Ireland, and there seemed to be in the minds of Ministers a disposition to seek, in a scheme of "concurrent endowment," a solution of the Irish problem. Mr. Crawford's motion was rejected by a vote of 100 to 24.

On the 24th of February the Lord Chancellor introduced the Irish Encumbered Estates Act. The measure provided for the swift and easy sale and transfer—voluntary or compulsory under an order of the Court of Chancery—of estates whose owners could not pay off their mortgages and had no capital to improve them. The mistake lay in selling along with the estates, which were the landlords', the improvements which, as a rule, were made by the tenants, and which in equity, and by the custom of land tenure in Ireland, belonged to the latter. The measure was therefore pregnant with evils which had to be dealt with subsequently by the Land Acts with which Mr. Gladstone's name will be permanently associated.

What was the effect of the Chartist rising on Parliament? It bulks but slightly in the proceedings of the Legislature. On the 10th of April Mr. Feargus O'Connor presented to the House of Commons a petition signed by 5,706,000 persons in favour of the "six points of the Charter"—namely, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments, Manhood Suffrage, Equal Electoral Districts, Abolition of Property Qualification for Members of Parliament, and Payment of Members. He moved that it be read by the clerk. The first sheet was taken up and the prayer read, whereupon the messengers of the House

gathered up the five great masses of parchment of which the petition consisted, and rolled it to the table. On the 13th Mr. Thornley, on behalf of the Select Committee on Petitions, reported that the Chartist petition weighed not five tons, as was alleged, but 5¾ cwts., and that it contained only 1,975,496 signatures, and not 5,706,000, as Mr. O'Connor had stated. Among these appeared the names of the Queen as "Victoria Rex," the Duke of Wellington, K.G., Sir Robert Peel, and names that were no names, such as "No Cheese," "Pugnose," "Flatnose," and the like, so that doubts as to the authenticity of the document might be fairly raised. Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Cripps exchanged pungent personalities over this discovery, and when Mr. O'Connor left the House, the Speaker, fearing a duel might be the result of the quarrel, induced Mr. Cripps to withdraw his imputations on Mr. O'Connor's honesty. Lord John Russell then moved that Mr. O'Connor be arrested by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The offender, on being brought to the bar, gave explanations which brought the scene to an end.

On the 7th of April Sir George Grey brought in the Crown Government Security Bill, which was a device of Lord Campbell's for reducing the offences created by the Act of 1796 from treason to felony, and for extending it to Ireland, where, as the law then stood, it was impossible to punish a revolutionary movement, except by treating it as treason or misdemeanour. This gave a deathblow to the odious statutory crime termed "constructive treason," substituting, as Lord Campbell says in his Journal, a plain, easy, popular method "by which *incipient* traitors may be prosecuted as *felons*, and transported beyond the seas." In one of the debates on this Bill, Mr. Smith O'Brien, while professing his loyalty to the Queen, declared he was not loyal to the Government or to the Imperial Parliament, and would do what he could to overthrow the one and dissever the other. He lashed the House into fury by his references to his intrigues with the leaders of the French Revolution, and by menacing England with the hostility of the Republics of France and America. Campbell's Bill may be described as one to degrade "the spouters of state sedition," as Mr. Disraeli once called them, to the level of vulgar criminals in the eyes of the people. A Bill enabling the Home Secretary on his responsibility to compel the departure of aliens visiting the country not from the usual motives of business and pleasure was denounced by the Radicals, led by Sir W. Molesworth, as "analogous in principle to the famous law of Suspected Persons of the 17th of September, 1793, one of the most accursed laws of the Reign of Terror." Lord John Russell was taunted with having opposed a similar provision which disfigured the Aliens Act in his maiden speech in 1814, and Mr. David Urquhart amused the House by quoting Leviticus xxiv. 22 and Numbers ix. 14 against the proposal. It was, however, carried in both Houses.

It was felt at this time that the House of Commons was not equal to the task of social legislation. A large Party, under the leadership of Mr. Joseph

Hume, contended that the duty of Parliament to the people did not begin and end with the passing of repressive laws in a revolutionary crisis. But as the House was then constituted, they felt that little else could be expected from it, and they accordingly urged that it be made effective by being reformed. To bring the popular chamber into closer touch with the people, Mr. Hume and other Radical Reformers argued that the franchise must be extended. Hence arose his Resolution of the 20th of June, to the effect that the House of Commons did not fairly represent the people, and his proposal for (1) household franchise; (2) vote by ballot; (3) triennial Parliaments; (4) equal apportionment of Members to population. This motion marks the beginning of the great Reform movement which culminated in the Reform Bill of the Derby-Disraeli Government in 1867, and of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1885. Lord John Russell opposed the Resolution, though he abandoned the doctrine with which he was credited, namely, that the Bill of 1832 was final, and he admitted that it had worked badly, by enforcing too great uniformity of qualification. Mr. Disraeli opposed every one of Mr. Hume's proposals, except that for triennial Parliaments. Mr. Sidney Herbert, on behalf of the Peelites, also opposed Mr. Hume, who was supported solely by Mr. Cobden, the Radicals, and the "Manchester School." The Resolution was rejected by a vote of 351 to 84.

FROM AN ETCHING BY THE QUEEN.

THE SOUTH-EAST CORRIDOR, WINDSOR CASTLE.

(*After a Photograph by Messrs. G. W. Wilson and Co.*)

CHAPTER XIX.

AT WORK AND PLAY.

The Queen's Administrative Work—The "Condition of England" Question—The Court and the Working Classes—Royal Plans for Ameliorating the Lot of Labour—Threatened Attacks on the Queen—The Demagogues Abashed—A Royal Hearted Speech—The Queen's Private Correspondence—A Pension Fund for the Working Classes—Pauperism among Domestic Servants—Prince Albert's Relief Plan—The Court at Osborne—Birth and Christening of the Princess Louise—Removal to Balmoral—The Queen at Kirk—A Royal Geologist—Sir Charles Lyell's Anecdotes of the Royal Family—An Accident in the Solent—Prince Albert as a University Reformer—Death of Lord Melbourne and Lord George Bentinck.

To the Queen and the Prince Consort the year of the Revolution brought many domestic anxieties which the Court newsman of the day could not chronicle. We have seen, from some expressions in her Majesty's own letters, how sharply her heart was touched by the misfortunes of her French friends and her German kinsfolk. But the public business connected with the distressing and alarming state of affairs abroad condemned both the Queen and her husband to the severest toil. Twenty-eight thousand despatches were received by or sent out from the Foreign Office during 1848, and most of these had to be studied closely, and annotated and advised on either by her Majesty or Prince Albert. Lord Palmerston's irrepressible restlessness and boyish imprudence kept the Queen in a state of feverish anxiety, for she never knew

when some fresh freak of the Foreign Secretary might not make her appear ridiculous to Continental Courts.

Moreover, it occurred to the Royal pair that the troubles at home might perchance be smoothed if the influence of the Crown were judiciously and delicately applied to promote a peaceful solution of many alarming social problems. Mr. Carlyle was then thundering forth anathemas against the governing orders of England for neglecting what he called "the Condition of England Question," and accusing them of abdicating their natural position as leaders and guides of the people. Had he suspected what was going on in the Royal circle, he would have known that this charge did not at all events lie against the highest of all the governing orders in the State. The "Condition of England Question," in fact, had now become a subject of engrossing interest to the Queen and her consort.

Prince Albert's letters to Baron Stockmar indicate that he over-estimated the power and significance of the Chartist organisation. But they show that he did not under-estimate the disastrous effect of popular discontent on the commerce and industry of the nation. Her Majesty and the Prince seemed to have arrived at a very clear idea as to how far they could either of them affect the crisis. Personally, the Sovereign at such a time could not with propriety mingle in the social warfare waged between rich and poor. But much might be done through Prince Albert to show that the Crown was not unmindful of the claims of Labour, and to indicate that her Majesty bated not one jot or tittle of her sympathy for that class of our community, which, as Prince Albert pithily said, in a speech he delivered on the 18th of May, "has most of the toil, and least of the enjoyments, of life."

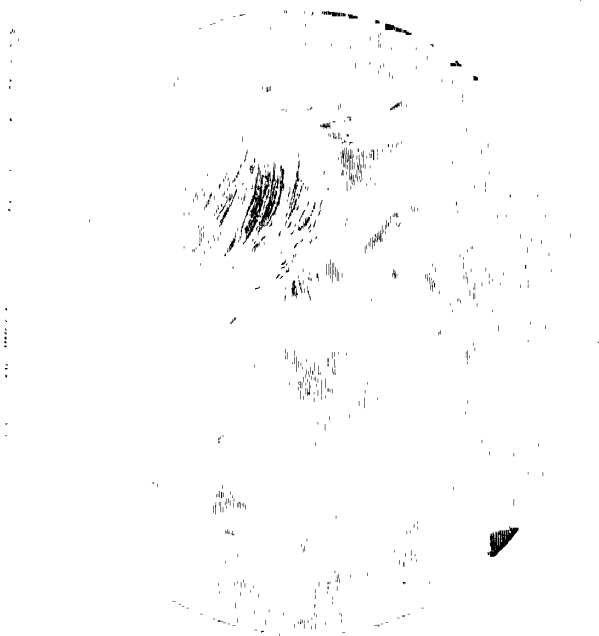
As far back as 1844 he had become President of a Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Working Classes. This apparently was an organisation somewhat of the dilettante type, but it now occurred to the practical mind of the Prince that it might be turned at such a crisis to a useful purpose. He seized the opportunity afforded by an invitation to preside at one of its public meetings, for carrying out the cherished design of the Court, and it is curious to note that when this intention was bruited about, the strongest objections were made to it. Violent demagogues, he was told, would attend and say rude things about the Sovereign. Lord John Russell sent him a copy of a book containing a ribald attack on the Royal Family; and it is not pleasing to recollect that if the Court had permitted itself to be overruled by the Government, this golden chance of conciliating contending classes would have been lost at a critical moment in the history of the English people. But neither the Queen nor the Prince was to be daunted. These attacks, they said, merely convinced them all the more that the time had come when they should put themselves in touch with the great interests of Labour, and show that the Royal Family was not, as was alleged, living on the earnings of a people, for whose sufferings it had no sympathy, and to whose welfare it was indifferent.

What the Prince called "a tangible proof" of the desire of the Queen a
her family to co-operate in any scheme for lightening and brightening
lot of her poorer subjects was needed, and he meant to give that proof.

A sour critic would perhaps say that in analysing the Royal ideas on
"Condition of England" Question a good deal of State Socialism lurl
in them. They suggest undoubtedly the influence of many German writ
on State Socialism; but Prince Albert, so far as he was the exponent
her Majesty's thoughts, seems to have been careful to burn much incei
on the altar of Voluntaryism, before which all the prominent economic writ
of the day bowed down. If he roused their suspicions by denying that
people should be let alone, and left to help themselves in what Mr. Carl
calls "the desolate freedom of the wild ass," he deferred to their prejudi
by proposing that the help and guidance which they needed should come
from Government, but from voluntary combinations of individuals. It
possible that he might have gone farther if he had dared. As it was,
position of the Court in relation to the social question at this time seems
have been midway between that of the younger school of sociologists in our d
and the almost defunct school whose principle and shibboleth were *laissez fa*

According to the Prince's speech at the meeting of the Association
Improving the Condition of the Working Classes, on the 18th of May, t
objects should be kept in view. Firstly, Society, through individual and as
ciated effort, should show what *can* be done by model lodging-houses, impro
dwellings, loan funds, allotments, and the like, to ameliorate the lot of
poor. Secondly, the poor must be taught that all the work of ameliorat
cannot be done by Society—that, in fact, they must, by their cultivation
the homely virtues of thrift, honesty, diligence, and self-denial, help themsel
into the condition in which it is possible for others, either by individual
associated effort, to help them. He implored the country to think more of
identity than the rivalry of class interests, and contended that it was
imperative duty of the rich, each one in his sphere, "to show how man
help man, notwithstanding the complicated state of Society." Self-relia
in the individual, and confidence between individuals—these were the mo
forces which Prince Albert seems to have thought it was the mission of
good citizens to evoke. It has been hinted that such utterances are m
platitudes, and hardly worth recording. As David Hume observed, the tru
that are prized as discoveries by a few philosophers in one generation beco
the commonplaces of their grandchildren. Had the ideas of the Queen a
her husband on the Social Problem been platitudes among statesmen
1848, Revolution would not have fallen on Europe like "a bolt out
the blue," nor would the panic-stricken kings and princes of the C
tinent have been flying, as Mr. Carlyle put it, "like a gang of coiners wl
the police had come among them."* Nothing could be more gratify

* Thomas Carlyle, by J. A. Froude, Vol. I., p. 248.

to the Queen than the universal approval that greeted this address. It struck the true note of sympathy with Labour that should ever ring through "the sad, sweet music of Humanity." Her Majesty said, in a letter to Stockmar, "the Prince made a speech on Thursday which has met with more general admiration from all classes and parties than any I can remember;" and it

THOMAS CARLYLE. (*After the Medallion by T. Woolner, 1855.*)

is in truth impossible to give a juster idea of the effect which it produced all over the English-speaking world.

It is curious to observe that all through the Queen's correspondence during the most alarming year of her reign, there is expressed a feeling of proud confidence in the stability of the British Monarchy, and an abiding certitude that under her rule no effort will be spared to minimise the sufferings or better the lot of the poor. Bolingbroke's "patriot King" could not have more completely identified Sovereignty with national life and national yearning. That the Revolution had no perceptible effect on England, one can now see was mainly due to the fact that alike in the repeal of the Corn Laws, and in the encouragement of schemes for social improvement, the Monarchy

CHRISTENING OF THE PRINCESS LOUISE IN BUCKINGHAM PALACE CHAPEL.

became almost guilty of partisanship in espousing the popular cause. The air was indeed full of such schemes, and it is hardly a breach of confidence now to say that but for the risk of incurring the reproach of infecting England with German ideas, the Court would have marched in advance of its advisers. It was generally believed at this time that the Queen and Prince Albert were first struck with the inadequacy of the provision made in England to mitigate the painful chancefulness of life among the artisan classes. It has been, in fact, supposed that it was in a special sense for her Majesty's perusal that the late Dr. Farr then investigated the problem, from a point of view which was as essentially German as it was antagonistic to the ideas of the English *laissez faire* school. Our Poor Law, Dr. Farr argued, is really a great scheme for insuring every man's life against the risk of starvation. In those days to die from starvation was an accident in England. In the countries which were swept by the Revolution, however, to be succoured from death by starvation was the accident. The Poor Law had, therefore, with other influences, saved Society in England. Whether, in these circumstances, it might not be well to develop the beneficent idea underlying it, was a question often thoughtfully pondered in the Royal Family.

For this reason it may not be amiss to call attention to what Dr. Farr laid down for the guidance of those who at this anxious time had the destinies of the people in their hands. He pointed out that "Society without a legal system of relief for destitution can be scarcely said to exist, as it leaves the protection of life against the most imminent calamity unprovided for."* Insecurity of life among the masses, he contended, naturally weakens their instinctive conservatism. It drives them into communism and anarchy, which are the rank and unwholesome outgrowths of a state in which Property is too selfish to appropriate a small portion of its profits as a life insurance premium for Labour—and where the State has not yet discovered that the insurance of the life of all is the insurance of the property of all. The Poor Law to a certain extent made this appropriation. But the objection to it was its cast-iron administration; its indiscriminating application to the good and the bad, the industrious and the idle, the worthy and the worthless. Was it not, then, possible to make Poor Law Relief bear some proportion to the ratepayer's previous contributions to the Insurance fund against destitution? Could not the whole country be converted into a gigantic Friendly Society, of which the rich should be, so to speak, honorary members, but capable without the least shame or humiliation of becoming benefiting members, should sudden misfortune hurl them from the heights of opulence to the depths of destitution? Many philanthropic firms of employers co-operated at this time with their workmen in founding benefit societies for the purpose of insurance against sickness or accident. Why, it was asked, could they not develop this idea, and insure

* Letter to the Registrar-General on Health Insurance, by William Farr, Esq. Appendix to the Registrar-General's Report for 1849

their workpeople against the consequences of that infirmity which is the result of old age? In other words, could not the Friendly Society be also made a Pension Club? The practical difficulty obviously lay in the complicated account-keeping which was necessary for the success of such schemes, and which private firms could hardly be expected to undertake. It was, however, shown by Dr. Farr, in the letter which has been quoted, and which is one of the most curious and characteristic products of a time of social turmoil, that the Government could alone with advantage receive small deposits of money in the early life of a generation, invest them at compound interest, and pay the accumulated amounts at short intervals to the aged and infirm survivors. Each establishment might, according to Dr. Farr's idea, organise three insurance funds—a Pension Fund, a Health Fund, and a Life Fund—the premiums to be paid to the Government, who should conduct the whole business for the parties interested on fair and easy terms.

It is curious that though the Chartists and a large number of the Tories—notably the remnants of the "Young England" Party, led by Mr. Disraeli and Lord John Manners—sympathised with these ideas, they were coldly frowned down by the Whigs and the Manchester School of Radicals. The argument against the social reformers was that employers did enough for their "hands" when they bought their labour and paid for it in the open market. It was for the workpeople to spend their money as they pleased—if in insurance against sickness and old age, so much the better; if not, so much the worse. But even in the last case no real harm, it was urged, could come to them, for there was always "the parish" to fall back upon. In a word, Capital argued that it did enough for Labour when it paid wages and poor rates. On the other hand, it might be retorted, that by helping on schemes for promoting the permanent comfort of his workpeople the employer is only paying wages in the way which pays all parties best in the long-run. Such an employer, it might be said, gets the strongest command of the labour market, and the best and most efficient service from his men. His prestige becomes lustrous like that of a general who refuses to desert his wounded on the field where he wins his victorious laurels, or of a conquering king who refuses to let the veterans perish, whose valour has widened the range of his dominion. Often did the Queen and Prince Albert ponder these things in their hearts. Hence their eagerness to seize every opportunity, not of pressing schemes such as these on a Society whose economic prejudices were antipathetic to them, but for stimulating the upper and middle classes in such voluntary movements for ameliorating the lot of Labour, as were possible and practicable in these "bad old times." It was in this spirit that they even studied the barren statistics of Pauperism, and that their discovery, in 1849, of the fact that the great majority of the poor people in London work-houses had been domestic servants, prompted Prince Albert to stimulate the Servants' Provident and Benevolent Society to find a remedy for such a

distressing state of things. "The appalling pauperism of this class," as the Prince described it in a memorable speech, he strove to arrest by inducing servants to invest their savings under the Deferred Annuities Act, through the agency of the Society.*

On the 18th of March the Princess Louise was born, and on the 13th of May she was baptised in the private chapel of Buckingham Palace, being

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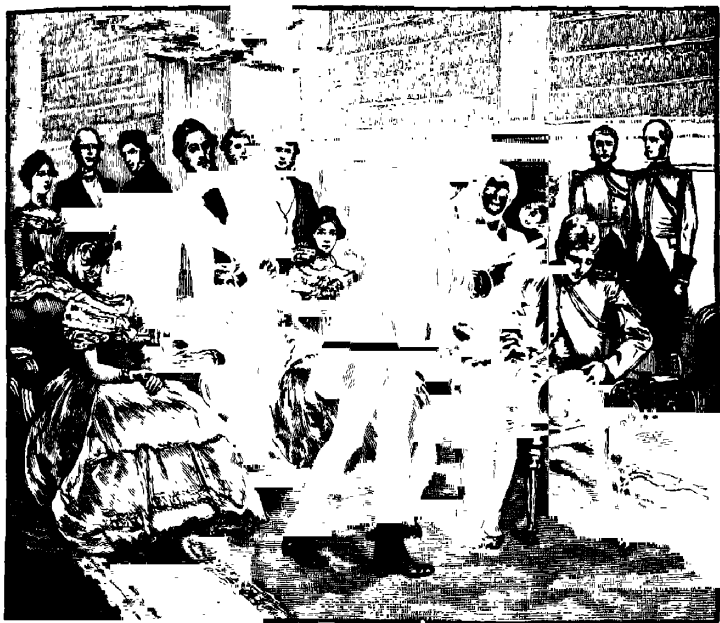
named after Prince Albert's mother and the Queen of the Belgians. The Prince himself adapted the music of a chorale he had composed for the Baptismal Service. "The Royal christening," writes Bishop Wilberforce to Miss Noel, "was a very beautiful sight in its highest sense of that word beauty; the Queen, with the five Royal children around her, the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal hand-in-hand, all kneeling down quietly and meekly at every prayer, and the little Princess Helena alone *just* standing and looking round with the blue eyes of gazing innocence." This was the little Princess a peep at whom, Lady Lyttelton says, always cheered her, for she was then "an image of life"—it is to be presumed Lady Lyttelton means child-life—in its prime, with "cheeks like full-blown roses, and her nose like

* Prince Consort's Speeches.

a bud." This month of May was ostensibly a merry one at Court, though from the correspondence that passed between the Queen and her half-sister, it is quite evident that her Majesty went through the festal pageant of Court balls and Royal birthday fêtes with her heart heavy from the anxieties of the times.

In July the Royal circle was broken up by the departure of Prince

PROFESSOR ANDERSON AT BALMORAL.

Albert to open the great Agricultural Show at York, where his speech, identifying himself closely with the farming interest, gave the country gentry and husbandmen of England the keenest delight. The Queen again wrote to Stockmar and the King of the Belgians, expressing her personal satisfaction with the Prince's speeches at York, and her pleasure at seeing him develop high gifts of oratory. The rest of the summer her Majesty and her family spent at Osborne—a little anxious on account of the feeble health of Prince Alfred (Duke of Edinburgh), whose removal to the keen mountain air of the Highlands had been strongly pressed on them by Sir James Clark. Her Majesty then came to town on the 5th of September to prorogue Parliament. The present House of Lords was on that occasion used for the first time, and this fact, together with the interest excited by the appearance before her

Senate of almost the only great European Sovereign who at this time dared appear in public, caused enormous crowds to assemble. The Queen was received by the mob who lined the route from Buckingham Palace to Westminster in a delirium of enthusiastic loyalty, and that she felt grateful for their greeting was evident from the emotion with which she delivered those passages of her Address, in which she referred to the mutual affection and trust that linked Queen and country together in England.

No sooner had this function been discharged than the Royal Family made haste to proceed to the Aberdeenshire Highlands, where, on the recommendation of Sir James Clark, Prince Albert had leased the Balmoral estate from the Earl of Aberdeen. Mountain air, at once dry and keen, was, in Clark's opinion, essential for the health of the Royal Family, and Balmoral was the driest place in Deeside. Nobody has described this romantic retreat better than the Queen herself. From the hill above the house the view, she says, is charming. "To the left you look to the beautiful hills surrounding *Lochnagar*, and to the right towards Ballater, to the glen or valley along which the Dee winds, with beautiful wooded hills, which reminded us very much of the Thuringian Forest. It was so calm and so solitary, it did one good as one gazed around, and the pure mountain air was most refreshing. All seemed to breathe freedom and peace, and to make one forget the world and its sad turmoils. The scenery is wild and yet not desolate; and everything looks much more prosperous and cultivated than at Laggan." *

The journey northward was made by sea to Aberdeen, and from thence to Balmoral her Majesty met at every stage of the road with the warmest of Highland welcomes. Balmoral has changed much since those days, when it was the loveliest of mountain solitudes. The little whitewashed castle, with its pepper-box turrets, reminded one of the feats of those old Scottish architects who flourished at the period when the baronial wars had ceased, but when the builders had not learnt to adapt their art to peaceful or domestic purposes. It was not till after the fee-simple of the property was bought by the Prince in 1852, that it became transformed and transfigured by "improvements." The Queen devoted herself to holiday-making after the free and informal fashion that made desolate Ardverikie a terrestrial Paradise. Her winning ways charmed the cottagers and the peasantry, to whom she soon became a veritable Lady Bountiful. As for Prince Albert, sport lightened the anxieties of politics. The vast panorama of mountain, glen, and forest which unfolds itself from the summit of dark Lochnagar invited him to resume the geological studies which in his youth he had pursued with ardour, and the greatest modern master of the science, Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Lyell, † was his guest and guide. A pleasing and graphic sketch is given by Sir Charles Lyell of the Royal Family in their Highland home. "At Balmoral,

* Leaves from her Majesty's Journal, 8th of September, 1848.

† Lyell was knighted during this visit to Balmoral.

the day I went to dine there," he writes, "Saturday last, I had first a long walk—Sir James Clark and I—with Mr. Birch and his pupil,* a pleasing, lively boy, whose animated description of the Conjurer, or 'Wizard of the North,'† whom they had seen a few days before, was very amusing. 'He (the Wizard) had cut to pieces mamma's pocket-handkerchief, then darned it and ironed it, so that it was as entire as ever; he had fired a pistol and caused five or six watches to go through Gibb's (one of their footmen) head, and all were tied to a chair on Gibb's other side,' and so forth; 'but papa (Prince Albert) knows how all these things are done, and had the watches really gone through Gibb's head he would hardly have looked so well, though he was confounded.' Sometimes I walked alone with the child, who asked me the names of plants, and to let him see spiders, &c., through my magnifying-glass; sometimes with the tutor, whom I continue to like the more as I become better acquainted. After our ramble of two hours and a half through some wild scenery, I was sent for to join another party; where I found the Queen, Prince, and Lord John by a deep pool on the river Dee, fishing for trout and salmon. After the Queen had entered the Castle the Prince kept me so long, and we kept one another so late, talking on all kinds of subjects, that a messenger came from her Majesty, saying it was only a quarter of an hour to dinner-time. After the ladies had gone to the drawing-room we had much lively talk, which the Prince promoted greatly, telling some amusing stories himself, and encouraging others by laughing at theirs. Next day I went to church. The prayer for the parish magistracy, Queen, and Royal Family, judges, ministers of religion, Parliament, and the whole nation, was just such as you would have liked, and in excellent taste, with nothing which a Republican, jealous of equality, could, I think, have objected to, and which, I believe, our Sovereign and her husband could thoroughly appreciate the simplicity of. They shoved the box,‡ on the end of a long pole, to the Queen and Prince, and maids of honour, as to all the rest of the congregation, and each dropped in their piece of coin. After church I had much conversation alone with Prince Albert, whose mind is in full activity on a variety of grave subjects, while he is invigorating his body with field sports." Lyell, who was a very observant man, and an astute judge of character, conceived a very high opinion of the Prince from his conversations with him. After his death, according to Sir Theodore Martin, he wrote a long letter to Mr. John Murray, criticising the Prince's abilities, and expressing his hope that justice would be done to him in an *éloge* in the *Quarterly*.

On the 28th of October the Queen and her retinue left Balmoral for Osborne. On the 9th they left Osborne for London, and when crossing the Solent they

* H R H. the Prince of Wales.

† Professor Anderson's entertainment is evidently referred to here.

‡ The "ladle" in which the offertory is collected in Scottish parish churches is passed round each pew by an "elder" of the Kirk.

saw a boat full of women who had relatives on board the *Grampus* frigate, then coming into Portsmouth after a cruise in the Pacific, capsized in a squall. Prince Albert gave the alarm, and the Queen writes:—"I rushed out of the pavilion, and saw a man sitting on something which proved to be the keel of a boat. The next moment Albert called out in a horrified voice, 'Oh, dear, there are more!' which quite overcame me." Her Majesty stopped her yacht at once. A boat was lowered, and three women—one still alive—were

THE OLD BRIDGE, INVERCAULD

rescued. But the sea ran so heavily that Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence refused to let the yacht lie to any longer, and the Queen had to yield to his determination to proceed without waiting for the return of the boat. "It was," she writes, "a dreadful moment too horrible to describe. . . . It is a terrible thing, and haunts me continually."

One more triumph over insular prejudice won by the Court during the year of Revolution remains to be recorded. Prince Albert, very soon after his election as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, alarmed the Colleges by indicating that he had no intention of being merely an ornamental official. His first demand to be supplied with a sketch of the plan of academic study at Cambridge was ominous of interference. At Cambridge everything was at this time sacrificed to mathematical studies, and an idea of the state of mind in

which University reformers approached the Prince with suggestions may be found in Dr. Whewell's liberal proposal, that a century should pass before new discoveries could be admitted into the academic curriculum. Nominally philosophy, literature, and science were included in that curriculum, as the

VICTORIA TOWER, WESTMINSTER PALACE

table of studies prepared by Dr. Philpott for the Prince showed. But there was no denying the truth of his Royal Highness's trenchant criticism on this document in his letter to Lord John Russell, in which he said that all the activity in these departments was "on paper," and even if it had been real, the scheme was incomplete. After a long and laborious correspondence with the best authorities on the subject, the Prince succeeded in persuading the University to thoroughly modernise its course of instruction, and his revised plan of studies was triumphantly carried on the 1st of November, 1848.

Punch in a clever cartoon put it, H.R.H. Field-Marshal Chancellor Prince Albert took the *pons asinorum* after the manner of Napoleon at Arcole.

As winter drew on, the state of Ireland became increasingly distressful, and the confusion on the Continent more and more ominous. In England some faint signs of reviving trade were discernible, but only just discernible. The death of Lord Melbourne, however, on the 24th of November, painfully affected the Queen, whose affection for her first guide in statecraft had never abated. "Truly and sincerely," she writes in her Diary, "do I deplore the loss of one who was a most kind and disinterested friend of mine, and most sincerely attached to me. He was indeed for the first two years and a half of my reign almost the only friend I had, except Stockmar and Lehzen." Her last letter to the aged Minister, expressed in terms of simple but touching solicitude, according to his sister, Lady Palmerston, did much to lift from his wearied spirit the cloud of melancholy that had settled on it. Melbourne's character was rather misunderstood, for his whole life was a conceited protest against affectation. He was one of those who get great amusement out of life by treating it as a comedy, in which even in withered age they persist in playing the *rôle* of the *jeune premier*. He toiled hard to persuade Society that he was an elegant idler, and masked his vaulting ambition under the guise of a cynical indifference to worldly pomp and power. His tastes were a little coarse—otherwise his imposture would have been complete, and he would have perhaps realised the "grandly simple ideal" of a perfect aristocratic character, which the Earl of March imputed to George Selwyn. Melbourne's first impulse was usually to frivolity. But when he saw that business must be attended to, no man could work harder or bring to bear on affairs of State a keener intellect, a more astute judgment, or a craftier scheme of strategy. His handsome person and his charm of manner rendered him in his old age a *persona grata* at the Court of the Queen, who treated him with filial affection and respect. In him one often fancied the characters of Walpole and Bolingbroke met in combination, and there is a passage in his speech on the Indemnity Bill (11th of March, 1818) which may be cited as strangely appropriate to his career. It is that in which, after expatiating on the advantages which a soldier has whose exploits are performed in the light of day, before his comrades and his foes, and so publicly, that his valour and his virtues cannot be denied or disputed before a world in which they receive bold advertisement, he proceeds to show that it is far otherwise with the politician. "Not so the services of the Minister," exclaimed Melbourne, with a little sub-acid cynicism; "they lie not so much in acting in great crises, as in preventing those crises from arising; therefore they are often obscure and unknown, subject to every species of misrepresentation, and effected amidst obloquy, attack, and condemnation, whilst in reality—entitled to the approbation and gratitude of the country—how frequently are such services lost in the tranquillity which they have been

the means of preserving, and amidst the prosperity which they have themselves created."

Another stout political chieftain had passed away on the 21st of September, when Lord George Bentinck died suddenly of heart disease. His leadership of the Protectionists had latterly been imprudent and unpopular, and he had indeed thrown it up during the Session, when it was no longer possible to conceal the dissatisfaction which it created among his followers. Lord George Bentinck was an able man, but like Achilles, "iracundus, inexorabilis, acer." Discredit has recently been cast on his career on the turf, which too late in life he deserted for politics. His indignation at "being sold," as he phrased it, when Peel abandoned Protection, flung him headlong into the civil strife of the times, with all his prejudices thick upon him, and with a mind ill-equipped by study or training for political controversy or the practice of statecraft. Fury and rancour, and a strange confusion of mind in marshalling his arguments, marked his harangues, and in strategy his impulsiveness and his arrogance often led him into serious errors. Yet he was popular on the whole in the House of Commons, for he was a man of dauntless courage, and was supposed to be guided by honesty of purpose in defending the interests of his order. If he had not been a little too much given to trumpeting his personal integrity, his zeal and self-sacrifice would have been better appreciated by his contemporaries, who till his death did him less than justice.

CHAPTER XX.

DISCONTENTED DEPENDENCIES.

Reaction in England in 1849—Attacks in Parliament on the Queen's Speech—Gagging Parliament—The Last Dying Struggle of the Protectionists—Repeal of the Navigation Laws—The Tory Attack on the Bishops—Protectionist Plans for Reducing Local Taxation—Coercion for Ireland—Peel's Generosity to the Whigs Explained—Irish Mendicity and English Grants in Aid—A Policy of Pauperism and Doles—Small Minds in a Great Crisis—Peel's Comprehensive Plan for Relieving Ireland—The Break-down of the Poor Law—The Queen and the Irish Landlords—Prince Albert's Project for Reforming the Irish Poor Rate—Scandals at the Colonial Office—Ceylon—Demerara and Canada—The Loyal Rebels of Canada—Riots in Montreal—Attacks on Lord Elgin—An Examination and Defence of his Policy—The Test of Results—"Be Just and Fear Not."

When Parliament met on the 2nd of February, 1849, the condition of England may be described as negatively good. It was not prosperous. It was not prostrate. The commercial and manufacturing interests were rallying, but had not yet recovered from the blows of panic in 1847 and revolution in 1848. The small investors were uneasy about the management of the great railway enterprises which had absorbed their savings. The landed gentry were in a state of feverish apprehension as to the effect of Sir Robert Peel's fiscal

policy, which would come into full operation in 1849. Ireland was still a distressful country—the Poor Law having inflicted a severe blow on Property, without at the same time relieving Pauperism. More legislation, it was felt, was needed to succour the starving Irish, and the sullen discontent of the people, which followed the suppressed rebellion, irritated Englishmen and put the House of Commons in the worst possible temper for initiating remedial

DEMONSTRATION OF SAILORS IN FAVOUR OF THE NAVIGATION LAWS

legislation for Ireland. But the Party of Violence in England and Scotland was effectually crushed, and though some sympathy was felt for its misguided leaders, yet everybody rejoiced that the cause of Social Order had triumphed in 1848, and that 1849 found England profoundly tranquil.

The Queen's Speech referred to the disturbances on the Continent, and to the steps which the British Government, in conjunction with France, had taken to produce a permanent settlement of affairs in Sicily. It touched on the recrudescence of rebellion in the Punjab, suggested a modification in the Navigation Laws, congratulated the country on escaping the shock of revolution, and on signs of returning prosperity. It pointed to an amendment of the Irish Poor Law, and closed with a proud allusion to the devotion of the English people in maintaining the great institutions of their country

"during a period of commercial difficulty, deficient production of food, and political revolution."

Naturally the country Party attacked those portions of the Speech which implied approval of Sir Robert Peel's Free Trade policy. In both Houses the arguments were that the Government exaggerated the prosperity of the country, that their foreign policy had left them without allies, that the outlook

THE EARL OF CLARENDON, LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

abroad in Ireland and in India was troublous, and did not justify the large reductions in the estimates which were foreshadowed. The Irish Party in the House of Commons scoffed at the Royal allusions to Ireland, and contended that the insurrection which had been suppressed was a sham one, "got up," said Mr. Grattan, "to put down Repeal." Radicals like Mr. Hume attacked the Colonial policy of the Government, and clamoured for the removal of Lord Grey from the Colonial Office, because of certain arbitrary proceedings which he had sanctioned in British Guiana and Ceylon. It was felt that the real object of the Opposition was to inveigle Parliament into giving a hostile vote against Free Trade and the Repeal of the Corn Laws, one paragraph in the Amendment to the Address affirming that the worst Protectionist predictions had been verified. It was also admitted that

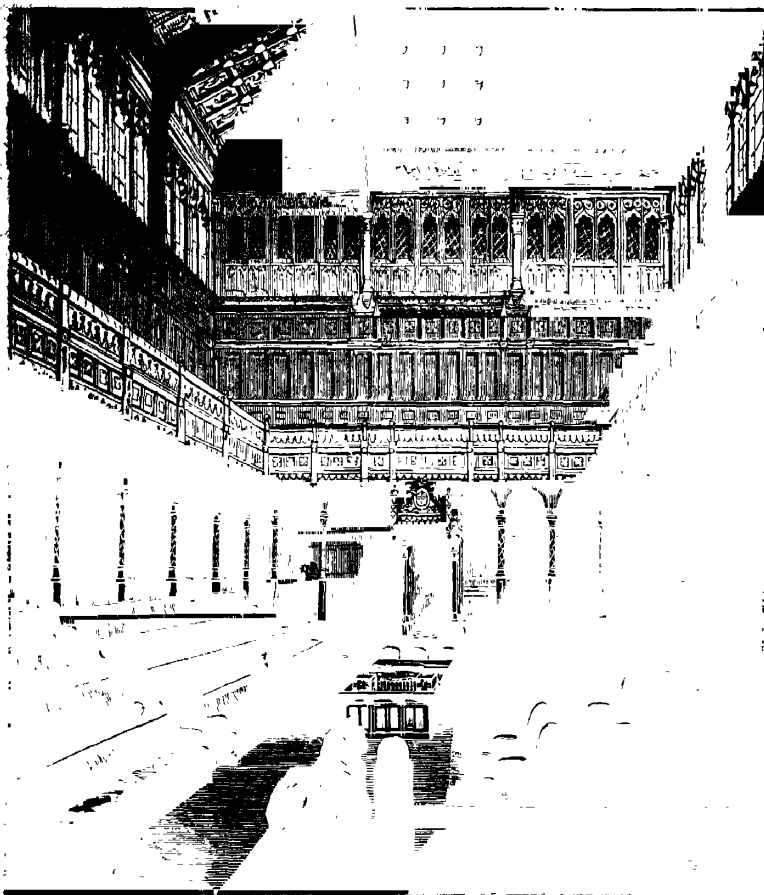
the policy of the Government had been right in its aim, which was to keep the country out of war, and that this had been attained, in spite of Lord Palmerston's turbulent methods of diplomacy. The Amendment to the Address was rejected only by a majority of two in the House of Lords, but in the House of Commons Mr. Disraeli was fain to withdraw it. On the 3rd of February, when the Address to the Crown was adopted, Lord John Russell proposed and carried certain Resolutions for facilitating the despatch of public business—to wit, that Bills be read a first time without debate, that when a Bill in Committee was ordered by the House to be taken up again on a particular day, then when that day came the Speaker should leave the Chair without putting any question, and let the House go into Committee without delay; that the amendments on a Bill, reported from Committee of the whole House, should be received without debate. Mr. Milner Gibson vainly endeavoured to induce the House to add another resolution limiting speakers to one hour each, with an exception in favour of Members introducing Bills and Ministers of the Crown replying to attacks. Lord John Russell gave some faint signs of sympathising with this restriction on Parliamentary garrulity, and Mr. Cobden supported the proposal vehemently. But Sir Robert Peel carried the House against it, and Mr. Gibson's motion was accordingly lost by a vote of 96 to 64.

In the Session of 1848 Ministers were unable to apply their Free Trade policy to the Shipping Trade, owing to Protectionist obstruction. On the 14th of February, 1849, they, however, proposed to repeal the Navigation Laws, which restricted "the free carriage of goods by sea to and from the United Kingdom and the British Possessions abroad." Power, however, was reserved to the Queen to re-enact the restrictive laws against countries that adopted a commercial policy hostile to British interests. The monopoly of the coasting trade, however, was not completely abandoned. The President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Labouchere, did not venture to propose that foreign ships might trade from port to port as freely as our own. All he said was, that a foreign ship sailing from a British port might in the course of her voyage to foreign parts touch at and trade freely in British ports *en route.* The Resolution was carried, and a Bill founded on it was brought in on the 9th of March, when it was vigorously opposed by Mr. Herries. The case of the monopolists was sadly damaged by Mr. Gladstone, who showed that with every relaxation of restrictions the English Shipping Trade had increased. The fact was, however, that the question was felt to be *no longer* arguable. The Navigation Laws were meant to protect the monopoly of English shipowners. Having stripped every other class of Protection, it was absurd to obstruct the perfect working of Free Trade by maintaining Protection for the benefit of the shipowners alone. Moreover, it was necessary to establish a free shipping trade in Canada, to compensate her for the loss of the protective duty on corn. Mr. Labouchere ultimately struck out the clauses relating

to the coasting trade for purely fiscal reasons, and a masterly speech from Sir James Graham, on the 23rd of October, carried the third reading of the measure, which crowned the edifice of Free Trade. In the House of Lords the narrow majorities in favour of the Government rendered the last dying struggle of the Protectionists rather exciting. They declared that the Bishops carried the Bill, and the Earl of Winchilsea warned the Prelates that if they voted on secular questions in such a fashion they would be allowed to send only "a chosen few" to the Upper House, who would be permitted to speak and vote solely on religious questions. Though the Protectionists were defeated, they were not daunted. Organised under the active and restless leadership of Mr. Disraeli, they harassed the Government at every point. But their grand attack was made on the 8th of March, when Mr. Disraeli brought forward a resolution proposing to throw a portion of local burdens on the Imperial taxation of the country. This proposal he defended as a fair compensation to the agricultural interest for the loss of Protective duties on Corn. Finance was never Mr. Disraeli's strong point, and, as Mr. Hume observed, it was not easy to see how the farmers would profit by an arrangement, which, by Mr. Disraeli's own showing, would impose on them an additional income-tax of £6,000,000. Moreover, it was only too obvious that if any relief were granted to the farmers, it would be speedily appropriated by the landlords in the shape of increased rent.

Ireland was quiet, but sullen and disaffected. Though there was no open rebellion in the country, the secret organisation of revolt still existed, and the Home Secretary felt that it would be necessary to renew the Bill suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. Sir George Grey brought forward a motion to this effect on the 6th of February, defending the proposal on the ground that it was purely a precautionary one, and that Lord Clarendon, who thought it necessary, could be trusted to use his powers with discretion. The weakness of the Government lay in their opposition to the Coercion Bill of 1846. Then they turned out Sir Robert Peel by refusing to vote for Coercion unaccompanied by remedial measures. "Where," asked the Peelites, sneeringly, "are the remedial measures which should accompany this Whig Bill?" Nevertheless, Peel generously supported the Ministry, ostensibly on the ground that Ireland must not be made the battle-ground of Party, really because he was determined, at all costs, to maintain in power a Ministry that would give his fiscal policy a fair trial, as against a Protectionist Ministry, whose primary aim would be to wreck it.

Yet a remedial measure had been introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 7th of February, in a proposal to grant from the Imperial Exchequer £50,000 to thirty distressed Irish Poor Law Unions, of which twenty-one were utterly bankrupt. Most pitiful was the picture which Sir Charles Wood drew of Ireland in moving the grant. The potato crop had again failed. Pauperism had again increased. Ireland was being depopulated.

not so much by an emigration, as by an exodus. The landlords were sinking under the poor rates, and their estates, deserted by tenants who ran away without paying rent whenever they disposed of their crops,* were in many

INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

places lying waste and desolate. Mr. Hume protested against the never-ending system of grants in aid, but the Government carried their vote in its original form.

On the 1st of March Lord John Russell brought forward another Irish

* In the Life of the Prince Consort, by Sir T. Martin, there is a record of a curious conversation between the Prince and Lord Clarendon, giving a graphic description of rural Ireland at this time.

scheme. The Report of the Committee on the Irish Poor Law recommended that each Union should, by a sixpenny rate, raise a general fund for the relief of the poor in Ireland, which should be banked in the name of the Irish Paymaster of the Civil Service, and held at the disposal of Parliament. Lord John moved that the House go into Committee on this proposal on the 1st of March. A project to impose a new national tax on Ireland for

LORD ELGIN, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

local purposes, without imposing the same in England, was an eccentric one to come from statesmen who regarded the Union as a reality, and not a sham. Logically it was unjust to tax the industry of Ulster in order to provide local grants in aid for Ireland, while the industry of the United Kingdom generally escaped taxation. The proposal was obstructed in various ways, the Ministerial defence being that Imperial taxation fell more lightly on Ireland than on England and Scotland. Money must be found for the relief of Irish pauperism somehow, and if not by this plan, then by an extension of the Income Tax to Ireland, which would be still less popular. The Peelites even were not at one, Lord Lincoln advocating the exten-

the Income Tax to Ireland, and Peel himself supporting the rate-in-aid scheme, not because he liked it, but because he believed that after what had been done for her, Ireland ought to make some special exertion to help herself, which would also have the effect of inducing England to co-operate with her in pushing on regenerative measures. Mr. Bright defended the grant-in-aid scheme, declaring, however, that the incurable evils of Ireland were traceable to her misgovernment by her landlords. But it is quite clear that Peel was the only politician on either side of the House who at this crisis had the penetration to see that the ills of Ireland were too desperate to be remedied by a pettifogging system of English doles and grants in aid. He stood alone in seeing that nothing less than a reform going to the root of Irish rural economy, would be of the slightest use, and in his speech he suggested that the best remedy would be to increase facilities for the transfer of land. From his ambiguous language one gathers that he had in contemplation some scheme by which the State should buy up the poverty-stricken tracts and plant them with solvent colonists, the plantations being managed by a Government Commission. As for the people, those who were not needed as labourers might be induced by the Commission to emigrate. Had he combined his project for one to give Ireland tenant-right, and had he persuaded Parliament to accept his ideas, there would probably have been no "Irish problem" to perplex us in the jubilee year of the Queen's reign. After wearisome debates the proposal of the Ministry was carried in both Houses, Government having made an advance of £100,000 to the impecunious Unions in anticipation of the Bill passing the Lords.

The next Irish measure was Sir John Romilly's Encumbered Estates Bill, introduced on the 26th of April. The Bill of the preceding Session had failed to work because its machinery—that is, the Court of Chancery—was too cumbrous. Romilly's idea was to substitute for the Court a Commission, which should conduct the business of land transfer unfettered by the clumsy procedure or the heavy fees of Chancery. His speech was a masterpiece of exposition, and Mr. Bright expressed the prevailing opinion when he said he accepted the Bill as the harbinger of better legislation for Ireland. It passed both Houses without serious opposition.

It has been said that the sudden pressure of the Poor Law on the mortgaged estates of Ireland nearly ruined the Irish gentry. The Queen and Prince Albert were deeply distressed by painful accounts of the sufferings of this class which reached them. The Prince, indeed, drew up a memorandum for Sir George Grey, pointing out very sensibly the injustice of the existing law. A good landlord spent his substance in improving his estate, and in finding or making work for his labourers. A bad landlord kept his money in his pocket, and when his labourers, unable to earn wages, began to starve, he threw them on the rates. But both landlords paid the same poor rate, so that the good landlord not only taxed himself through his improvements to keep his own

workmen from idleness, but was taxed through the Union, to support the unemployed workmen of the bad and non-improving landlord. The idea of the Queen and her husband was that the pressure of the rate should be eased on good landlords who made sacrifices to keep their labourers in work and wages. Sir George Grey submitted the project to the Cabinet, and then told Prince Albert that it would have to be abandoned, for nobody could embody it in a practical Bill. This did not show that the idea was bad, but merely that Whig constructive statesmanship at that time was feeble, not to say incompetent. But the glaring fact remained that the application of the Elizabethan Poor Law to Ireland was bringing ruin to the rich, and doing but little to fend off starvation from the poor. Property was simply unable to support the mass of pauperism that was suddenly cast on it for maintenance. Some modifications in the law must be proposed, if the whole system—upheld as it was solely by grants in aid from England—was not to break down completely. Lord John Russell accordingly proposed, on the 26th of April, a Bill to limit the liability of Irish land for poor rates, by fixing a maximum beyond which the rate could not be increased. The proposal was carried in the Commons, but in the House of Lords the maximum rate clause was struck out. This was an infringement of the privileges of the Lower House, for the Peers have no right to alter a Bill sent up by the Commons fixing rates or taxes. Yet it was almost impossible for the Peers to handle any Poor Law Bill without trenching on this privilege, and hence it was proposed that the House of Commons should formally waive its privileges in regard to this Bill in order to let it be set down for reconsideration.* Precedents existed in favour of this course, but Sir James Graham very cogently observed that it was bad public policy to be perpetually adding to precedents, waiving the absolute and exclusive right of the Commons to control fiscal legislation, and he ingeniously suggested another way out of the difficulty. This was to throw the Bill out in the meantime, and re-introduce it afresh with the Lords' Amendments embodied in it. The suggestion was negatived, and the Bill reconsidered, the Lords' Amendments being for the most part adopted. The failure of the Government to provide a guarantee for meeting any deficit that might exist after a maximum rate had been levied, had proved fatal to the maximum rate clause.

On the 4th of May Ireland again came before the country as the incorrigible mendicant of Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, having prefaced his proposals with the usual commonplace that "the present desideratum in Ireland was employment," moved that further advances should be made under the Land Improvement Act to enable employers to provide work for the people. In addition to what still remained to be disbursed by former advances, Sir C. Wood proposed that £300,000 be granted, thus bringing

* This was done, as a matter of fact, on three previous occasions—the Irish Municipal Bill (1840), and the Irish Poor Law Bills of 1838 and 1847.

available subsidy to £1,252,000. Besides this sum, he proposed advance £200,000 for the further development of arterial drainage. A protest was made against this fresh development of an eleemosynary policy. The system of permitting Government loans to be jobbed away by the Department of Public Works in Ireland had, it was said, caused a large proportion of the money voted to be absorbed in extravagant official estimates.

RIOTS IN MONTREAL: LORD ELGIN STONED BY THE MOB. (See p. 382.)

t all objections were over-ruled, and Sir C. Wood's proposal was accepted the long-run.

Next to Ireland, the burning question of the Session was that of Colonial icy. Most Englishmen were profoundly ignorant about their Colonies. A ong school of politicians, headed by Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, and after m by Professor Goldwin Smith, taught that the best thing that could be e with a Colony was to get rid of it, as a costly encumbrance, so that glishmen who were not ignorant were somewhat indifferent about Colonial icy. The result was naturally that the Colonial Office was free to blunder its Administration without running any great risk of detection or punish- ment, and it had made affluent use of this privilege. Suddenly, in 1849, gland became keenly interested in her distant possessions. Debates on igration, and the demand for financial retrenchment, had alike stimulated

[illegible], and it began to dawn upon the House of Commons that a bad Colonial policy might mean bad Budgets. The first sign of this feeling was given by Mr. Bailie, who in February brought forward a motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the Governments of Ceylon and Guiana. His attack was general as well as particular. In brief, he declared that the Colonial Office oppressed the Colonies and wasted their revenues in extravagant expenditure, and he urged that the time had come for Colonial autonomy. Lord Torrington's fiscal eccentricities had driven Ceylon to rebellion, which had been suppressed with shocking barbarity. The Colonial Office—in other words, Lord Grey—by opposing financial reforms in Demerara, had rendered it discontented. A feeble Amendment, moved by Mr. Ricardo, extending the scope of the proposed investigation into the means by which the Colonies might best meet the difficulties of the transition from Protection to Free Trade, was all the opposition Mr. Bailie encountered. The attempt to defend the financial maladministration of the Colonies by declaring that it was a corollary of Free Trade failed, and Mr. Bailie's Committee was appointed. Just before Parliament was prorogued, Mr. Hume drew the attention of the House to the evidence it had then accumulated as to Guiana, and moved that the expenditure of the Colony be reduced, and some measure of autonomy granted to it. The fault with the administration of Demerara was this:—for ten years it had been carried on extravagantly in direct opposition to the views of the elected representatives of the Colonists, who were for a policy of financial retrenchment. The motion was negatived, but the debate on it did good. It is perhaps right to say that the agitation for retrenchment in these Colonies was considerably stimulated by the abolition of Protection. Free Trade cut down the profits of the planters. They in turn angrily demanded that the salaries of Colonial officials should also be docked.

Early in May the Queen was grievously annoyed to learn that the turbulent Canadians were again threatening to rebel. Parliament, therefore, soon found itself discussing a Canadian question.

After the rebellion in Canada which ended in 1838, a Bill was passed giving compensation to loyal sufferers in Upper Canada. A similar measure was demanded for Lower Canada—the French province—which had been the seat of the insurrection. As it was argued that much, if not most, of the compensation would find its way into rebel hands, the claim was resisted by "the British Party" in the province. But in 1848 the Ministry—a Tory, or "British" Ministry—was ejected. The Governor-General (Lord Elgin) then formed another Cabinet out of the "French Party," who, of course, brought in and passed an Indemnity Bill for the Lower Province. When Lord Elgin went to the House of Assembly, in Montreal, on the 25th of April, 1849, to give the Bill his sanction, the "British" mob rose in its wrath, and stoned him as he was leaving the building. They then set fire to the House of Assembly itself, and burned it to the ground in a frenzy of loyalty to British

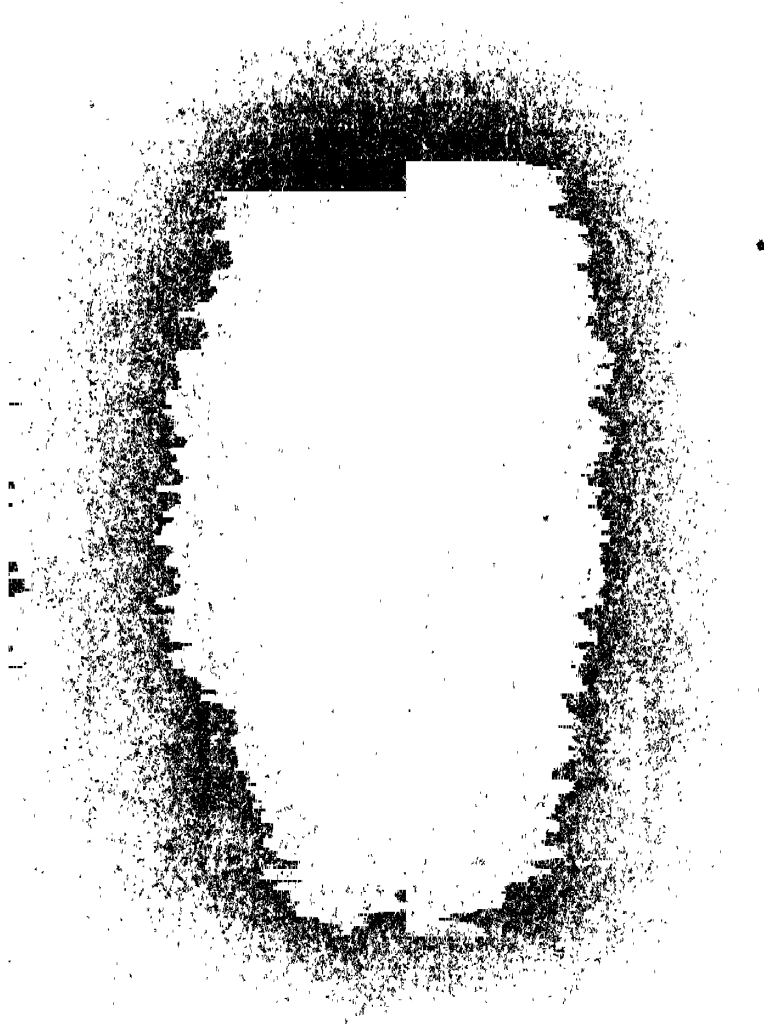
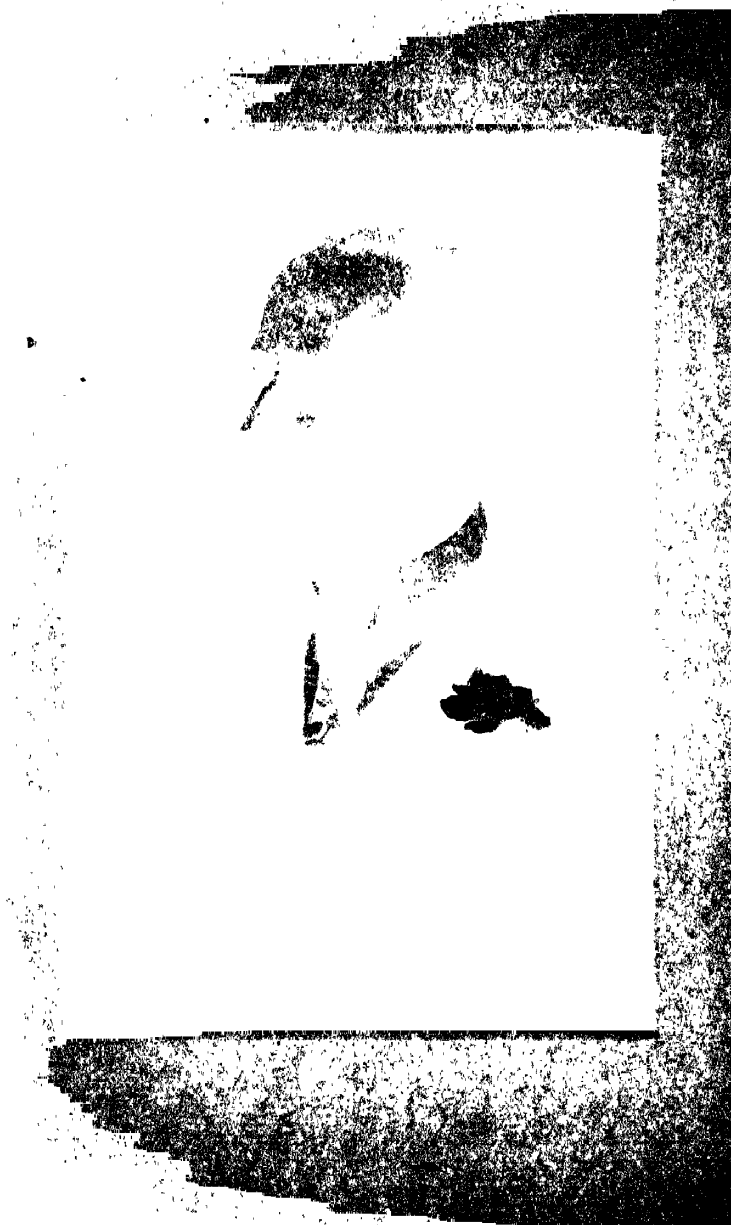
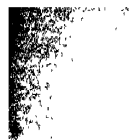
interests. Troops were promptly called out, and the disaffected accordi adopted the less violent course of petitioning the Queen to recall Lord I and veto the obnoxious Bill. The "British Party" gradually cooled d but throughout the year they remained very sulky, vainly endeavouring persuade themselves to secede to the United States. The condition of Colony was, in truth, not such as to stimulate its loyalty. It had lost benefit which it had enjoyed from privileged access to a protected En market. Its finances were disordered. Its stagnation and decay were startling contrast to the prosperity and progress of the New England S of the American Republic. The form of its provincial Government cumbrous, inciting to political feuds; and then—worst of all—in the m country, Manchester Radicals persistently incited the Canadians to se by promulgating the doctrine that British Colonies not only benefited independence, but were, whilst in the dependent state, a source of tr and expense to the English taxpayer.

The whole question came before the House of Commons more than On the 14th of June the Rebellion Losses Bill was fiercely attacked by Gladstone in the House of Commons as a measure for rewarding rebels. years afterwards Mr. Gladstone made a kind of apology for his onslau but even then he quite misunderstood the true meaning and bearing of Elgin's policy.* Mr. Herries moved an Address calling on the Queen to the Bill. For two nights it was attacked; but Sir Robert Peel's interve routed the opposition, for he pointed out that the measure could not pos give compensation, as Mr. Gladstone alleged, to any one who was show be a rebel, and that it was only, as Lord Elgin said, the logical sequen other measures of the sort, which had been passed without opposition. strongest point, however, was that to reject the Bill would be taken a insult to the Colony, and an encroachment on its right of self-govern Mr. Herries lost his motion by a majority of 141. In the House of L however, the attack was renewed by Lord Brougham, and but for the ti aid of three proxies the Government would have been beaten by him. curious thing to note is the calmative influence of this firm and res attitude of the Government and Parliament on the Colony. The Tory I in Canada up till then had strained every effort, Lord Elgin writes in of his letters, to drive him to a *coup d'état*. They had breathed nothing rebellion and slaughter for months. The moment Parliament gently snu them, however, they were quieted as if by magic, and their organs bega write articles declaiming against the practice of abusing the French, whom, in the long-run, the Tory or English Party were bound to li amity.

During this crisis nothing could be worthier of the occasion than

* Memoir of James, eighth Earl of Elgin, edited by Theodore Walrond, with a Preface by Stanley, Chap. IV., pp. 70 *et seq.*

courage, the coolness, the dignity, and resolute forbearance of Lord Elgin. As he says in one of his letters, he stood literally alone. He was accused of cowardice because he did not quench the revolt in blood; and even Lord John Russell and Lord Grey, though they defended him, thought the logic of the case was against him. He was, they argued, either right or wrong. If the latter, he ought to be recalled; if the former, he ought to avenge by force of arms the insult offered to the Queen in his person. But Elgin's policy was justified by the result. This was that 700,000 rebellious French subjects of the Queen were reconciled to her Government, not because they were bribed by compensation grants, for no actual rebel got any, but because they had a striking proof given to them that to "be just and fear not" was the key-note of the British Governor-General's policy and administration.

OLD FRENCH HOUSE, QUEBEC.

THE WESTERN SUBURBS OF VICTORIA, VANCOUVER ISLAND.

CHAPTER XXI.

COLONIAL HOME RULE AND FINANCIAL REFORM.

Mr. Roebuck and Emigration—Self-Government and the Colonies—Unsympathetic Whig Policy—Radicals and the Colonial Office—The Peelites and Hudson's Bay Company—Financial Reform—Mr. Cobden at Variance with Mr Bright—Combined Agitators The Demand for Retrenchment—Trade and the Flag—Tories and Taxes—A *reductio ad absurdum*—A Raid on a Surplus—International Arbitration—Parliamentary Reform—Parliament and the Jews—The Tories oppose the Alteration of the Parliamentary Oath—Episcopal Prejudice—Tory Obstructionists—An Ordnance Department Scandal—Mr. Delane's Attacks on Lord Palmerston in the *Times*—The Queen Remonstrates against Lord Palmerston's Recklessness—An Anti-Palmerstonian Cabal Lady Palmerston's Intrigues—Lord Brougham Betrays the Cabal—Palmerston's Victory—Rome and France—The Sikh War—The Disaster of Chillianwalla—Indignation of the Country—Lord Gough's Recall Napier to the Rescue The East India Directors oppose Napier's Appointment—The Convict War at the Cape—Boycotting the Governor.

ANOTHER notable event in the Colonial history of 1849 was the introduction by Mr. Roebuck, on the 14th of May, of a Bill for the better government of the Colonies. The debate on this measure brought vividly before the minds of thoughtful men the folly upon which our step-motherly treatment of the Colonies was based. "Emigration by itself," exclaimed Mr. Roebuck, "is misery;" and yet the idea of colonisation which prevailed at the Colonial Office was simply to transport as many people as possible to distant wilds, utterly regardless of their ultimate fate. Why should we not introduce something like system, asked Mr. Roebuck, into our Colonial policy, and recognise the fact that it was now not tribute, but trade that we might expect to get

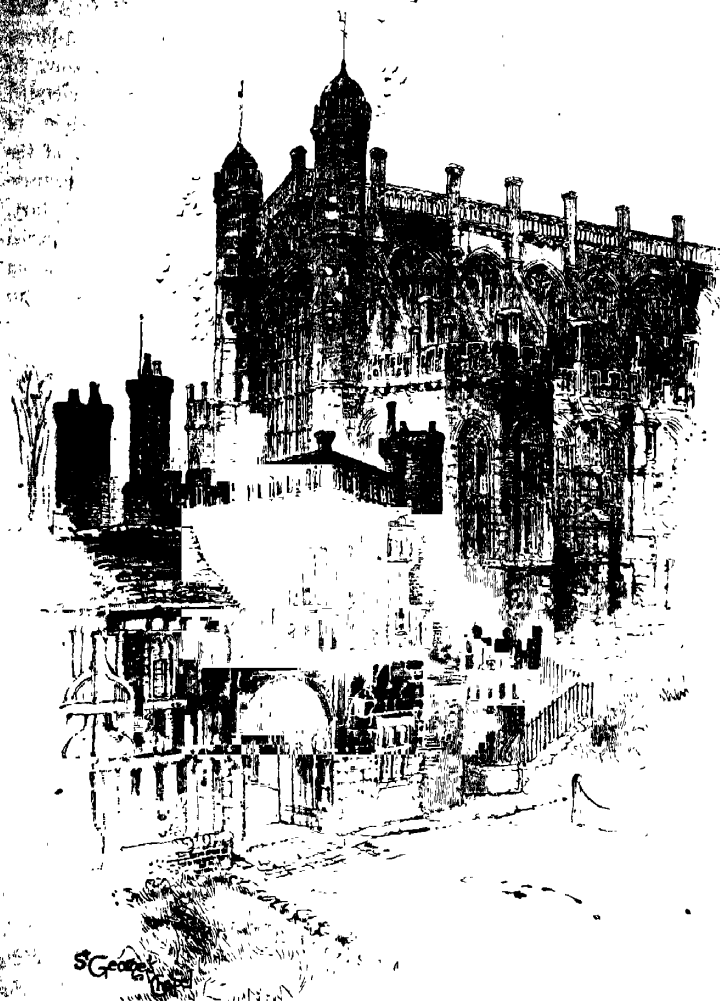
... His proposal was to have one plan for settling a colony, anc ... organising it when settled, and a third for groups of colonies in confed... ... or union. His panacea for all Colonial ills was to get rid of "red ta... at the Colonial Office and to give the Colonies Home Rule. The difficul... said Mr. Hawes, as representing Lord Grey and the Colonial Office, in the ... of granting Home Rule to North-American Colonies would be insupera... besides, England had far too many Colonies already, so that it was of l... use to bring forward schemes for settling new ones! Whigs like Lord ... Russell condemned a policy which tended to substitute a fixed Parliamen... rule for the discretion of a responsible Minister, and contended that phy... impediments rendered the union of Canada into one Dominion imposs... Mr. Gladstone, however, warmly supported Mr. Roebuck's policy. Even ... the leaven of the Home Ruler was working in his mind. Mr. Roebuck ... beaten by 116 to 73. But this did not put a stop to these Colonial deba...

On the 26th of June Sir William Molesworth moved an Address to ... Queen begging for a Commission to inquire into the Administration of ... Colonies, more especially with a view to lessen the cost of their governm... and to give free scope to individual enterprise in colonising. He sta... the House by quoting figures which showed that, in fifteen years, "a s... of remarkable events in the Colonies" had cost England the modest sur... eighty millions sterling. It could not have cost more to settle 4,000,000 ... and energetic emigrants in Australia alone; and yet in the whole Colo... Empire in 1849, it appears there were not more than 1,000,000 person... British or Irish descent. Charles Buller some years before had condemned ... Colonial Office for its arbitrary character, its indifference to local feeling, ... its ignorance of local wants, its procrastination and vacillation, its sec... and irresponsibility, its servitude to parties and cliques, its injustice, anc... disorder. In this debate Lord Grey's Administration was held to aptly illust... all these vices; and yet Lord Grey had become Colonial Minister because ... stood pledged to cure them. Lord Grey's idea of Colonial government see... to be either to rule the Colony with a high hand from London, or, i... had some semblance of representative institutions, to govern it by means ... violent Party minority in the popular Chamber, co-operating with a majo... of the Council nominated by the Crown. Self-government for Colonies ... were fit for it, and intelligent government for those that were not, were ... William Molesworth's remedies. A strong plea for reducing the extrava... outlay on official salaries and useless military expenditure was pressed; ... protests against convict emigration, which, together with our misgovernm... drove honest English Colonists to the United States, were entered. Mr. H... and Mr. Gladstone, on behalf of the Radicals and Peelites, gave a gen... support to the motion; but the indefatigable Mr. Hawes came smilingly to ... defence of Lord Grey with his stereotyped "*Non possumus*," and Lord J... Russell declared that the scope of the reference to the Commission was ...

vast and wide for practical purposes. His novel argument was that to attempt to define the limits of Imperial and local questions must end in bitter disputes between the Colonies and the mother country. Undeterred by the failure of the Radicals to force a rational Colonial policy on the Whigs, the Peelites next took up the matter, and on the 19th of June Lord Lincoln moved an Address to the Crown expressing the opinion that the Hudson's Bay Company, to which Vancouver Island had been granted by Royal Charter, was ill-adapted for ruling or developing the resources of a colony founded on principles of political and commercial freedom, and generally challenging the validity of the grant. One would have thought that it needed little argument to demonstrate the unwisdom of founding a colony to be ruled by an absentee proprietary, earning its revenues by a trading monopoly. The history of the United States was full of examples of this species of folly, and both Lord Lincoln and Mr. Hume argued their case with the greatest ability. But they spoke to no purpose, for just as Mr. Hume was warming to his work the House was counted out! In these days, when the air is full of schemes for Imperial Federation, and Home Rule, it is interesting to note how, in 1849, the battle of Colonial Reform was fought by a combination of Conservative Peelites and "stalwart" Radicals, against the Whigs, who were jealously opposed to all extensions of Colonial autonomy.

After Colonial policy, and not long after it in point of interest, came Finance. The erratic schemes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the preceding year, together with the distress which afflicted the country, had made everybody dissatisfied with the financial policy of the Government. The Protectionists were always at hand to suggest that the pressure of taxation was due to Free Trade. The Free Traders were never weary of retorting that it was due to extravagant expenditure, and could be remedied by retrenchment. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright thus felt that their mission in life did not end with the Repeal of the Corn Laws. If they were to keep the ground they had taken, it seemed to them they must start an agitation to reduce public expenditure. Mr. Bright rather favoured the notion of agitating for an extension of the Franchise, on the supposition that, if more taxpayers had votes, Government, in deference to their prejudices, would be chary of augmenting public burdens. Ultimately, however, they agreed to combine the two agitations,* and work with each other as before. The popular feeling in favour of economy was first manifested by the formation of Financial Reform Associations in the large towns—that of Liverpool being especially energetic—and they were soon busy discussing a practical plan, which emanated from the fertile brain of Cobden, for the remission of the Malt Tax and other public burdens. Cobden's scheme was simply to effect retrenchment by going back to the scale of expenditure that was deemed adequate in 1835, and in this way he proposed to reduce taxation by about £10,000,000 sterling. Quite a flutter of excitement ran through the

* Morley's Life of Cobden.

[illegible] Commons when, on the 26th of February, he brought his plan under [illegible]. He contended that military expenditure had caused the increase

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

[illegible] 10,000,000, which he desired to reduce. Therefore he moved that the [illegible] under this head be diminished with all practicable speed. The [illegible] position of England was itself a sure defence against her enemies.

Provided she did not interfere recklessly with foreign nations, she had less to fear in 1849 than in 1835. Why, then, should the military and naval expenditure of 1835 be exceeded? Vast sums of money, too, were spent on the Colonies. Here also a reduction might be effected, for the English taxpayer

JOHN BRIGHT (1857)

got no more food from the Colonies than the foreign one did. At this period it was evident that Mr. Cobden had not put to the test the sound maxim that "trade follows the flag." The answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that in 1835, to the expenditure of which Mr. Cobden wanted to revert, no adequate provision had been made for the true wants of the country; and that, since then, many things had happened to increase expenditure unavoidably. The introduction of steam into the Navy was an illustration of these changes. Moreover, the Government had reduced expenditure by about a million [illegible]

...ting—and that was surely a pledge of their earnestness as financial ...

The Tories put Mr. Herries forward to attack both parties. He blamed ...inisters for encouraging the financial reformers, and denounced Mr. Cobden ... the violence of his speeches out of doors on the subject. The policy of ...e Tories was to demand that expenditure should not be lessened, whilst ...ere was ground for anxiety as to foreign affairs. One of their arguments ...as an odd one. It was that, as the revenue was still maintained in spite ... the repeal of vast sums of taxation, there was no ground for pretending ...at retrenchment was necessary because the people felt that taxation was ...essing hard on them. They did not seem to see that this was either an ...gument in favour of raising revenue without imposing any taxes at all—...hich was a *reductio ad absurdum*—or an argument to show that reductions ... taxation still left Government with enough money in hand to defend the ...terests of the country, which was virtually an admission that Mr. Cobden's ...an, if tried, could do no harm. The Free Traders made a bid for the ...ral vote by arguing that, if the landed interest wanted the relief which the ...otectionists promised them, they ought to vote for the reduction in expen...ture, which would enable Parliament to grant that relief. Mr. Cobden's ...st scheme of Financial Reform was rejected by a vote of 275 to 78. But ...is did not allay the uneasiness of the public, who began to fret over ...e extraordinary delay that took place in the production of the Budget. ... was not till the 29th of June that Sir Charles Wood made his financial ...atement to the House. It was not a cheering one. The expenditure, which ...s £53,287,110, had exceeded the Ministerial estimate by £1,219,379, and ... exceeded the revenue of the year by £269,378. Of course, by excluding ...expected outlays on Irish distress, Canadian emigration, &c., a more favour...le state of accounts could be shown; but, as the excluded money had been ...ent, there was really no reason for ignoring it. For the coming year his ...imated expenditure, he said, would be £52,157,696, and his estimated ...eipts would yield, he hoped, a surplus over that of £94,304. Sir Charles ...ood's strongest points were that every effort would be made to keep current ...penditure within current income, and that instead of using small surpluses ... remit small sums of taxation, they would be kept as the nucleus of large ...pluses, for the reduction of large amounts of taxation. The Radicals and ...nancial Reformers were not satisfied with Sir Charles Wood's long list of ...jectionable taxes that had been removed. In spite of all that, expenditure ...reased—and what was worse, there was a steady increase in permanent ...dens on the revenue, in the shape of charges for the Public Debt. Mr. ...me demanded that Excise be done away with, and that the example of ...James Graham, who reduced the expenses of the Admiralty by £1,200,000, ...llowed. Mr. Milner Gibson attacked the paper duty, the newspaper stamp ...and the tax on advertisements, as taxes on knowledge; and he cited

the petition of the Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh, who declared that the paper duty had stopped the continuance of a work for the humbler classes which they were bringing out, and of which there had been a sale of 80,000 copies. Everybody wanted some special duty repealed, either that on hops, bricks, soap, beer, malt, tea, or timber. The Budget was felt to be unsatisfactory, for, as Mr. Cobden said, it made the two ends barely meet. At the close of the Session (20th of July) Mr. Herries supplemented this discussion by starting another question—that of raising some portion of the supplies of the State by a fixed duty on corn. The Protectionists argued that Sir Charles Wood's estimates were too sanguine, and that more taxes must be imposed on the people, unless a small duty were put on foreign corn. This was not to be a protective duty, but one merely for revenue purposes, and as such surely it was justifiable. It would be only a tax on food in name; in fact, the defence of the proposal was like the Irish vagrant's apology for the existence of her baby—"Please, sir, it's only a very little one." Of course the Free Traders sprang upon Mr. Herries with great glee. The Tories were going round the country promising the farmers Protection. But when they came to the House of Commons all they ventured to ask for was a small fixed duty on corn, which was to be levied not for protective but for revenue purposes. The position was an awkward one for Mr. Herries. Either his small fixed duty did or did not raise the price of corn. If it did, he was deceiving the House of Commons. If it did not, he was deceiving his clients among the farmers. His move was obviously one for putting heart into a desponding faction.

It has been said that Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright had come to the conclusion that, side by side with the agitation for retrenchment, there should be pressed forward that for Parliamentary Reform. Accordingly, Mr. Hume introduced his motion for Parliamentary Reform in the House of Commons on the 4th of June, demanding Household Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Triennial Parliaments, and something approaching to equal electoral districts. The opposition of the Whigs, who argued that reform was unnecessary because many good measures had been passed by Parliament, and that to extend the franchise would endanger the Monarchy, induced the House to reject the motion by a vote of 268 to 82.

But a topic far more interesting to the Queen, whose speciality is Foreign Policy, was brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. Cobden a few days after Mr. Hume's motion was disposed of. He suggested a plan whereby wars might cease, and civilised nations might compose their quarrels by Arbitration. On the 12th of June Cobden moved an Address to the Crown, praying that Foreign Powers might be invited to concur in treaties binding them to accept Arbitration in settling their disputes with each other. The Government did not openly resist the motion. They got rid of it by putting up Lord Palmerston to move the "previous question;" but the

of the debate showed that, though the House was dubious about the practicability of Mr. Cobden's plan, it had been profoundly impressed with his reasoning.

The Whigs, embarrassed by the refusal of Jewish Members to take the Parliamentary Oath, next introduced a Bill expunging from the form of the oath the words "on the true faith of a Christian." The only bitter opponents of the measure were the Tories, for most of the Peelites, like Mr. Gladstone,

ROYAL PALACE, NAPLES

supported it. The Commons passed the measure readily enough; but in the House of Lords the hostility of the Episcopal Bench was fatal to it. Another measure was sacrificed to the ecclesiasticism which was then prevalent in Parliament. That was the Bill to legalise marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, which Mr. Stuart Wortley introduced on the 3rd of May, and the most vehement opponents of which were Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Gladstone, and Sir R. Inglis. Mr. Wortley carried the Second Reading without much difficulty; but when Mr. Goulburn threatened to use the forms of the House to obstruct the further progress of the measure, it was withdrawn.

Foreign affairs originated some acrimonious debates in both Houses during the Session. On the 6th of March a question was put by Lord Stanley to

Lord Lansdowne asking if it were true that a Government contractor had been allowed to withdraw arms from a Government store, and supply them to the insurgents in Sicily. Lord Lansdowne could not deny that the allegation was true; and the incident not only caused a great deal of excitement in the country, but it was one that gave much pain to the Queen, who naturally saw

LADY PALMERSTON.

in it the reckless hand of Lord Palmerston. The secret history of the affair was this: Mr. Delane, the editor of the *Times*, happened to meet a Mr. Hood—an Army contractor—accidentally. In conversation Mr. Hood incidentally mentioned to Mr. Delane that when certain Sicilian agents applied to him for stores, he explained that he had none on hand, having supplied all he possessed to the Government. But he observed that if he could persuade the Government to let him have these back, he would hand them over to the Sicilian insurrectionary agents, replacing the Government [illegible]

[illegible] The contractor applied to the Ordnance Department, stating that his application had a political, as well as a commercial, object. The Department, therefore, referred the matter to Lord Palmerston, who sanctioned the transaction. The *Times* immediately published this story, and its attacks on Lord Palmerston for having insulted Austria, and connived at insurrection in Sicily, annoyed the Queen so seriously that Lord John Russell compelled Lord Palmerston to apologise to the King of Naples, for whom he cherished a supreme contempt. But when the scandal grew clamant, Mr. Bankes opened up an attack in the House of Commons on Lord Palmerston. He, however, mixed up with it a great deal of general criticism on the policy of the Government in Italy, and gave Lord Palmerston an opportunity of winning an easy victory by posing as a friend of freedom, and a martyr to the doctrine of nationalities. Lord Palmerston, writes Mr. Greville, delivered, in reply to his antagonist, "a slashing, impudent speech, full of sarcasm, jokes, and claptrap, the whole eminently successful. He quizzed Bankes unmercifully, he expressed ultra-Liberal sentiments to please the Radicals, and he gathered shouts, laughter, and applause as he dashed and rattled along."

On the 22nd of March Lord Aberdeen headed another abortive attack on the Foreign Policy of the Government. He complained that whereas Lord Palmerston had been active in menacing Austria if she meddled with Sardinia, he had spoken smooth things to Sardinia—never going further than warning her that if she broke existing treaties, she would be doing a dangerous thing. Aberdeen's attack was regarded as a semi-official expression of the ideas of the Sovereign on Lord Palmerston's policy; and it came to this, that Palmerston had made England an object of aversion in every capital in Europe, by interfering between Governments and their subjects, in a manner which brought on him the animosity of both. He had been arrogant to the despots, and, whilst he had encouraged the rebels, he had tamely abandoned them, whenever it became irksome to defend them. In this debate the Foreign Office was convicted of having suppressed an important despatch relating to Austro-Sardinian affairs in the papers laid before Parliament. The truth is that the Cabinet did not know what was and what was not included in the papers that Lord Palmerston chose to publish; and Lord Palmerston sometimes did not even give his colleagues enough information to enable them to answer questions. One example of this is worth recording, because it directly affected the Queen. In May, Lord Lansdowne, in reply to a question of Lord Beaumont, told the House of Lords that "no communication whatever had been made by the Austrian Government to ours relative to their intervention in Italy." But Collosedo, the Austrian Minister, had five days before that gone to Lord Palmerston and communicated to him, by order of the Austrian Government, their objects in interfering in Italy. Palmerston kept his colleagues in utter ignorance of this interview; and when the truth leaked out, Lord Lansdowne had to set himself right the best way he could. As

y Palmerston, when he was challenged with deceiving his colleagues, and
uppressing the fact that this Austrian communication had been [illegible]
im, he replied impudently that "he had quite forgotten it." His [illegible]
iolent anti-Austrian policy, coupled with delinquencies of this kind, was
ntensely annoying to the Queen. Writing under the date of June [illegible] Mr.
Greville, in his Journal, says, "The Duke of Bedford told me a few days ago
hat the Queen had been again remonstrating about Palmerston more strongly
han ever. This was in reference to the suppressed Austrian despatch which
nade such a noise. She then sent for Lord John Russell, and told him she
ould not stand it any longer, and he must make some arrangements to get
id of Lord Palmerston. This communication was just as fruitless as all her
receding ones. I don't know what Lord John said—he certainly did not
acify her; but, as usual, there it ended. But the consequences of her not
eing able to get any satisfaction from her Minister have been that she has
oured her feelings and her wrongs into the more sympathetic ears of her
ate Ministers, and I believe that the Queen has told Peel everything—all her
wn feelings and wishes, and all that passes on the subject."

In these circumstances an anti-Palmerstonian cabal was naturally formed.
ord Aberdeen, a devoted friend of the Queen, attempted to organise a
novement for driving Palmerston from office; but the great obstacle was Peel.
Nothing could induce him to upset the Ministry which was pledged to procure
fair trial for Free Trade. The Court Party, however, suggested that, if
ensured, Palmerston might resign and his colleagues stay in; or that they
night all resign, and then, when it was shown that no other Government
ould be formed, and that the Peelites could render the formation of another
Ministry impossible, Lord John Russell and his colleagues might come back
o power, without Lord Palmerston. The scheme failed; but, as Mr. Greville
ays, the curious thing to note about it is "the *carte du pays* it exhibits," and
he remarkable and most improper position which Palmerston occupied *vis-à-vis*
he Queen and his own colleagues. "I know not," writes Mr. Greville, "where
o look for a parallel to such a mass of anomalies—the Queen turning from
er own Prime Minister to confide in the one who was supplanted by him;
Minister talking over quietly and confidentially with an outsider by what
ircumstances and what agency his colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
night be excluded from the Government; the Queen abhorring her Minister,
nd unable to rid herself of him; John Russell, fascinated and subjugated by
he ascendency of Palmerston, submitting to everything from him, and sup-
orting him right and wrong, the others not concealing from those they are
n the habit of confiding in their disapprobation of the conduct and policy
f their colleague, while they are all the time supporting the latter and excusing
he former, and putting themselves under the obligation of identifying them-
elves with his proceedings, and standing or falling with them." *

* Greville's Journal, Vol. III. p. [illegible]

[illegible], however, a confederacy was formed between Lords Aberdeen, [illegible], and Brougham to oust Lord Palmerston during the last days of [illegible] Session, and the Queen, like every other prudent politician in the [illegible], who had been alarmed by Palmerston's restlessness, rejoiced in the [illegible] of getting rid of him. Unfortunately, the only Peer of the three

SIR CHARLES NAPIER.

[illegible] was in earnest in this business was Lord Aberdeen; and yet, when the [illegible] of July, the day for the attack, drew nigh, it was certain that the [illegible]ernment would be defeated. Palmerston then played his trump card. [illegible] Palmerston wrote a letter to Brougham, who was to lead the attack, [illegible] to him some mysterious threat, and he promptly betrayed his [illegible]. "He made a miserable speech," writes Mr. Greville, "which [illegible] his colleagues and all the opponents of the Government, who swore

[illegible] (as was true) that he had sold them." Brougham's speech, however, contained one good point which deserved to live. It was in it that he condemned the interference, not only of our regular diplomatic body in the affairs of the Mediterranean Powers, but also the interference of "that mongrel sort of monster—half nautical, half political—diplomatic vice-admirals, speculative ship-captains, observers of rebellion, and sympathisers therewith." The Government were in a minority in the House, but they contrived to get a majority of twelve by proxies, in obtaining which Lady Palmerston had displayed marvellous address. Thus was the great game of faction played at the expense of the people in the early years of the Queen's reign. Not that the people cared much about the matter, for it was only those who were behind the scenes who could fairly appreciate what Lord Palmerston's spirited policy really meant. It was Radical, but it was reckless; and not only the Queen, but every well-informed statesman—including Liberals like Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright—simply lived in daily terror, lest the Foreign Secretary might suddenly involve the country in a wanton and purposeless European war.

Another important debate was raised by Lord Beaumont, on the 14th of May, on French intervention in Rome. The States of the Church had long been preparing for a revolt against Papal misgovernment. Pius IX. therefore determined to modify the policy of his predecessors, and a hapless scheme for satisfying the democracy, by appointing lay councillors to work with or check a priestly government was tried—the Pope refusing to bate one jot or tittle of his temporal authority. The lay councillors could only meet and debate. They could not initiate reforms. No sooner had this constitution been granted than the revolution swept over Italy, and the Romans demanded the same concessions as had been extorted by the Neapolitans. Concessions were given with the intention that they should be withdrawn. Rossi—once French ambassador at Rome—was made Prime Minister, and to extricate the country from financial embarrassment, he proposed to mortgage the property of the Church. He was, however, assassinated when entering the Capitol; and then the Cardinals began to retract the concessions which had been made to Liberalism. The people rose, insisting that the Pope should protect the Constitution, and assuring him of their fidelity. He then fled to Gaeta. Attempts to reconcile the Pontiff and his people failed. The Roman Republic was proclaimed, and peace established, when suddenly France interfered to restore his Holiness. It was to prevent France from having a pretext for interfering in Italy that Lord Minto's mission was undertaken, and thus another failure had to be debited to Lord Palmerston's foreign policy. Naturally Lords Aberdeen and Brougham taunted the Government with the failure of the Minto mission. But taunts were powerless to extort from Ministers a statement of their relation to the French expedition. In the House of Commons, however, those who objected to French interference with the Roman people succeeded in obtaining from

Palmerston an expression of disapproval of the course which ... taken; but that was all.

Far and away the most important foreign debate of the Session was that ...ch Mr. Osborne raised on the Austro-Hungarian question in July. Hungary ... been crushed by the aid which Russia, unrebuked or unrestrained by the ...dow of a protest from Palmerston, had given her Austrian masters; and ... Liberal Party, always jealous of Austria as the representative of Abso...st ideas, were wrathful accordingly. But the discussion had no practical ...ilt. It was merely marked by a declaration from Lord Palmerston, which ...e too late to be useful, to the effect that the heart and soul of the ...ntry were enlisted on the side of Hungary.

For Englishmen no debate was graver than the one on the state of the ...ion, which Mr. Disraeli raised at the end of the Session. He attributed ... distress in the country to Free Trade, and he attacked every branch of ...isterial policy. But the weak point of his brilliant harangue was that it ...nt nothing, for not only was he unable to take over the Government ...self, but he had no practical proposal to make, save his insinuated ...gestion to restore Protection. Sir Robert Peel's speech, however, carried ... House in favour of the Government. It was a complete vindication of ... fiscal policy, and its conclusion was memorable, because in it he traced ... immunity from revolutionary excesses to his abandonment of taxes on food ...1846.

Early in the year the Queen was disturbed by evil tidings from India. ...rd fighting was reported from the banks of the Chenab. The Sikhs, it was ..., were in retreat; but our victory was a barren one, as we captured ...ther prisoners, guns, nor standards, and sacrificed two of our Generals ...reton and Havelock), who fell at the head of their regiments. In losing ...eton, her Majesty lost the finest cavalry officer in her service. The fact ... that, though we had conquered, we had not subdued the Sikhs at the ... of our first war with them. In April, 1848, a Sikh chief murdered two ...tish officers at Multan. This was followed by a general outbreak, which ... met on the whole successfully by the desperate efforts of Lieutenant ...vardes and a mere handful of men. Multan was besieged in June, 1848; ... 5,000 of our Sikh auxiliaries deserted to the enemy, and our army had ... retreat. We had not enough troops in the Punjab to control the rising, ... our auxiliaries under the Maharajah were not trustworthy. On the ...er hand, the rebel chief Shere Sing, at the beginning of 1849, had 40,000 ... under his orders, and once again British supremacy in India was ...nbling in the balance. On the 5th of March, however, still worse ...s came to London. Lord Gough, with inconceivable recklessness, had, on ... 14th of January, attacked the enemy in a strong position at Chillianwala ... a small British force worn out by fatigue. The conditions of the ...sed disaster. Our troops, it is true, took the Sikh positions, but ...

[illegible] had to abandon them. The loss of life on our side was enormous, and Lord Gough, though he fought like a hero in the thickest of the *mêlée*, was not to be found at a critical moment to give orders. The news of this

THE BRITISH TROOPS ENTERING MULTAN. (*See p.* 402.)

disaster was received with universal indignation. The Government attempted to allay public feeling by appointing Sir William Gomm to succeed Lord Gough; but as Sir William was believed to be equally incompetent, a demand for Sir Charles Napier's appointment became clamant. "We dined," writes Lord Malmesbury, in his Diary on the 4th of March, "with the Colchesters, and were introduced to Sir Charles Napier. He is a little

nan, with grey hair brushed back from his face, with an immense hooked pointed nose, small eyes, and wears spectacles, very like the conventional face of a Jew. He is appointed to retrieve our affairs in India, and

SIR HARRY SMITH.

hen the Duke of Wellington named him to the post he at first hesited, until the Duke told him if he did not go he would go himself."* Why did Napier hesitate? Because, it seems, the Directors of the East India Company not only objected to his appointment, but threatened to prevent him from having a seat on the Council, an insult which ...

* Mémoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I. p. 253.

could hardly brook. "You have no idea of the difficulties I have had in dealing with these men," said Sir John Cam Hobhouse, then President of the Indian Board of Control, to Mr. Greville. "I have brought the Government, the Duke of Wellington, *and the Queen* all to bear upon them, and all in vain." Mr. Greville advised Hobhouse to bring another power—that of the House of Commons—to bear on the Company. In other words, he advised the Government to go down boldly and inform Parliament that they had appointed Napier, and if the Directors of the Company refused to pay his salary as a Member of Council, to ask the House to vote it. The Cabinet appointed Napier, and the Directors acquiesced, fearing to face the responsibility of thwarting the Government in doing what the Queen and the country desired.

But before Gough could be recalled, he redeemed the disaster of Chillianwalla at Gujerat. The news of this successful battle, which was fought on the 21st of February, reached the Queen on the 1st of April. It meant that the crisis in India was over, and it lifted from her mind the burden of a supreme anxiety. Multan, too, had fallen, and finally the East India Company, admitting at last that it was impossible to protect their frontier from attack, annexed the Punjab on the 29th of March, 1849, thus closing the history of the Sikhs as an independent nation. Britain had found in them the most fearless and formidable of enemies. Since the annexation of their country, they have been the staunchest and the most loyal of the Queen's Indian subjects.

One serious colonial dispute must be noticed, for it led to an early experiment in "boycotting." Lord Grey, on the 4th of September, 1848, by an Order in Council, had turned the Cape of Good Hope into a convict settlement. The colonists resented this act with the hottest indignation. Angry meetings were held at Cape Town; and the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, was violently blamed because he refused to take on himself the responsibility of suspending the "injurious and degrading measure." When the first convict ship, the *Neptune*, arrived in Simon's Bay on the 19th of September, the church bells in Cape Town were tolled in half-minute time. The Municipality demanded that the vessel be sent back. The populace, in mass meetings, adopted what they called "the Pledge"—an obligation to "drop connection with any person who may assist convicted felons." In fact, the process which in Ireland has been termed "boycotting" was resorted to, and supplies were refused to the army, navy, and all Government establishments. The law was impotent in face of such opposition, and very soon the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, was compelled to bake his own bread even in his own house. The Colonists finally triumphed. The Order in Council was withdrawn, so far as it referred to the Cape, and the *Neptune* left, without having landed a single convict. The episode is one of the earliest instances on record of the successful application of "boycotting" to defeat an unpopular policy.

CHAPTER XXII.

FAMILY CARES AND ROYAL DUTIES.

Education of the Prince of Wales—Selection of Mr Birch as Tutor—The Queen's Jealousy of her Parental Authority—Her Letter to Melbourne on the Management of her Nursery—Her Ideas on Education—Prince Albert's Plans for the Education of the Prince of Wales—Stockmar's Advice—The Visit to Ireland—"Rebel Cork" *en fête*—The Queen at Waterford—The Visit to Dublin—Viceregal Festivities—The Visit to the National Model Schools - Shiel's Speech—The Queen and the Duke of Leinster—Farewell at Kingstown—The Queen Dips the Royal Ensign Loyal Ulster The Visit to the Linen Hall—Lord Clarendon on the Queen's Visit—A Cruise on the Clyde—Home in Balmoral - The Queen's "Bothie"—The Queen's University of Ireland—First Plans for the Great Exhibition—Opening of the London Coal Exchange—The Queen's Barge—Death of Queen Adelaide.

In April, 1849, Prince Albert is found writing a letter to the Dowager Duchess of Gotha announcing a very important event in the Queen's family. "The children," he says, "grow more than well. Bertie (the Prince of Wales) will be given over in a few weeks into the hands of a tutor, whom we have found in a Mr. Birch, a young, good-looking, amiable man." Mr. Birch, subsequently Rector of Prestwich, near Manchester, was eminently qualified for the grave and delicate duty for which the Queen selected him. He had taken high honours at Cambridge, and had been not only Captain of the School, but had also served as an under-master at Eton. Yet Mr. Birch can hardly be credited with the Scheme of Education adopted in the Royal Family. That had been arranged by the Queen herself, in consultation with her consort and Baron Stockmar. Her fixed idea was that the heart as well as the head must be trained, and that not only must the education of her children be truly moral, but it must be essentially English. She resolved to discover the kind of tutor whom she could trust, and then, having found him, to trust him implicitly.

The Queen, it may here be said, has ever set an example to women of exalted rank and station by reason of the undeviating support she has given to those who undertook the education of her children. But in doing this her Majesty has been most jealous in asserting her parental rights, and punctilious in recognising the high responsibilities which they involve. As far back as 1842, in a very pretty letter to Lord Melbourne, she asked him for advice about the reorganisation of her nursery, and a question came up as to the choice of the lady who should superintend it. The Queen, accepting the fact that her public duties prevented her from personally managing the education of her family as completely as she might have wished, fully admitted that it was necessary to appoint a lady of high rank and culture for that purpose. But then arose the difficulty of satisfying her Majesty's desire to retain in [illegible] own hands the completest headship of her family. A governess of high [illegible] really competent to do the work as the Queen meant that it should [illegible]

might choose to consider herself as an official responsible to the country first, and to the parents of the Royal children afterwards. Against such an idea the Queen most resolutely set her face. "I feel," her Majesty writes, on behalf of herself and her husband, that "she (the Royal governess) ought to be responsible only to *us*, and *we* to the country and nation."* It was in pursuance of this idea that her Majesty made great sacrifices to keep her children as closely as possible in contact with her. Many curious memoranda from her pen exist, and through them all there runs the same thought—simplicity and domesticity must be the leading characteristics of the

VICTORIA CASTLE, KILLINEY—BRAY HEAD IN THE DISTANCE

training of the Royal family. For example, whenever it was possible, the Queen insisted on retaining in her own hands the *religious* education of her family, and it is now known that she did this from a dread lest their minds might at the most plastic period of life receive a sectarian bias. High Anglicanism was then militant, and many intrigues were set on foot by its professors to effect a lodgment in the Palace. The education of the Princess Royal, afterwards Empress Frederick of Germany, was almost entirely supervised and directed by the Queen herself, and with results much appreciated in Germany, where, through her tact, culture, high character, and strong common sense, her Imperial Highness has won for herself a position of unique political and social influence. The education of the Prince of Wales, however, now came more directly under the hands of Prince Albert; and one point of the highest importance to decide was whether it should be conservative or

* Letter from the Queen to Lord Melbourne, cited by Sir T. Martin in the Life of the Prince Consort.

ROYAL VISIT TO IRELAND: THE QUEEN LEAVING KINGSTOWN. (See p. [illegible].)

liberal in its character. Prince Albert decided that it must be liberal in this sense, that it should prepare the Heir Apparent for taking his position in a changeful state of society, whose institutions were, to a great extent, in a transition stage. Every effort was to be made to prevent him from getting into his mind a notion that existing institutions were *sacrosanct*, and that resistance to all change was a sacred and patriotic duty. The history of George III. had evidently not been studied in vain. "The proper duty of Sovereigns in this country," wrote Stockmar to Prince Albert, "is not to take the lead in change, but to act as a balance-wheel on the movements of the social body." Above all, it was determined that the education of the young Prince must be at bottom English, and not foreign. Furnished with these principles to guide him, and with general instructions to make the basis of the young Prince's training as broad and comprehensive as possible—to make it scientific as well as classical—Mr. Birch essayed his arduous task, aided not a little by shrewd advice from Bishop Wilberforce and Sir James Clark, the Queen's favourite physician.

The sweetest days of summer were clouded for the Queen in 1849 by painful memories of the shock she received on the 19th of May. On that day an Irishman named Hamilton, with a morbid craving for notoriety, tried to shoot her when she was driving with her children in her carriage down Constitution Hill. Her Majesty, with great tact, engaged the attention of her little ones by conversation, and with a sign directed her coachman to drive on as if nothing had happened, so that her husband, who was riding in advance, knew nothing of the affair—not even of the attempt of the mob to "lynch" Hamilton. His pistol was loaded with blank cartridge, but in spite of that he was sentenced to seven years' transportation.

It has been said that Ireland, exhausted by the abortive rebellion of 1848, had been settling down into sullen tranquillity. There were many signs visible in the country of a better feeling towards the Government. The Queen accordingly suggested that it might be well to take advantage of the improving condition of things, and pay a Royal visit to Ireland. Her Majesty, however, primarily desired that the Irish people should benefit, and not be burdened, by the presence of Royalty. She therefore expressed a wish that the visit should not be made in such a form as to put the country, which had suffered so much from distress, to any great expense. Prince Albert, ever practical, suggested that in that case the best way of carrying out the Queen's idea was to make this visit a simple yachting cruise. The Queen, he said, might call at the ports of Cork, Waterford, Wexford, Dublin, and Belfast on her annual journey to the North of Scotland, and perchance touch at Glasgow, thereby compensating it for the loss of the Royal visit of 1847. Lord Clarendon fully endorsed the views of the Queen and her husband in a letter to Lord John Russell. "Everything," he wrote, "tends to secure for the Queen an enthusiastic reception, and the one drawback, which

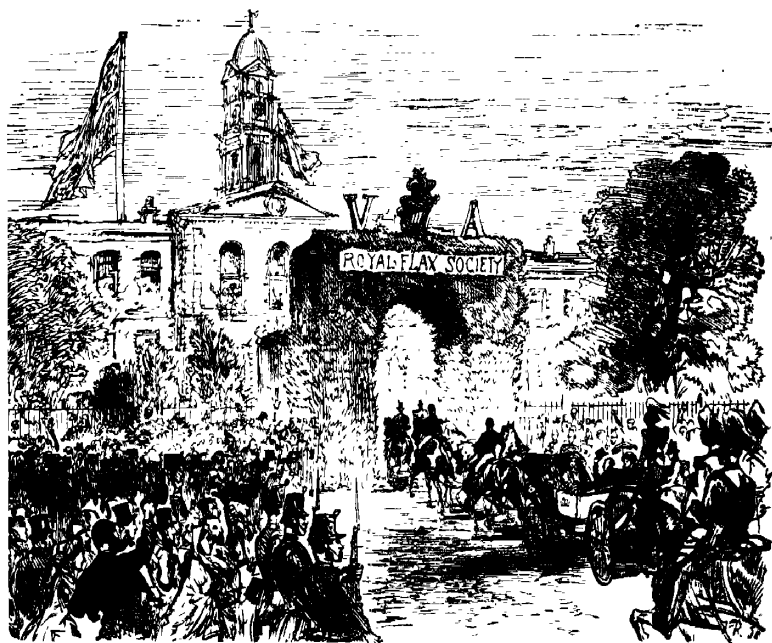
in the general distress of all classes, has its advantage, for it will ... the Queen to do what is kind and considerate to those who are suffering."

On the 27th of June the official intimation that the Queen was to visit Ireland was received by the Irish people with every manifestation of delight. If there were some who, rebels at heart, sympathised little with the tone of popular feeling, they concealed their aversion. The sex of the Sovereign indeed insured her a courteous reception from a nation proud of its gallantry and justly renowned for the warmth of its hospitality. It was then finally decided that the visit should be made when Parliament rose. On the 27th of July the Queen, Prince Albert, and their four eldest children, accordingly embarked for Ireland. "It is done!" writes the amiable and somewhat effusive Lady Lyttelton, who watched the squadron from the windows of Osborne, till it faded from her eyes. "England's fate is afloat . . . and *we* are left lamenting." There was, however, no serious cause for anxiety. When the Royal squadron steamed into the Cove of Cork, in the golden light of a summer sunset, the air was soon gleaming with rockets, and bonfires, kindled by the excitable and kindly peasantry, blazed on every height in welcome of their Queen. The next morning, the 3rd of August, brought a happy omen. The day was dull and grey, but no sooner did the Queen set her foot on land at the Cove—since called Queenstown in honour of the event—than a sudden sunburst lit up the scene with dazzling radiance. The Royal party in the *Fairy* steamed up "the pleasant waters of the river Lee," and all along the route crowds of loyal people lined the banks, cheering the Queen and her family as she passed along. In Cork itself—"rebel Cork"—there was no sign of disaffection. Nothing could be warmer or more cordial than the welcome accorded to her Majesty, who was touched by the hearty gaiety and good humour of her excitable hosts. A true kindly Celtic welcome, such as any Sovereign might have envied, made her experiences of Cork sunny memories for many long years afterwards. The extreme beauty of the women seems, however, to have produced an equally deep impression on her Majesty, who refers to this point in her diary of the visit.

On the 4th of August the Royal party proceeded to Waterford, which they reached in the afternoon. Curiously enough, one of the ships in their squadron of escort had actually been stationed there two years previously, to overawe the rebellious people. Now all these dark and bitter memories seemed to have passed away. Waterford vied with Cork in its loyal demonstration, and the feeling of regret was universal that the Royal party did not land and go through the town. Prince Albert and his two sons, however, steamed up to the city from the anchorage opposite Duncannon fort, ten miles from the town. Next came the visit to Dublin—never to be forgotten in the annals of the Irish capital.

It was on the 5th of August, as the sun was going down, ...

[illegible] reached Kingstown—threading its way with some difficulty [illegible] the craft, gay with joyful bunting, that crowded the sea. The [illegible] was greatly struck by the picturesque appearance of the place, and [illegible] she and the Prince landed next morning, amidst a salute from the [illegible]-of-war in the harbour, her reception was a revelation even to those [illegible] had anticipated that she would be lovingly greeted. Never was there [illegible] cheering—especially from the ladies, whose hearts were captivated by [illegible] Royal children. If, said one old lady, the Queen would only consent [illegible] call one of the young princes Patrick, all Ireland would die for her. [illegible] Royal party soon arrived at the Viceregal Lodge, in the Phœnix Park, [illegible] the route from Sandymount Station was again lined by crowds of [illegible]thusiastic and loyal sightseers. It was noted that even the poorest houses [illegible] gay with flowers. "It was a most wonderful and striking spectacle," [illegible] the Queen, in her notes of her visit—"such masses of human beings, [illegible] enthusiastic, so excited, and yet perfect order maintained." All that was [illegible]orth seeing in Dublin was seen, and the people were charmed with the [illegible]imple, gracious bearing of her Majesty, and the ease and freedom with [illegible]hich she went among them. A memorable visit was made by the Queen [illegible] the National Model Schools, where she and the Prince were introduced [illegible] Archbishop Whateley to the venerable Archbishop Murray, a picturesque [illegible]nd patriarchal Catholic prelate, whose saintly life and generous liberal ideas [illegible] previously attracted the attention of Prince Albert. His Grace had [illegible]deed risked much by protecting these schools against the attacks of some [illegible] the bigots of his church, and the Queen was powerfully impressed with [illegible] excellence of the system of instruction given at them. Speaking of [illegible] interesting episode in the House of Commons, Richard Lalor Shiel—[illegible] last of the great Irish rhetoricians—said, "Amongst the most remarkable [illegible]cidents that occurred when the Queen was in Ireland was her visit to the [illegible]hools of the National Board of Education, which took place (by accident, [illegible] course) before she visited the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. [illegible] was a fine spectacle to see the consort, so worthy of her, attended by the [illegible]presentatives of the Presbyterian Church, by the Protestant Archbishop of [illegible]ublin, and by the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin—with those venerable [illegible]clesiastics at her side, differing in creed, but united by the common brother[illegible]ood of Christianity in the performance of one of the noblest duties which [illegible] common Christianity prescribed; it was a fine thing to see the Sovereign [illegible] great empire surrounded by groups of those little children who gazed [illegible] her with affectionate amazement, while she returned their looks with fond[illegible] almost maternal; and, better than all, it was noble and thrilling, indeed, [illegible] the emotions by which that great lady was moved when her heart [illegible] high and holy aspiration that she might live to see the benefits [illegible] carried out in their full and perfect development." There was [illegible] at which four thousand persons attended to pay their

espects to their Sovereign. There was a brilliant review of the troops in he Phœnix Park, followed by visits to the Royal Irish Academy, the Colege of Surgeons, and the Royal Dublin Society, at whose cattle-shows Prince Albert was a frequent competitor. His speech, in reply to an Address rom the Society, attracted much attention at the time, on account of his ound advice on the economic condition of Ireland, and the grateful thanks which he gave to the Irish people for their marks of warm attachment to

VISIT OF THE QUEEN AND PRINCE ALBERT TO THE LINEN HALL, BELFAST. (See p. 410.)

he Queen and her family. The Prince was one of the first rural economists o impress on the chiefs of the Society the necessity for anticipating impending hanges in agriculture. He advised them to stimulate to the utmost stockreeding in Ireland.

A visit paid by the Queen to Carton appears to have made a strong impression on her. Carton is the seat of the Duke of Leinster, and his elicate attentions to her and her family, and his skill in planning a pleasant xcursion for them, elicits from her pen the remark in her "Diary" that his Grace was "one of the kindest and best of men." The Royal leave-taking at Kingstown was quite an affecting ceremony. The crowd at the pier was enser than it had ever been within living memory, and its shouts

When the Queen heard how her kind hosts were bidding her God-speed, she immediately climbed up on the paddle-box and stood waving her handkerchief in token of her appreciation of their loyalty. She directed the ship's engines to be slowed, so that the vessel might glide slowly past the pier. By a felicitous inspiration she ordered the Royal Standard to be dipped three times, in honour of the people on the shore, and as a mark of her grateful appreciation of their affection.

Loyal Ulster was next visited, and, as might have been expected, the reception of the Queen in this busy hive of industry was exceptionally effusive, even for Ireland. Belfast was *en fête* when the Royal visitors landed, and old folk still speak of the scene on the quay as marking a red letter day in their lives. Bunting was streaming everywhere in the air. Dense crowds cheering and shouting, and waving hats and handkerchiefs, occupied every coign of vantage, and though the Queen had only four hours to spend in the city, she contrived, under competent guidance, to see many of the more interesting places and institutions which illustrate the strong character of the mixed race whose energy, ability, pertinacity, and industry have made Ulster, with her unkindly soil and climate, the richest province in Ireland. Ulster commands the bulk of the linen trade of the world, and, naturally, the institutions and factories connected with that industry arrested the Queen's attention during her flying visit to the commercial capital of Ireland. An alarming gale detained her the next day in Belfast Lough, but after it blew over the Royal party steamed away to the Scottish shore.

The Royal visit to Ireland had two good results. It brought home to the minds of the Irish people the fact that their country, and their interests, were of great personal concern to the Queen and her husband. It demonstrated to the rest of the United Kingdom the fact that the personal attachment of the Irish people to the Monarchy was as strong as could be desired, and that if they were rebels at heart it was not the Queen, but the Viceregal Bureaucracy in Dublin Castle, that had soured their blood. Everybody who had observed the effect of the Queen's progress through Ireland was charmed with the success of the expedition. "I saw Lord Lansdowne last night," writes Mr. Greville in his Journal (14th August), "just returned from Ireland, having had an escape on the railroad, for the train ran off the rails. He said nothing could surpass the success of the Queen's visit in every respect; every circumstance favourable, no drawbacks or mistakes, all persons and parties pleased, much owing to the tact of Lord Clarendon, and the care he had bestowed on all the arrangements and details, which made it all go off so admirably. The Queen herself was delighted, and appears to have played her part uncommonly well. Clarendon, of course, is overjoyed at the complete success of what was his own plan,* and

* This is not quite accurate. The details were arranged by Lord Clarendon; the plan, or original idea of the visit was the Queen's.

satisfied with the graciousness and attention of the Court to him. In the beginning, and while the details were in preparation, he was considerably disgusted at the petty difficulties that were made, but he is satisfied now. Lord Lansdowne says the departure was quite affecting, and he could not see it without being moved; and he thinks beyond doubt that this visit will produce permanent good effects in Ireland." * Clarendon himself was evidently more than delighted with the effect of the Royal visit. He informed Sir George Grey that he believed "there was not an Irishman in Dublin who did not consider that the Queen had paid him a personal compliment by mounting the paddle-box of her steamer as she was leaving, and ordering the Royal Standard to be dipped in acknowledgment of the affectionate adieus which came from the crowds on the shore." † But the odd thing was that the members of the seditious clubs who had threatened to create disturbances when the Queen's visit was first mooted, caught the prevailing contagion of loyalty, and professed to be among the most affectionate of her subjects. Still, Clarendon was far too astute a statesman to imagine that a Royal visit would smooth away all the difficulties of his position and administration as Viceroy. It could not, as he acknowledges in another letter to Sir George Grey, "remove evils which are the growth of ages." At the same time, it indirectly helped the country by bringing some money into it. Royalty can always beneficially direct the expenditure of Fashion, and after the Queen had by her example shown that there was no danger to be dreaded in visiting Ireland, rich English tourists began to go over there holiday-making, greatly to the advantage of the people. But when all this was apparent to the Queen's advisers, it seems strange that they did not then deem it their duty to devise a plan for strengthening the golden link of the Crown between England and Ireland. If one brief Royal visit produced such an excellent effect, why did they not propose another? If it were impossible to provide for the residence for the Queen regularly during a portion of the year in Ireland, it might have been possible for the Royal Family to arrange that in their annual visit to Balmoral they should cruise northwards along the Irish coast, and gladden some of the Irish towns and provinces with their presence.

Ugly weather followed the Royal squadron from Belfast Lough to the Clyde, but a singularly brilliant reception at Glasgow compensated the Queen for any discomforts she may have endured on the voyage. The visit to "the second city of the Empire," as its inhabitants love to call it, was all too brief, for the Festival of St. Grouse had been celebrated two days before, and Prince Albert was eagerly desirous of pressing on to the moors. On the evening of the 14th of August—the day of the reception at Glasgow—he wrote to Stockmar a hurried note, deploring the "vile passage" on the 13th from Belfast to Loch Ryan, and saying how much he had been impressed by

* Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. III., p. 295.
† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

[illegible] procession, through five to six hundred thousand human beings all [illegible] wildly in the streets of Glasgow.

On the 15th of August they were at Balmoral, the Queen recording in her "Diary" that it seemed like a dream to her after all the excitement of their tour to be in "our dear Highland home again." For a brief time her Majesty was able to enjoy a real holiday. She was not much worried by politics—which have been, after all, the chief business of her life. The seclusion, and the dry, bracing air of Balmoral, acted like tonics on her mind and spirits. In a letter which he wrote to Stockmar on his thirtieth birthday,

[illegible]

which was gaily celebrated in the family circle at Balmoral, Prince Albert said, "Victoria is happy and cheerful, and enjoys a love and homage in this country, of which in the summer's tour we have received the most striking proofs. The children are well and grow apace. The Highlands are glorious, and the game abundant." One of the pleasantest of surprises was prepared for the Queen a fortnight after her arrival It was an excursion to a small mountain cabin, or "bothie" as the Highlanders call it, to which she had taken a fancy at Alt-na-Giuthasach. In "Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands," the Queen gives the following description of her expedition:—"We arrived at our little 'bothie' at two o'clock, and were amused at the transformation. There are two huts, and to the one in which [illegible] a wooden addition has been made. We have a charming little dining-room, sitting-room, bedroom, and dressing-room, all *en suite;* and there is a little room where Caroline Dawson (the Maid of Honour) sleeps, one for her maid, and a little pantry. In the other house, which is only a few yards

AT BALMORAL: A MORNING CALL. (See p. 415.)

[illegible] the kitchen, where the people generally sit, a small room where the servants dine, and another, which is a sort of store-room, and a loft above in which the men sleep. Margaret French (my maid), Caroline's maid, Löhlein* (Albert's valet), a cook, Shackle† (a footman), and Macdonald are the only people with us in the house, old John Gordon and his wife excepted. Our rooms are delightfully papered, the ceilings as well as walls, and very nicely furnished. We lunched as soon as we arrived, and at three walked down (about twenty minutes' walk) to the loch called 'Muich'; which some say means 'darkness' or 'sorrow.' Here we found a large boat, into which we all got, and Macdonald, Duncan, Grant, and Coutts rowed; old John Gordon and two others going in another boat with the net."

But neither the Queen nor Prince Albert was of a mind that their Irish visit should be a fruitless one, and soon their busy brains were brooding over schemes for Ireland which marked their interest in her affairs. The "Godless" Colleges, which had been founded by Sir Robert Peel, were to be opened in October. They were three in number—one in Belfast, one in Cork, and one in Galway, and their education was to be secular and untheological. But each College gave facilities for conducting the spiritual training of the students under "Deans" appointed by the various sects and churches. The Queen and her husband had many conversations with men of light and leading of all parties in Ireland, as to the organisation of these Colleges, and the Prince, as a practical educationist, soon hit the blot in it. Who was to confer the degrees? Were the Colleges to do so? Or were they to be united by the common federating bond of a University, whose officials should guide the examinations, and form the policy that would best advance, not the interests of one College, but the interests of all? Her Majesty and the Prince, when they were in Ireland, came to the conclusion that unless the Colleges were affiliated under a University, they would soon degenerate into sectarian seminaries. But, before taking active steps in the matter, they laid their opinions before Sir Robert Peel. He at once concurred in the Prince's views; and Lord Clarendon, who had at first felt doubtful about their soundness, ultimately accepted them also. Thus it came to pass that the Queen's Colleges were federated under the Queen's University of Ireland, and that a general desire was manifested that Prince Albert should be the first Chancellor. This office he declined to accept, mainly in the interest of the Queen. The Colleges and the University, he feared, might one day become the battle-grounds of faction, and it would then be very distressing for her Majesty to find her husband entangled in the political

* "This faithful and trusty valet nursed his dear master most devotedly through his sad illness in December, 1861, and is now always with me as my personal groom of the chambers or valet. I gave him a house near Windsor Castle, where he resides when the Court are there. He is a native of Coburg. [illegible] for fifty years Förster [forester] at Fülbach, close to Coburg.—*Footnote by the Queen.*

† "Who was very active and efficient. He is now a page." —*Footnote by the Queen.*

...-feuds of Ireland. Subsequent events proved that these anticipations ...re correct. Lord Clarendon ultimately accepted the Chancellorship of the ...ueen's University of Ireland.

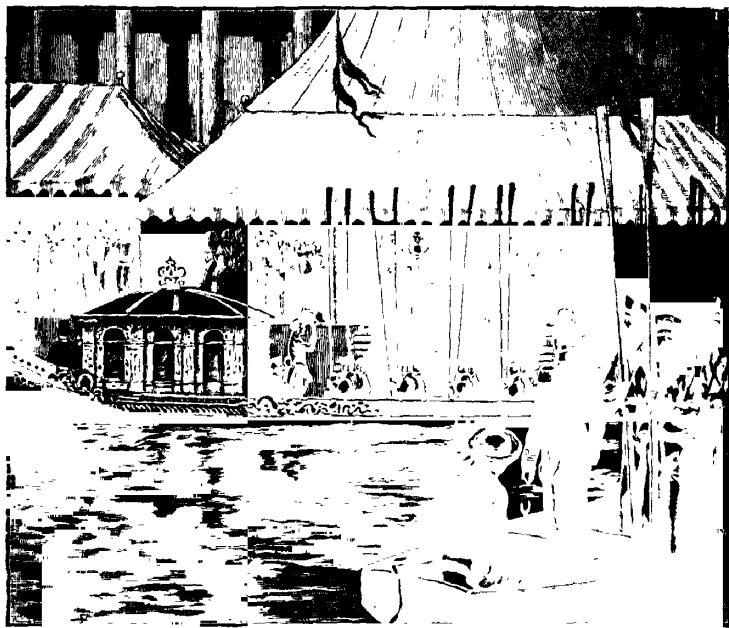
At this time, as has been stated, the present Castle at Balmoral was not ...uilt. Balmoral, in fact, was simply the modest family residence of a High...nd laird, and by no means well fitted for the establishment of the Court. ...owever, the business of the Court and the State could not be neglected on ...at account, and Ministers and officials showed great zeal and consideration ... assisting her Majesty to the utmost of their power in transacting it in ...ch a remote corner of her Empire. In Mr. Greville's Journal we have a ...rious entry (15th September) bearing on this point, and illustrating the ...oliday life of the Queen in the Highlands at that time. "On Monday, ...e 3rd," writes Mr. Greville, "on returning from Hillingdon, I found a ...mmons from John Russell to be at Balmoral on Wednesday, the 5th, at ...alf-past two, for a Council, to order a prayer for relief against the cholera. . . . I started on Wednesday morning at half-past six, and arrived at ...almoral exactly at half-past two. It is a beautiful road from Perth to ...almoral, particularly from Blairgowrie to the Spittal of Glenshee, and ...ence to Braemar. Much as I dislike Courts and all that appertains to them, ... am glad to have made this expedition, and to have seen the Queen and ...rince in their Highland retreat, where they certainly appear to great advantage. ...he place is very pretty; the house very small. They live there without any ...ate whatever; they live not merely like private gentlefolks, but like very ...nall gentlefolks—small house, small rooms, small establishment. There are ...o soldiers, and the whole guard of the Sovereign and Royal Family is a ...ngle policeman, who walks about the grounds to keep off impertinent in...uders or improper characters. Their attendants consisted of Lady Douro and ...iss Dawson, Lady and Maid of Honour; George Anson and Gordon; Birch, ...e Prince of Wales's tutor; and Miss Hildyard, the governess of the children. ...hey live with the greatest simplicity and ease. The Prince shoots every ...orning, returns to luncheon, and then they walk and drive. The Queen is ...unning in and out of the house all day long, and often goes about alone, ...alks into cottages, and sits and chats with the old women. I never before ...as in society with the Prince or had any conversation with him. On ...hursday morning John Russell and I were sitting together after breakfast, ...hen he came in and sat down with us, and we conversed for about three-...uarters of an hour. I was greatly struck with him. I saw at once (what ... had always heard) that he is very intelligent and highly cultivated; and, ...oreover, that he has a thoughtful mind, and thinks of subjects worth ...inking about. He seemed very much at his ease, very gay, pleasant, and ...ithout the least stiffness or air of dignity. After luncheon we went to the ...ighland gathering at Braemar—the Queen, the Prince, four children, and ...o ladies in one pony-carriage, John Russell, Mr. Birch, Miss Hildyard, and

I in another; Anson and Gordon on the box; one groom, no more. The gathering was at the old castle at Braemar, and a pretty sight enough. We returned as we came, and then everybody strolled about till dinner. We were only nine people, and it was all very easy and really agreeable—the Queen in very good humour, and talkative; the Prince still more so, and talking very well; no form, and everybody seemed at their ease. In

THE ROYAL BARGE

the evening we withdrew to the only room there is besides the dining-room, which serves for billiards, library (hardly any books in it), and drawing-room. The Queen and Prince and her ladies, and Gordon, soon went back to the dining-room, where they had a Highland dancing-master, who gave them lessons in reels. We (John Russell and I) were not admitted to this exercise, so we played at billiards. In process of time they came back, when there was a little talk, and soon after they went to bed."*

* Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. III. pp. 296, 297.

Shortly before the holiday at Balmoral ended, the Queen and Prince Albert were a little mortified to find that one of their projects, or rather one of the Prince's projects, was going awry. This was the preliminary movement which was intended to lead up to the organisation of a great International Industrial Exhibition. The idea of holding such an exhibition had occurred to the Prince in July, 1849. It seems to have been suggested to him by the great Frankfort Fairs of the sixteenth century. His

OPENING OF THE LONDON COAL EXCHANGE—ARRIVAL OF THE ROYAL PROCESSION AT THE CUSTOM-HOUSE QUAY. (See p. 418.)

Royal Highness had also noticed that one or two small pioneer exhibitions held by the Society of Arts, had produced good effects in improving the quality of English products. He argued that an exhibition on an international scale would produce still greater effects, not only on our manufactures, but on those of the world. It would be a tournament of Peace, in which the Captains of Industry would be the competitors in the lists.

On the 30th of July, 1849, the Prince held a conference at Buckingham Palace with four confidential persons—Mr. Henry Cole, Mr. Francis Fuller, Mr. Scott Russell, and Mr. Thomas Cubitt, and they resolved to hold the exhibition if possible, not in the quadrangle of Somerset House, as the Government had suggested, but in Hyde Park itself. They also arranged to

[illegible] to test the feeling of the industrial districts on the subject before going further. But in all this preliminary work of "sounding" influential persons, the Prince had given peremptory orders that his name should not be publicly mentioned. Unfortunately, Mr. Cole, with Hibernian effusiveness, had been tempted to disobey these orders at a meeting in Dublin, much to the annoyance of the Queen and her husband. "Praising me at meetings," wrote his Royal Highness to Colonel Phipps, "looks as if I were to be advertised and used as a means of drawing a full house, &c."—and if there was anything which was unspeakably offensive to the Queen, it was the use of her or her husband's name for purposes of puffery.

A few days after this disagreeable little episode (27th September) the Queen and her family left Balmoral for Osborne. They broke their journey at Howick, where they spent a night with Lord Grey, and in a few days after that they received tidings which filled their hearts with the utmost sorrow. The ever-faithful Anson, the Prince's first Secretary, died, and the Queen's household was filled with the deepest regret. The Queen herself wrote a touching letter to King Leopold, which shows how her heart bled for the widow of her most zealous servant; and Lady Lyttelton, writing on the 9th of November, says: "Every face shows how much has been felt; the Prince and Queen in floods of tears, and quite shut up." All through the record of the Queen's life, indeed, we find evidence of the cordial relations which bound her to those who served her. Their zeal indeed has been great, but it has been more than equalled by her sympathetic appreciation of it.

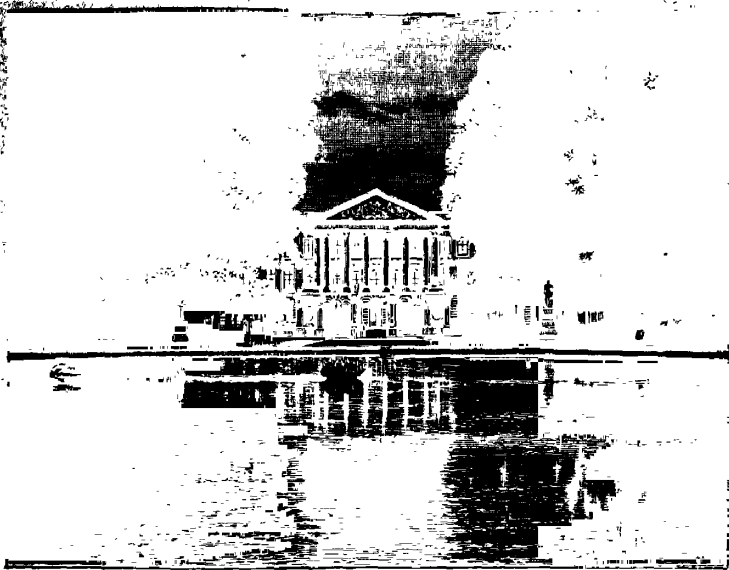
Colonel Phipps succeeded Mr. Anson as Privy Purse, and Colonel (afterwards General) Grey as the Prince's Secretary.

When the gloom of winter began to spread over London, the loyal citizens were sadly distressed to learn that a projected Royal visit to the city would be robbed of more than half its *éclat*. The Queen had promised to come and open the New Coal Exchange on the 30th of October. But alas, her Majesty had sickened with the chicken-pox, and the ceremony was performed by Prince Albert alone. Yet the Londoners were not without compensation. This visit to the City was memorable because of the first public appearance in a pageant of State, of the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal. The spectacle revived picturesque memories of "the spacious times of Great Elizabeth," for the Royal party proceeded to London by the silent highway of the river. Twenty-seven brawny watermen rowed the Queen's Barge from Westminster Stairs to the City, and, strange to say, for once the fog and murky atmosphere of London in early winter cleared away, and the ceremony took place in the sunshine, under a sky of Italian brilliancy. The crowds covered every possible corner where human beings could cluster. The long lines of shipping on each bank of the Pool were bright with bunting, and black with swarming sightseers. The cheering was overpowering when the fair-haired young Prince was seen in the barge, and both the

Royal children, though they went through the ordeal quietly and prettily, were obviously a little frightened and nervous. "The Prince," wrote Lady Lyttelton to Mrs. Gladstone, "was perfect in taste and manner, putting the Prince of Wales forward without affectation, and very dignified and kind himself." The procession on the water was gorgeous in the extreme. State liveries were blazing everywhere. Civic costumes of feudal times kindled many ancient memories; and the Lord Mayor's barge, which led the way, was a miracle of garish splendour. Lady Lyttelton says that what struck her most was not only the cheering, but the affectionate expression on the faces of the people when they craned forward to get a glimpse of the little Prince and Princess. But of one civic speaker and his speech in the Rotunda her ladyship says it "was most pompous; and he is ridiculous in voice and manner. And his immense size, and cloak, and wig, and great voice addressing the Prince of Wales about his being the 'pledge and promise of a long race of kings,' looked quite absurd. Poor Princey did not seem at all to guess what he meant." The Queen was rather sad-hearted at missing this first public reception of her children, which was the occasion of such an outburst of popular enthusiasm, loyal huzzas, and joy-bells ringing all over London town, not to mention thunderous salutations from the Tower guns—"enough," says Lady Lyttelton, "to drive one mad."

On the 2nd of December the Royal home was turned into a house of mourning. On that day the good Dowager-Queen Adelaide passed away from among the small but appreciative circle of friends and relatives who admired and loved her. The Queen's grief was deep and sincere. "Though we daily expected this sad event," writes her Majesty to King Leopold, "yet it came so suddenly when it did come, as if she had never been ill, and I can hardly realise the truth now. . . . She was truly motherly in her kindness to us and our children, and it always made her happy to be with us and to see us!" *

Queen Adelaide, it may be here noted, was one of the earliest of funeral reformers. Struck by the wastefulness and the bad taste of funereal pageants, she left what the Queen calls "the most affecting directions" for her burial, ordering that it should be conducted with the utmost simplicity and privacy—the only exceptional arrangement being that she desired her coffin to be borne by seamen, in homage to the memory of her husband, William IV., the Sailor-King. A simple-hearted, kindly, Christian lady, whose hands were ever swift in doing good — such is a brief abstract of the life and character of the Dowager-Queen Adelaide.

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

THE CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES, BRUSSELS

CHAPTER XXIII

CLOUDS IN THE EAST AND ELSEWHERE

Political Wreckage—Force triumphs over Opinion—The State of France—Election of Prince Charles Louis Bonaparte as Prince-President—The Sad Plight of Italy—Palmerston's Anti-Austrian Policy—Defeat of Piedmont—The Fall of Venice—Fall of the Roman Republic—A Cromwellian Struggle in Prussia—The Queen's Partisanship—Her Prussian Sympathies—The Hungarian Refugees in Turkey—A Diplomatic Conflict with Russia—Opening of Parliament—Mr. Disraeli and Local Taxation—Parliamentary Reform—The Jonahs of the Cabinet—The *Dispute with Greece—Don Pacifico's case—Coercion of Greece—Lord Palmerston meekly* accepts an Insult from Russia—French Intervention—A Diplomatic Conflict in France—Recall of the French Ambassador—False Statements in *Parliament—The Queen's Indignation—The* Don Pacifico Debate—The *Civis Romanus sum* Doctrine—Palmerston's Victory—The West African Slave Trade.

WHEN the year 1850 opened the counter-revolution had been accomplished. Much political and social wreckage disfigured the Continent, but the tempest which had produced it was over. What remained was an uneasy after-swell agitating the restless ocean of discontent. Force had, in fact, triumphed over opinion, and Europe was at last tranquil.

In France, after Louis Philippe fell, the country was left a prey to four factions or parties. One demanded an absolute monarchy; another demanded a parliamentary monarchy; a third demanded a military empire, based on universal suffrage; a fourth demanded a republic. The partisans of the republic triumphed in the first instance. But it fell, a victim to the voracity of its own children. The Government of Lamartine was poetic and Utopian,

and its experiment of creating national workshops in which the workmen were to be paid by the State, was not only fantastic but fatal. The State found it had no work to give. It found it had no money to spend in wages, and the artisans of the national establishments were accordingly advised to join the army. This disastrous adventure in Socialism was followed by another insur-

LOUIS KOSSUTH (1850).

rection in Paris—in which, by the way, the Archbishop of Paris and thousands of less eminent persons were slain. What Prince Bismarck would call the "psychological moment" for the interposition of a clever adventurer with a suggestion of compromise had manifestly arrived. Accordingly, the advent of Prince Charles Louis Bonaparte was hailed with a sense of relief by all parties—wearied to despair by the futile conflicts of factions. Although M. Grévy vainly endeavoured by a motion in the Chamber to procure the proscription of the Prince, his Highness was elected President of the Republic

on the 10th of December, 1848, by five and a half million out of seven and a half million votes. He took the oath to preserve the Republic, without exception. But when the year 1850 opened, he was busily plotting for its destruction, and manufacturing failure for its institutions.

The plight of Italy was a sad one. Austria had successfully met the attempt to seize her Italian provinces. She had crushed Piedmont so completely that, in 1849, there was danger lest she might be tempted to invade that State, and thus provoke the interference of Republican France. Lord Palmerston accordingly endeavoured to mediate between Austria and Piedmont. The idea of mediation was chimerical, for Austria, having made heavy sacrifices to hold her Cisalpine territories, and having succeeded in doing so by force, could hardly be expected to accept with equanimity Lord Palmerston's favourite dogma, that the Italian provinces of Austria were to her not a source of strength, but of weakness. Austria repudiated all proposals for a conference of mediation, unless they were limited to discuss what Piedmont owed her as an indemnity, and the guarantees which could be given against Piedmontese turbulence. Diplomacy had well-nigh exhausted its resources in endeavouring to bring Austria to submit the points at issue to a Congress at Brussels, when the whole situation was suddenly changed. Joseph Mazzini and his school, convinced that Austria was checked by France and England, overthrew the Governments of Florence and Rome, which were under Austrian tutelage. Revolution headed by a monarch had failed. Its victory, argued Mazzini, under Republican leadership, would be a signal triumph for the Republican idea. The success of Mazzini and his followers led to the formation of a violent anti-Austrian Ministry in Piedmont.

But again Austria triumphed. Piedmont was crushed at Novara on the 23rd of March, 1849. Venice was on the eve of surrender, and when the Pope, who had fled to Gaeta, appealed to the Catholic Powers for aid, Austria was thus quite free to help him. The prospect of Austria bringing Central as well as North Italy under her sway alarmed France, and accordingly the Republican Government in Paris sent an army under Oudinot, which suppressed the Republican Government at Rome. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was restored, the revolution in the Sicilies quenched in blood, and the dream of Italian independence dissipated. Nor was this the only triumph of Absolutism under Austria. The revolution in Hungary was suppressed, but not till Russia came to the assistance of Austria.

In Prussia, too, the monarchy, after a Cromwellian struggle with a factious Parliament, had completely restored its authority, and to Prussia the small German States now began to turn for leadership in consolidating themselves into a German Empire. Unhappily the King of Prussia failed to respond to this feeling when Austria was struggling with the revolution in Italy. At the beginning of 1850 he accordingly found the feeling in favour of unifying Germany opposed by three great Powers—France, Russia, and Austria, the

but, indeed, claiming, on behalf of the Archduke John, to be the executive head and heir of the defunct German Confederation of 1815. By the Constitution of Kremsir, Austria had consolidated her possessions—German, Magyar, Sclavonic, and Italian—into one federal State, and, in a sense, she had thereby withdrawn from the German Confederation. Her policy of obstructing consolidation in disintegrated Germany was therefore alike ungenerous and unjust.

Through this maze of difficulty the Queen and Prince Albert steered a clear course. They were both partisans—one might say strong and zealous partisans—of Teutonic consolidation under Prussia. Austria, they held, had played for her own hand, and, by adopting Schwarzenberg's policy of consolidating her dominions in purely Austrian interests, she had abandoned her claim to guide the destinies of the smaller German States, in purely German interests. But, however strongly the Queen felt on this point, her influence was used to moderate the extravagant anti-Austrian antipathies of Lord Palmerston, and it largely contributed to keep the country out of war. At last, however, a cloud rose in the East which threatened us with calamity.

When Austria, by summoning to her aid the armed hordes of Russia, stamped out the movement for Hungarian independence, several Hungarian and Polish patriots—Kossuth, Ban, and others—fled to Turkey. Austria and Russia demanded their extradition. The Sultan refused to surrender the refugees, and De Titoff and Sturmer, Russian and Austrian ambassadors, suspended diplomatic relations with the Porte. The Sultan appealed to Britain and France against this outrageous violation of the unity of nations. Britain remonstrated in firm but courteous language, and Austria and Russia both withdrew their demands, but not before the British fleet had moved within the forbidden limits of the Dardanelles, in anticipation of a refusal. Lord Palmerston's apology for thus violating the treaty of 1841 was that the fleet had been driven into forbidden waters by "stress of weather." As there was notoriously no "stress of weather," this explanation merely irritated the Czar, and planted in his heart the germ of that fierce hatred of England, which culminated in the Crimean War.

Parliament was opened on the 31st of January, 1850, by Commission, and, as had been anticipated, the Protectionists made, not an attack, but rather a reconnoissance in force against the Government. During the recess they had gone through the country painting the darkest pictures of the condition of England. According to their speeches, one would have imagined that another famine had smitten the nation; and for all this pessimism there was but one justification. No doubt everybody who depended on the soil for a livelihood was suffering from distress. Prices had fallen, and farmers had not taken kindly to the new order of things. But the masses of the people, especially in industrial centres, were enjoying greater comfort than ever. The revenue was showing signs of buoyancy; the foreign trade of the

[illegible] had increased, and pauperism had diminished. All these cheerin
facts were concealed from the public by the Conservative agitators, who con
centrated attention on one point—the admitted and deplorable distress
the landed interest. The real desire of the Tory party at this time was
turn out the Government and restore Protection. The Duke of Richmond
indiscreet speech on the Address in the House of Lords proves that. Bu
conscious of the difficulty of suddenly upsetting the fiscal system which wa

THE WHITE DRAWING-ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE

based on Free Trade, they concealed their real purpose. Mr. Disraeli ther
fore supported a Protectionist amendment to the Address in reply to th
Queen's Speech, on the ground that the landed interests were entitled to
certain amount of relief from public burdens, in compensation for the loss
Protection. On the 19th of February, Mr. Disraeli had to show his hand. H
then moved for a committee to revise the Poor Law so as to mitigate distre
among the agricultural class. This debate is worth noticing, because it ma
be said to have definitely originated the perennial movement for local taxatio
reform, which is always an object of enthusiasm to what may be called th
country party, when out of office. Mr. Disraeli's idea was to transfer from loc
rates to the Imperial Treasury (1), Poor Law establishment charges; (2), rat
which had nothing to do with the relief of the poor, and were only raised b

Poor Law machinery as a matter of convenience—such as rates for registrati of births, deaths, and marriages, for getting up jury lists, and the like; an (3), the rate for supporting the casual poor. His case was not decided on i merits. Members did not look to what was in the motion, but to what w behind it, namely, the restoration of Protection, or an increase in Incon Tax to provide funds for the relief of local burdens. Sir James Graham frank admission, as a landlord, that relief in the rate would be swallowe

THE PIRÆUS, ATHENS.

by an increase in the rents, and that it was the landlord and not the tenai who would profit, determined many, who did not deny the abstract justi of Mr. Disraeli's contention, to vote against him. The sensational incide in the debate was the speech of Mr. Gladstone, who supported Mr. Disra against his own leaders. In fact, he replied to Sir James Graham. Despi the support of Peel, the Government, instead of having a majority of fort as they expected, were saved from defeat only by a majority of twenty. Fro that day till now a clever debater, by a skilful motion in favour of relief local taxation, has always been able to weaken the majority of the stronge of Ministries. Local taxation is the vulnerable point of Governments, as it is the one subject with which they all seem afraid to deal in a bold an

comprehensive spirit. All they do is to denounce the evil in Oppositio palliate its existence when in Power.

The agitation for Parliamentary Reform had increased. Some of the ties, notably Sir J. Graham, had warned Lord John Russell that they in favour of an extension of the franchise, and Lord John himself had doned the doctrine of finality. Mr. Hume, therefore, brought forwa annual motion on the 28th of February, hinting plainly that he would no objection to extend its scope so as to include female franchise, an substitution of an elective for a hereditary House of Lords. It was certain that Lord John Russell was by this time of opinion that some concessions might be made to the Radicals. Several of his colleagues, ever—*e.g.*, Mr. Labouchere—were of a different opinion, and it is a ingly right to say that those who denounced Lord John's "apostasy," he opposed Mr. Hume, were somewhat unfair. Had the Prime Ministe duced a Reform Bill this Session, every question which it might be pc to deal with would have been put aside. But as he was not likely to his own colleagues with him in advocating reform, not only would this sa have been made in vain, but a Government which, in the existing sta parties, was indispensable to the nation, would have fallen. Mr. Hum beaten by a vote of 242 against 96, though the Prime Minister's argu against him was rather a plea for delay, than a defiant "*Non possumus.*"

Writing on the 10th of February, Mr. Greville says in his Journal, " brightness of the Ministerial prospect was very soon clouded over, and last their disasters began. There was first of all the Greek affair, and the case of the Ceylon witnesses—matters affecting Lord Palmerston and Grey"—the Jonahs of the Cabinet. "The Greek case," continues Mr. Gre "will probably be settled, thanks to French mediation, but it was a bad discreditable affair, and has done more harm to Palmerston than any o greater enormities. The other Ministers are extremely annoyed at it, a the sensation it has produced." The Greek case was briefly this: Mr. lay, a British subject in Athens, alleged that King Otho had enclosed of his land in the Royal Garden, and demanded compensation. The offered him the same compensation that had been accepted as fair by owners of enclosed land in Mr. Finlay's position. This Mr. Finlay ref and he demanded £1,500 for the land which, it was admitted, he had bo for £10. Don Pacifico, a Portuguese Jew from Gibraltar, sought dam for the pillage of his house by the Athenian mob. He claimed £31 The value of his furniture was shown to be £2,181. The balance supposed to represent the value of documents proving that he had a clai the Portuguese Government for £27,000. Mr. Finlay and Don Pacifico not raised their claims in the ordinary law courts, and to the amazeme everybody, Lord Palmerston proposed to employ the mailed might of Eng to collect their bad debts. He peremptorily ordered the Greek Governme

pay these exaggerated claims, on pain of inflicting on Greece a blockade and reprisals within twenty-four hours. On the 18th of January, Admiral Parker, with the Mediterranean Fleet, blockaded the Piræus—for, contrary to Lord Palmerston's expectations, Greece refused to comply with his demands. The Greek Government appealed for protection to France and Russia—whose Governments being with that of Britain joint guarantors for the independence of Greece, were justly annoyed that their good offices had not been invoked by Lord Palmerston. Count Nesselrode, burning to avenge the defeat of the Czar over the question of the Hungarian refugees in Turkey, sent a remonstrance to Lord Palmerston, which was couched in the language of bitter contempt and studied insolence. The French Government, on the other hand, pretending that our agent in Athens had blundered, courteously offered to extricate Lord Palmerston from his difficulties by using the influence of France, to compose the dispute with Greece. On the 12th of February Lord Palmerston ordered the British Envoy to inform Admiral Parker that he must suspend coercive operations. It was not till the 2nd of March that these instructions arrived, and in the interval the Admiral had been vigorously coercing the Greeks. France was naturally irritated at this untoward incident, all the more that Lord Palmerston's explanation of the delay was deemed unsatisfactory. Ultimately, the matter was settled on Greece agreeing to pay Mr. Wyse, the British Minister, £8,500 to be distributed by him as he thought just among the claimants—the value of Don Pacifico's lost vouchers against the Portuguese Government to be determined by arbitration.

This compromise, however, was made by negotiation in London. A French steamer conveyed the purport of it to Mr. Wyse, the British Envoy at Athens, on the 24th of April. He, however, said that he had no instructions from his Government to countermand his original orders, which were to renew coercion if the French Envoy at Athens could not induce the Greeks to submit. Coercion was therefore again applied, and the Greek Government on the 27th submitted to Mr. Wyse's demands. These were more onerous in some respects than the terms agreed on by the London Convention, and Lord Palmerston persisted in adhering to the Athenian arrangement. M. Gros at Athens, finding he could not persuade Mr. Wyse to act on the London Convention, had on the 21st of April officially intimated that his action as mediator was ended. This, argued Lord Palmerston coolly, left the British Envoy—in the absence of instructions from England—free to renew coercion, and to enter into the Athenian arrangement. Palmerston, in other words, claimed the right to take advantage of his own delay, in notifying to Mr. Wyse the result of the London Convention, to refuse to act on the finding of that Convention. It is but fair to say that the Queen was quite as indignant as the Government of France, at Lord Palmerston's rude and provocative conduct. Lord John Russell intimated to her the fact that the French Government had met the affront with which Lord Palmerston had rewarded their efforts to extricate him from the effects

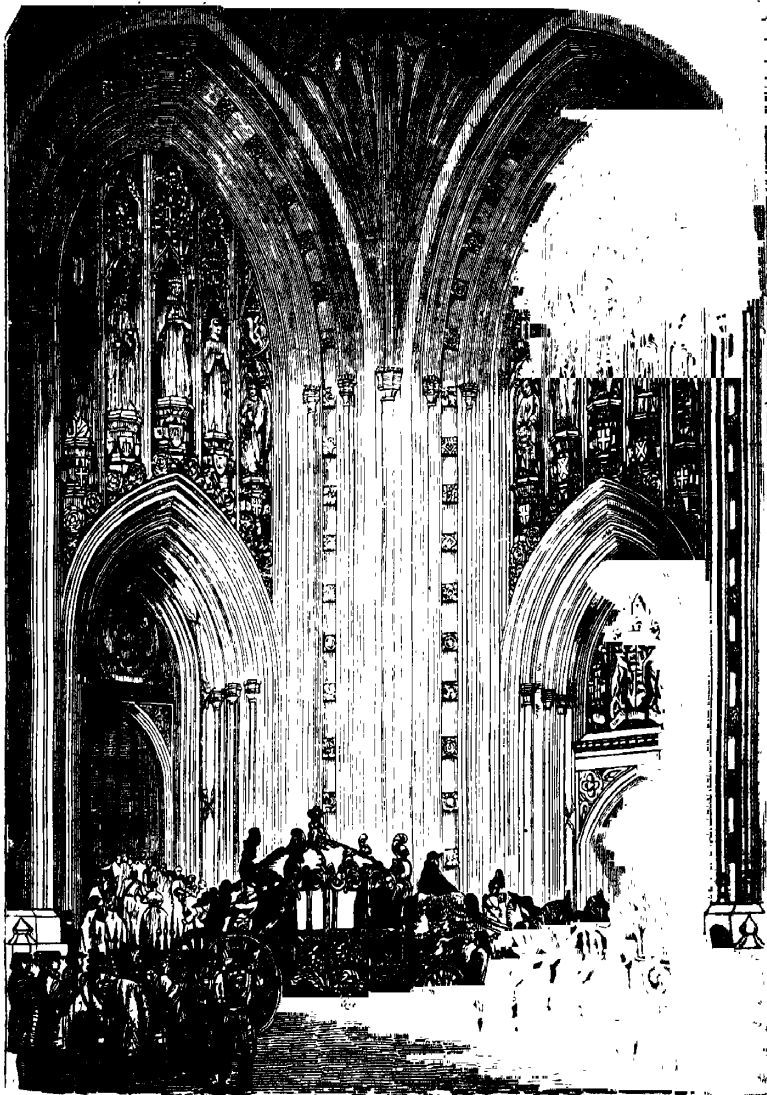
of his own blunder, by recalling M. Drouyn de Lhuys. Her Majesty promptly directed her husband, who acted as her confidential secretary, to send the Prime Minister one of those curt, cutting notes, which invariably indicate her displeasure.

"MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—Both the Queen and myself are exceedingly sorry at the news your letter contained. We are not surprised, however, that Lord Palmerston's mode of doing business should not be borne by the susceptible French Government with the same good humour and forbearance as by his colleagues. "Ever yours truly,

"Buckingham Palace, 15th May, 1850."* "ALBERT.

The view which the Queen took was the fair and common-sense one, namely, that we should act on the London Convention. The Convention of London which we made with France gave us certain terms. By an accident, for which Palmerston was responsible, Mr. Wyse at Athens had extorted better ones for us at Athens. It was not high policy, but sharp practice; it was not in the spirit of enlightened diplomacy, but in the spirit of the meanest attorneydom, that any claim to benefit by the "accident" which had given better terms to us at Athens than at London, was pressed by Lord Palmerston.

But the Queen's troubles did not end here. Her birthday was celebrated on the 15th of May, and the absence of the French and Russian Ambassadors from the usual Foreign Office dinner on that occasion, naturally roused suspicion. It was not known that the French representative had been recalled, and that France and England were in open diplomatic conflict. What was the meaning of the absence of these ambassadors? asked Society at the great rout at Devonshire House on the night of the 19th. Questions to this effect were put to Ministers in both Houses. Lord Lansdowne said that the departure of M. Drouyn de Lhuys was purely accidental; and Lord Palmerston had the effrontery to declare, in reply to Mr. Milner Gibson, that M. de Lhuys had merely gone to Paris as a medium of communication between the two Governments. But the *Times* reported in due course that General de la Hitte, Minister of War, had intimated from the tribune of the French Assembly that, because Lord Palmerston's explanations in regard to points at issue between the two Governments were not such as France had a right to expect, "the President had ordered General de la Hitte to recall their Ambassador from London." Nothing could exceed the mortification of the Queen when she was informed of the almost simultaneous publication of these contradictory official statements. Her detestation of equivocal and shuffling Ministerial explanations has long passed into a proverb. Her Majesty's theory, in fact, is that the Minister is for the time the trustee of the honour of the Crown, and that, especially in foreign countries, where the relation between the British Sovereign and her Ministers is ill understood, the Crown is held personally responsible for what the Minister says, in all matters affecting

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XXXVIII.

GRAND ENTRANCE, WESTMINSTER PALACE.

the external relations of the Kingdom. In plain English, the Queen ha always held that if a Minister tells a lie in Parliament, nine people out o ten on the Continent will suspect that she has ordered or induced him to tel it. Hence her indignation on reading Lord Palmerston's reply to Mr. Milne Gibson's question was tinged with a feeling of personal humiliation and shame Public opinion was similarly excited when the newspapers were studied, an fuller questions were immediately put to Lord Lansdowne and Lord John Russell They gave evasive and prevaricating answers, attempting to explain away th French Ambassador's letter of recall, much to the disgust of all parties i Parliament. The tide of anger rose higher every day that the scandal wa discussed. Lord John Russell told his brother, the Duke of Bedford, tha Ministers must defend Palmerston on this occasion, but, after the disput came to an end, he would have Palmerston dismissed from the Foreign Office "He is," writes Mr. Greville on the 19th of May, "to see the Queen on Tuesday who will of course be boiling over with indignation;" for by this time Baro Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador, had warned Lord John that he, too, mus ask to be relieved from his post, as "it was impossible for him to stay her to be on bad terms with Palmerston."

The question has often been asked, Why did English statesmen get u in both Houses of Parliament and tell a series of falsehoods which they kne must be discovered in forty-eight hours by official refutation from France The fact is, Lord Palmerston had deceived his colleagues. He assured the that M. de Lhuys had taken back to Paris explanations so conciliatory, tha his letter of recall would be quietly cancelled. Assured by Palmerston tha he had made the cancelling of the recall a certainty, Lord Lansdowne an Lord John Russell assumed that the letter of recall was suppressed, an they both answered as if it never had existed. On the 25th of May, Mr Greville writes:—"The morning before yesterday the Duke of Bedford cam here again. He had seen Lord John since, and heard what passed with th Queen. She was full of this affair, and again urged all her objections t Lord Palmerston. This time she found Lord John better disposed tha heretofore, and he is certainly revolving in his mind how the thing can b done. He does not by any means contemplate going out himself, or breakin up the Government. What he looks to is this, that the Queen should take th initiative, and urge Palmerston's removal from the Foreign Office. She is quit ready to do this as soon as she is assured of her wishes being attended to."*

Lord John Russell screwed up his courage to the point of contemplating th removal of Lord Palmerston from the Foreign Office to some other department o State, he himself undertaking the duties of Foreign Secretary along with thos of the Premiership. Such a combination is never a wise one. Even in recen times, when Lord Salisbury attempted to unite in his own person the two offices the strain was found to be greater than his strength could bear; and in the cas

* Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. III. p. 335.

of Lord John, whose health was at this time capricious and precarious, it was perhaps as well that at the eleventh hour he shrank from proposing the change to Lord Palmerston. Lord John has been accused of lack of courage in connection with this affair. The truth is, that a perverted chivalry prompted him to stand by Lord Palmerston. The Greek affair was hardly defensible. But it was bruited about that the Opposition, under cover of condemning Lord Palmerston in that special case, meant to direct a severe attack on the foreign policy of the Government as a whole. Lord Palmerston's colleagues had, however, permitted themselves not only to be identified with that policy, but had thought fit to defend every blunder he had made in carrying it out. Lord John Russell, then, cannot be blamed for considering that to desert the Foreign Secretary on the Greek Question, would have been tantamount to making him the scapegoat of the Cabinet. Hence, in spite of the Queen's strong feeling in the matter, it was agreed that Palmerston should not be "thrown over."

After much fencing between the leaders of the two parties, the first of the attacks, which led to a series of debates almost unparalleled in our history as displays of sustained Parliamentary eloquence, was made in the House of Lords on the 17th of June. Lord Stanley moved a vote of censure on the Ministry for their coercive measures in Greece, affirming, however, the general proposition that it was the right and duty of the Government to secure to British subjects in foreign States, the full protection of the laws of those States. The scene was a memorable one. The House was crowded in every part, and the conflict began with an amusing farce. The Peeress's Gallery was crammed to overflowing, and when Lady Melbourne and Lady Newport, under Lord Brougham's escort, went to their places, they found them filled, and were ignominiously turned away. Brougham, however, espied Bunsen, the Prussian Minister, in the gallery, and requested him to retire to his proper seat in the Ambassadors' quarter, but he refused. Then Brougham went down to his own place, and avenged himself on Bunsen by calling the attention of their lordships to the fact that there was "a stranger in the Peeress's Gallery," adding, "if he does not come down, I shall move your lordships to enforce the order of the House. It is the more intolerable as he has a place assigned to him in another part, and he is now keeping the room of *two Peeresses*." As Bunsen was notoriously a fat, overgrown man, Brougham's malicious personality was received with shouts of laughter. But it had no effect on the stolid Prussian, who kept his seat till Sir Augustus Clifford, Usher of the Black Rod, made him retire.*

The issue before the House was simple enough. (1), Lord Palmerston had agreed with M. Drouyn de Lhuys that if the terms which M. Gros, the French Envoy at Athens, proposed on behalf of Greece were rejected by Mr. Wyse, the British Envoy, coercion should not be again applied without special orders from Britain. But if M. Gros threw up his office of mediator because the Greeks declined to let him offer fair terms, then of course Mr. Wyse was to

* Memorials of an Ex-Minister, by Lord Malmesbury, Vol. I. p. 261.

[illegible] to coercion without further instructions. (2), M. Drouyn de Lhuys and Lord Palmerston in London agreed on a settlement, the terms of which were less onerous than those demanded by Mr. Wyse. (3), Though this was informally communicated by the French to Mr. Wyse, he rejected the terms which M. Gros offered on behalf of Greece, contending that he had no instructions

MR. (AFTERWARDS SIR ALEXANDER) COCKBURN.

from Lord Palmerston as to the adoption of any other course. (4), M. Gros then dropped the negotiations. Mr. Wyse, again arguing that he was without instructions, ordered coercion to be applied, upon which the Greek Government yielded. The pith of the dispute centred in one point. Did Palmerston or did he not send Mr. Wyse instructions as to the arrangement made in London with M. Drouyn de Lhuys? The French said that their Envoy abandoned negotiations because Mr. Wyse was unreasonable. Lord Palmerston contended that Mr. Wyse was of opinion that M. Gros had dropped mediation because the

[illegible], and that therefore, in terms of the arrangement made [illegible], Mr. Wyse was justified in resorting to coercion without further [illegible]. Mr. Wyse may have been mistaken in supposing that M. Gros [illegible] from the negotiations in the circumstances which, according to the London [Convention], would have justified a resort to coercion without further reference [to Lord] Palmerston. If that were the case, the Government had a good defence; [it] would have been unfair to censure them for Mr. Wyse's blunder. But was [this the] case? How could Mr. Wyse have blundered in interpreting the con[ditions] of the London Convention, if no instructions in accordance with that [Convention] had been sent to him? The complaint was that the Foreign Secre[tary] had neglected to send these instructions, and a close and careful examina[tion of] Palmerston's own Blue-book, fails to bring to light the slightest proof [that they] ever were sent. Therefore it was clear (1), that Britain had broken [a binding] diplomatic compact with France, and (2), that this breach of faith [had] enabled Mr. Wyse at Athens to extort by force from a small, weak Power more onerous terms than the British Government had agreed with France to accept in London. The House of Lords took this view of the matter, and when the debate ended, in the grey dawn of a summer's morning, it was found on division that there was a majority of 37 against the Government.

Some members of the Cabinet were for resignation. Many friends of the Government thought that Palmerston should personally offer the Queen his resignation, begging her not to accept that of his colleagues if they tendered theirs. But the Foreign Secretary made no offer to resign, and at first the Cabinet resolved to take no more notice of the vote of censure in the Upper House. Ultimately, they found that they must notice it, and as their Foreign Policy as a whole was impugned, they decided not to abandon the Foreign Secretary. On the 20th of June, Lord John Russell explained why he would not resign. He gave two reasons—one good and the other bad,—the first being one of which the Queen approved. It was that a change of Government, in consequence of a resolution of the House of Lords, would be unconstitutional, because, in his opinion, it might be dangerous even to the House of Lords to lay upon it the responsibility of controlling her Majesty's Executive. Two precedents, one a hundred years old, and one taken from 1833, when the Peers, on the motion of the Duke of Wellington, censured Lord Grey's Foreign Policy in Portugal, were ingeniously cited by Lord John Russell in support of this constitutional doctrine. But his second reason was characteristically Palmerstonian. He said that the House of [Lords] had laid it down, that it was the duty of the British Government to [see] that British subjects in Foreign States got full protection from the laws of [those] States. That was a *limitation* of duty which Lord John Russell refused [to recognise], because, said he, a Foreign State might make bad laws, and it [would be the duty] of England to prevent her subjects from being injured by those [laws. No principle] is more clearly established in international law than this [illegible] State has an absolute right to dictate the terms on which

any alien shall abide on its soil.* If the alien does not like the law of the Foreign State, he has no business to call on his own countrymen to defend him by force of arms in refusing to obey it, seeing that it was not at their request or in their interest, but of his own free will, and in pursuit of his own fortune, he went to live or traffic abroad. In fact, to lay it down that England might levy war on any country, whose laws Englishmen residing in that country considered inequitable, was tantamount to proclaiming her *hostis humani generis*. Yet such was the doctrine which the House of Commons, in spite of the protests of the Tories, of Radicals like Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, and Peelites like Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, cheerfully accepted from the Whigs at this period. The only thing that can be said in its defence is that it is a doctrine which the House has never dared to apply to a stronger Power than Greece—never to a Power like Russia, which deports English Jews, nor like Germany, which deported British residents, personally obnoxious to Prince Bismarck, in the most arbitrary manner. It is doubtful if it would even dare to apply it to an autonomous colony like Victoria, had her Government refused, as was threatened, to permit the Irish informer, James Carey, to reside within her frontier.

Having decided to defy the House of Lords, the Government hit on an ingenious plan for neutralising the vote of censure. They put up Mr. Roebuck on the 21st of June to move a vote of confidence in them not touching the Greek dispute, but approving generally of their Foreign Policy as one likely "to preserve untarnished the honour and dignity of this country." The debate, which lasted five days, was a veritable tournament of Titans. On both sides speeches were made that touch the highest point to which Parliamentary eloquence can reach Mr. Cockburn, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, delivered an oration by which, at one bound, he leapt into the first rank of British orators. Peel delivered the last speech he was fated to make in the great assembly, on which for years he had played with the easy mastery of a musician on his favourite instrument. Palmerston himself spoke for four hours and a quarter with more than his usual dash and intrepidity, and with surprising moderation and good taste—basing his case virtually on the application of the *civis Romanus sum* doctrine to British Foreign Policy. This was the point in it which Mr. Gladstone demolished in a passionate protest, that may be said to have become classical. But in the end the Government triumphed by a majority of 46! Yet, on the face of the facts, they had absolutely no case. Why, then, were they victorious? For many reasons. In the then divided state of parties, the Government was felt to be the only possible Government. Palmerston, by adroitly spreading the report that the attack on

* This, of course, applies only to States within the European comity of nations. Semi-barbarous Asiatic or African States—*e.g.*, Turkey and Tunis—by special treaties or "capitulations," surrendered to England extra-territorial jurisdiction over cases in which her subjects resident in their territories were concerned.

... was ... fomented by the agents of the despotic Powers, whose policy ... had persistently opposed, won strong support from the Radicals. The ... felt that as the Foreign Policy of the Government as a whole was

MR. GLADSTONE (1855).

...ttacked, they were bound to defend the Ministry, quite irrespective of Palmer-...'s possibly objectionable method of carrying out that policy. Moreover, ... was undoubtedly a weak point in the tactics of the Opposition, that ... did not venture to submit in the House of Commons, the motion of ... which they had carried in the House of Lords. But though Lord ...'s triumph was complete, the Queen continued to be dissatisfied

with his reckless manner of managing the Foreign Office. Pressure was put on him by the concurrence of Lord John Russell, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Clarendon to take another department, which, however, he refused to do. For the time—confident in his popularity—he was able to

WINDSOR CASTLE: VIEW FROM THE QUADRANGLE

hold his position, but ere a year had elapsed her Majesty's warnings were fulfilled, and Lord John was simply compelled to force him to retire.* It must be here told how this whole controversy ended. Before the debate closed, it was announced that we had accepted, with some trifling modifications

* The details of this intrigue, it is understood, were recorded by Mr. Greville, but the publication of them was withheld by the editor of his "Journal," for reasons which may easily be guessed. The whole story will probably not be told during the lifetime of the Queen.

[illegible], the French proposals made on behalf of Greece. The demands of the claimants in support of whom we had been brought to the brink of war with France, were finally assessed at £10,000—about one-thirtieth part of the sum they originally asked!

No other question of Foreign Policy agitated the House of Commons in 1850, save Mr. Hutt's proposal to withdraw the British war-ships engaged in suppressing the West African slave trade. The cost of the squadron had made its maintenance unpopular even with Liberals, and when Lord John Russell threatened to stake the existence of his Ministry on it, the Queen was distressed to learn that there was every prospect of his being defeated, at a time when a change of Government would have produced the utmost confusion. A meeting of the Liberal Party was convened by the Prime Minister at Downing Street, and pressure, which they hardly dared to resist, induced the malcontents to support the Government. Mr. Hutt's motion was lost, many Ministerialists, however, complaining bitterly that the Prime Minister had concussed them into voting against their convictions.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SOME EPOCH-MARKING LEGISLATION.

Lord John Russell's Colonial Bill—Mr Gladstone's Scheme for Colonial Church Courts—The Colonial Bills Mangled—More English Doles for Ireland—An Irish Reform Bill—Lord John Russell proposes to abolish the Lord-Lieutenancy—The Queen's Irish Policy—Her Offer to Establish a Royal Residence in Ireland—The Bungled Budget—The Demand for Retrenchment—The Tories insist on a Reduction of Official Salaries—Lord John Russell's Commission on the Universities—The Queen and the Church—The Ecclesiastical Appeals Bill—The "Gorham Case"—Death of Peel—The Queen's Sorrow—Peel's Character and Career—The Queen's Alarm about Prince Albert's Health—The Coming Exhibition—The Commandership-in-Chief—Pate's Assault on the Queen—Attacks on Prince Albert—The Queen and Lord Palmerston—The Haynau Incident—No Popery Agitation—The Crystal Palace.

FAR more interesting, however, was the Colonial legislation of the Government in 1850, which indeed might be termed epoch-marking. The Queen had at the opening of the Session indicated in her Speech from the Throne that a measure extending Constitutional government to the Colonies would be introduced. It was known that she was personally of opinion that the Colonies were giving promise of a growth so rapid, that it would be impossible for any length of time to hold them in the leading-strings of the Colonial Office. The incessant attacks which had been made on Lord Grey in Parliament and in the Press merely served to confirm the Queen in this opinion. It was, therefore, with great satisfaction that she discovered that men of light and leading on both sides of the House of Commons were so far agreed on the subject, that it was deemed practicable by Lord John Russell to minimise the friction between the Colonies and the Colonial Office, by conceding to the Colonists

large powers of representative self-government. Lord John Russell [illegible] the scheme which embodied these ideas on the 8th of February. To the Cape Colony he granted two Chambers. The first was representative, and elected under a property qualification. The second, or Legislative Council, was to be elected by persons with a higher property qualification, who had been named by the Crown or municipal bodies for magisterial and municipal offices as individuals of weight and influence. For Australia he proposed a system under which there should be only one Legislative Council, two-thirds elected by the people, and one-third named by the Governor, on the pattern of the system adopted by New South Wales, but with power to the Colonists to change to the bi-cameral or two-Chamber system if they preferred it. Provision was made for constituting, on petition of any two Colonies, a Federal Assembly representing all the Colonial Legislatures, to frame a common tariff, or initiate a common policy for dealing with waste lands. It was in introducing this great scheme that Lord John Russell said that, whilst reserving questions of military defence, the central idea of his Colonial policy was this: political freedom can be best promoted in the Colonies by acting on the general rule, that while the Imperial Government must be their representative in all foreign relations, it will interfere in their domestic affairs no further than may be manifestly necessary to prevent a conflict in the State itself.

By finally and formally establishing this principle, the Government of the Queen did all that was humanly possible to repair the wrong done to England and the English people by her grandfather, George III., who flung away, not a crown, as did James II., but a virgin continent, to gratify an absolutist prejudice.

The Bill passed the House of Commons, though the scheme was open to objection. Had it not been open to objection, it would have been a perfect Bill, "that faultless monster," to adapt Pope's line, "which the world ne'er saw." On the whole, however, it was wonderfully well received. Its opponents objected mainly to the adoption of the uni-cameral instead of the bi-cameral system, namely, that of governing by one instead of by two Legislative Assemblies. Why, it was asked, should Australia be limited to one Legislative Assembly when the Cape was permitted to have two? Another objection was to the introduction of a Federative Assembly, which was opposed bitterly as a novelty even by Tory politicians like Mr. Disraeli, who in after-years strongly advocated Imperial Federation. Another more valid objection urged by Radicals like Sir W. Molesworth, was that the scheme gave the Colonial Office too much power. There was good sense in his contention, supported by Tories like Mr Adderley (afterwards Lord Norton), that the Colonial Parliament should not only be vested with all legislative powers which were *not* Imperial, but that this should be done by mentioning the powers that *were* Imperial, and leaving everything not mentioned in that category, to be considered as Colonial. This point gave [illegible] an able and thoughtful debate on the report of the Bill after it [illegible]

[illegible], in which it may be interesting to state that Mr. Gladstone delivered a speech in support of the Tory-Radical opposition, which may be said to contain the germs of the principle on which his Irish Home Rule Bill of 1886 was based. On the other hand, to Mr. Gladstone must be credited the oddest and most ridiculous of all the amendments to the measure. His ecclesiasticism induced him to propose that in every Colony the Church of England be authorised to form

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a synod independent of the Imperial or Colonial Government, and empowered to make laws binding on Anglican Colonists. The idea of empowering the Anglican Church courts in our free Colonies to make regulations, quite independently of the Crown or the Colony, which were to be not only binding *in foro conscientiæ*, but were also to have the force of law, in Royal and Colonial courts, was not only mediæval, but monstrous. Yet it was only rejected by 187 to 182. Perhaps this accounted for what was by far the most trenchant speech made in opposition to the Bill, that of the Bishop of Oxford in the House of Lords, though even he did not venture to reject the measure, his proposal being merely to refer

it to a Committee. It was a speech that would have defeated the Government but for Lord Grey's conciliatory offer to go on with the Bill even if the House struck out the clause enabling Colonial Legislatures to alter their constitution, and the clause enabling the Colonists to form a Federative Assembly. This won

MR HORSMAN

for the Government a majority of 13. As the clause sanctioning a Federative Assembly was carried in the Lords, against the bitter opposition of the Tories, only by a majority of one, it was eventually abandoned. They further marred the Bill by conferring exceptional political privileges on wealthy squatters, and by prohibiting any Legislative Chamber from eliminating its non-elective element. The interesting thing to notice is how the Tory Party of the day completely stamped out the germ of that Imperial policy of Colonial confed[illegible]

[illegible] which Lord John Russell and Lord Grey so wisely strove to plant. As "amended" by the Lords, the Bill passed into law, much to the satisfaction of the Queen, who, when she sanctioned the measure, felt sure that a vigilant personal superintendence of the details of Colonial, as well as foreign affairs, would not thereafter be added to the already arduous duties and anxieties of the Sovereign.

Ireland, as usual, was this Session the object or victim of an eleemosynary financial policy. She had hanging over her, in the shape of relief loans made during ten years, an unliquidated debt of £4,483,000. Besides that, some of the Poor Law Unions were so burdened with debt contracted for local purposes—frequently purposes of jobbery—that they needed help. Lord John Russell therefore proposed to consolidate the unliquidated local debts since 1839, and, subject to existing conditions of interest, extend the period of repayment to forty years. For the immediate relief of bankrupt and semi-bankrupt Unions he proposed another advance from the Treasury of £300,000. The justification for these loans, which were sanctioned, was that the Irish landowners could not pay the interest on the local debt, in addition to the existing poor-rates.

Ireland having been decimated by famine and emigration, it was considered that it would not be unsafe to lower her elective franchise to one of £8 of annual rateable value, more especially as such a proposal tended to conciliate, without concession, the Radical agitators for Parliamentary reform in England. It did not, however, conciliate Mr. Hume, who caustically reminded Sir William Somerville, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, when he introduced the Irish Franchise Bill, that it put the franchise on a narrower basis than that of Cape Colony, and contended that Irishmen should at least be treated as generously as Hottentots. The Bill enacted that instead of each voter being compelled to claim registration, local authorities should make up lists of voters, subject to the usual objections—in other words, that the rate-book should be a self-acting register. The Tories failed in their attack on the Bill in the House of Commons; but in the Lords they succeeded in raising the qualification to £15, and in altering the registration clause so that new voters must each claim to be registered before they were put on the voters' roll. The two Houses ultimately accepted a compromise. The Government agreed to increase the qualification from £8 to £12, and the Tories agreed to abandon their alteration of the registration clauses.

On the 18th of May, Lord John Russell brought in a memorable Bill to abolish the office of Lord-Lieutenant—an office the maintenance of which has undoubtedly given an Imperial sanction to the Separatist principle in Ireland. The idea of the Whigs was that the Lord-Lieutenant was an anachronism. The Minister representing Ireland in the House of Commons, though popularly called Secretary for Ireland, is really and legally only Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant. Sometimes he sits in the Cabinet when the Lord-Lieutenant [illegible], and then he is his master's superior. The Lord-Lieutenant, argued

Lord John, had all the responsibility, but never the freedom of action of a Minister of the Crown, and the abolition of his office would facilitate that blending of the Irish and Imperial administrations, which would go far to destroy the Separatist feeling in Ireland. The Queen was very much inclined to favour this step, and for a curious reason. Her Irish tour had impressed her with the fact that her social influence in Ireland might be turned to good account in winning the hearts of a chivalrous and generous people, thereby converting the golden link of the Crown into a healing institution of conciliation. But it was somewhat embarrassing to all parties for the Sovereign to reside regularly in a country, in which the official head of the State was her own Viceroy. Were the Viceroyalty abolished, the Queen promised Lord John Russell that she would from time to time visit Ireland in State, and keep up the Viceregal Lodge in Phœnix Park as a Royal Palace. As for the business of Ireland, it would, according to Lord John, be best carried on by a fourth Secretary of State. The Tories opposed the Bill, because they contended that Lord Clarendon's success in governing Ireland proved that the Viceroyalty was useful, and because the creation of a fourth Secretary of State was objectionable, for it would necessitate an expensive administrative establishment, and perchance lead to conflicts of authority between the Irish Secretary and the Home Secretary. The Irish members were divided in opinion. Some supported and some opposed the Bill, because it might tend to stimulate Nationalism. Others supported and opposed it for precisely the opposite reason. A third section, as to whose sincerity there could be no doubt, opposed it because it would spoil the trade of Dublin. The general feeling of the country was expressed by Peel, who said he was willing that the experiment should be made, though he said so with hesitancy, but he was also desirous, if it were possible, to see the Irish Administration merged in the Home Office, and not conducted by a fourth Secretary of State.* The measure was read a second time by a vote of 295 to 70, but introduced as it was when the country was in a fever of excitement over Lord Palmerston's foreign quarrels, the country took little interest in it, and it was not pressed further.

Lord Clarendon having in October, 1849, dismissed from the Commission of the Peers, Lord Roden and other Orange magistrates who had been privy to a fray at Dolly's Brae in the preceding July, their case was brought before the House of Lords this Session by Lord Stanley, on the 12th of July. Stanley delivered a bitter attack on Lord Clarendon, but when he made it clear that he did not propose to do anything more than move for papers and correspondence relating to the affair, it was obvious that he had forced on a debate merely to gratify his Orange supporters. Lord Clarendon defended himself successfully, and convinced everybody that he had simply done his duty as an impartial administrator.

The financial condition of the country was so favourable that Sir C.

* Had the Bill passed, Lord Clarendon would have been Irish Secretary.

[illegible] in his Budget Speech of 15th March, said there was a surplus at his [illegible] of £2,225,000. His estimates for the coming year, on the basis of existing taxation and anticipated expenditure, led him to expect a surplus of £1,500,000. Therefore, there was room for some remission of taxes. The first charge on a surplus, he held ought to be for the reduction of the National Debt—and for that purpose he set aside half his hoped-for surplus. As to the rest, he proposed to exhaust it: first, in reducing the Stamp Duties

THE FUNERAL OF SIR ROBERT PEEL: THE TENANTRY ASSEMBLING AT THE LODGE, DRAYTON MANOR.

on the Transfer of Land, and on mortgages under £1,000, and in converting the Stamp Duty on leases into a uniform one of ½ per cent.; and secondly, in ameliorating the lot of the badly-housed labouring classes by repealing the tax on bricks. Though the Budget was ridiculed by the economists, Sir C. Wood's proposals were agreed to, with the exception of the alteration in the Stamp Duties. It was argued successfully that though the new scale of Stamp Duties would reduce the revenue derived from small sums, they would increase, out of all proportion to this reduction, the revenue from large sums, so that under the pretext of reducing, Sir Charles Wood was actually increasing his revenue. Never was there such haggling and bungling. Nobody seemed to understand a scheme which was complex in detail, and explained by a Minister who was indistinct in his articulation and confused in exposition.

Sir Charles Wood had more than once to withdraw his proposals, and substitute others, but finally he accepted a reduction of ½ instead of 1 per cent. on legal conveyances, and ¼ instead of ½ per cent. on mortgages. The result showed that his opponents were right, and that he was utterly wrong in his calculations of the effect his reductions would have on the revenue of the year.

The demand for retrenchment which had been originally raised by the Radicals, was now emphasised by the Protectionists. Following the example

THE FUNERAL OF SIR ROBERT PEEL: THE CEREMONY IN DRAYTON BASSETT CHURCH.

of some of their party in the Colonies, they saw in an attack on the cost of establishments, a means of annoying a Free Trade Government, and perchance of relieving the rural taxpayers, who undoubtedly were suffering by the loss of Protection. Mr. Henley accordingly first appeared with a motion to reduce official salaries. Whereupon Lord John Russell intervened with a motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the subject. Mr. Disraeli opposed to this an amendment to the effect that the House had enough information, and that the Government ought not to shirk the responsibility of initiating, without delay, every practicable reduction in the cost of establishments. His party followed him faithfully, though some, like John Wilson Croker, condemned his tactics and his speech as "Jacobinical."* Mr. Hume also supported him, but the

* See a curious letter of Croker's in the third volume of "The Croker Papers."

[illegible] thought that if a Committee recommended reductions, they would be more patiently borne by the victims than if they were enforced by the Government. Mr. Horsman outdid Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Hume, for he demanded that ecclesiastical establishments should also come within the purview of the Committee: Lord John, however, carried his motion. Mr. Cobden then brought forward resolutions in favour of a general reduction of expenditure, contending that it would be possible to save £10,000,000 by cutting down expenditure to the standard of 1835. The Radical financial reformers declared that their object was to reduce taxation that pressed on Labour and impeded production, and that the best way of doing that was to curtail expenditure on the Army and Navy, which were in excess of the strength necessary for National Defence, provided the Foreign Office pursued a policy of non-intervention. Whigs and Tories united in defeating Mr. Cobden. Mr. Henry Drummond next, on behalf of the Protectionist Tories, moved that adequate means be adopted to reduce taxation, and thereby increase the wage-fund of the country. His plan was to cut down all official salaries, and revise all burdens that checked the growth of raw produce. The motion was disposed of by carrying the "previous question," because, though some Radicals like Mr. Hume and Mr. Bright voted for it, most people saw in it a Protectionist "trap." Lord Duncan very nearly on a subsequent occasion repealed the Window Tax,* but Mr. Milner Gibson failed in his attack on the Paper Duty, as did Mr. Cayley in his effort to repeal the Malt Tax.

After much determined opposition from the Tories, with whom Mr. Gladstone acted on this occasion, the Government succeeded in carrying the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the Universities—a proposal which had the warm support of the Queen and Prince Albert, in consequence of which some foolish people went about saying that there was a conspiracy on foot to Germanise the academic system of England.

The Bishop of London's Ecclesiastical Appeals Bill, which was introduced into the House of Lords on the 3rd of June, touched on matters regarding which the Queen has always been sensitive—the relation of the Church to the prerogative of the Crown. The principle of the Bill was that ecclesiastical appeals should be tried, not before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as representing the Queen, but before an assemblage of Bishops, whose decision should be binding, not merely on the Judicial Committee, but on the Queen also. This, of course, destroyed her supremacy over the Established Church of England, a prerogative of the Crown which has always been tenaciously guarded. The Bill was rejected. And here it may be well to record what it was that led to its introduction. It was introduced to tranquillise the High Churchmen and Tractarians, who were smarting over the decision of the famous "Gorham case."

Mr. Gorham had been presented by the Crown to the benefice of Bramford Speke in August, 1847. When the Bishop examined him, he found that he was

* He was beaten only by a majority of 3.

an extreme Low Churchman, and that he denied that spiritual regeneration was conferred by the sacrament of Baptism; also that his views on other matters, such as predestination and election, were those of the narrowest Presbyterian Calvinists. The Bishop of Exeter refused to institute Mr. Gorham, and, after much litigation, the case was appealed by him from the Court of Arches to the Judicial Committee, who decided that Mr. Gorham's views were not incompatible with the Thirty-nine Articles. The Judicial Committee on this occasion consisted of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London. Associated with them were the Master of the Rolls (Lord Langdale), the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Campbell), Mr. Baron Parke, Vice-Chancellor, Sir J. Knight Bruce, Dr. Lushington, and the Right Hon. Pemberton Leigh. The complaint of the Churchmen was that the ruling of a Bishop and an ecclesiastical court on a disputed point of doctrine was not only considered, but actually reversed by a secular tribunal the large majority of whose members were laymen, and the clerical members of which could not vote, but merely gave their opinion to the lay members who formed the Judicial Committee. Churchmen passionately resented these proceedings, and the excitement they raised was fierce and uncontrollable. The Gorham Appeal Case was the badge of the Church's servitude to the State. The Bishop of London's Bill was an attempt to remove that badge by constituting a purely ecclesiastical tribunal to try all ecclesiastical appeals, thereby avoiding the necessity for submitting them to lay judges.

When the Queen prorogued Parliament the shadow of mourning was over both Houses. Sir Robert Peel had died suddenly on the 2nd of July. Returning on horseback from a visit to Buckingham Palace on the 29th of June, he met Miss Ellice, one of Lady Dover's daughters, on Constitution Hill. As he bowed to her, his horse shied at the Green Park railings, and threw him. His fifth rib was broken, and its jagged end pierced the lung with a mortal wound. He lingered in great agony for three days, and it is hardly possible to describe the extraordinary sensation his accident and illness produced throughout the country. Party animosities vanished, and the nation with one voice joined the Queen in the expressions of sorrow which came from her when she said, "The country mourns over him as over a father." *

Peel's character will, for this generation, be an enigma. Look at one aspect of it, and it seems as the character of a patriot of the pure Roman type, who flourished in the days "when none were for a Party, and all were for the State." Look at another aspect of it, and it seems as if it were permeated by the conscious insincerity of the unscrupulous political intriguer, whose stock-in-trade was Party principle, which he bought and sold for power in the Parliamentary market. One thing is clear. His abandonment of Protection could not possibly have been due to a love of office. He knew too well when he determined to repeal the Corn Laws, that he doomed himself to political ostracism. Two things seem to account for Peel's difficulties with his partisans. He saw clearly, but he did not

* See the Queen's letter to King Leopold, cited in Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Ch. XXXIX.

[illegible] He used his influence as a political leader to become a Minister, but the Minister of the Queen, and not the Minister of his Party. Long before Catholic Emancipation triumphed he ought to have seen that its triumph was inevitable, and the same may be said of the repeal of the Corn Laws. When he suddenly awoke to the fact that in the one case war, and in the other famine was impending, he reversed his policy, but he had to change front so quickly that he had not time to "educate his Party." On both occasions he had to choose between his Party and the nation. On neither did he shrink from making his choice as a patriot, even at the cost of his reputation as a far-seeing statesman, or a faithful Party leader. Mr. Disraeli said he was not the greatest statesman, but the greatest Member of Parliament England ever produced. That was a just estimate of his magical power of mastering and managing the House of Commons. But it did no justice to his genius for administration, his vast and accurate knowledge of affairs, and latterly the serene judicial temper of mind, in which he dealt with the most agitating and perplexing political problems. Coldness, secretiveness, and egotism were the only flaws in a character, which otherwise almost realised the loftiest ideal of British patriotism.

At the beginning of 1850 the Queen became grievously alarmed about the health of Prince Albert. The toil and anxieties of politics during the years of revolution and counter-revolution had sadly worn his nervous system. In addition to his work as confidential private secretary to the Queen, his own occupations, which have been noticed from time to time in these pages, had grown more numerous and varied each year. As Mr. Gladstone once observed of Mr. Ayrton, "he was a cormorant for work." As Sir Theodore Martin says, "Ministers and diplomatists found him at every interview possessed of an encyclopædic range of information, extending even to the minutest details." The Court at this time was a rich treasure-store of information regarding the inner history of Courts and Embassies on the Continent, on which our diplomatists were grateful to draw for aid and suggestions, when appointed to difficult and delicate missions. "But to the claims of politics," writes Sir Theodore Martin, "had to be added those which science, art, and questions of social improvement were constantly forcing upon the Prince's attention. . . . . He was habitually an early riser. Even in winter he would be up by seven, and dispose of a great deal of work before breakfast, by the light of the green German lamp, the original of which he had brought over with him, and which has since become so familiar an object in our English homes.* The Queen shared his early habits; but before her Majesty joined him in the sitting-room, where their writing-tables stood always side by side, much had, as a rule, been prepared for her consideration—much done to lighten the

* It is commonly called "the Queen's Reading Lamp," but it may be said that Sir Theodore [illegible] is not quite correct in assuming that this type of lamp was introduced into England by Prince [illegible]. A similar lamp was in use in Cambridge long before the Prince came to this country, and [illegible] "Cambridge Reading Lamp."

pressure of those labours, both of head and hands, which are inseparable from the discharge of the Sovereign's duties."* These labours ultimately produced insomnia or sleeplessness, and at the beginning of the year the Queen, writing from Windsor to Baron Stockmar, alludes to a suggestion from their doctor that his Royal Highness should take a trip to Brussels, and adds:—"For the sake of his health, which, I assure you, is the cause of my shaken nerves, I

MEETING OF THE LADIES' COMMITTEE AT STAFFORD HOUSE IN AID OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION. (See p. 450.)

could quite bear this sacrifice. He *must* be set right before we go to London, or God knows how ill he may get."

The Queen's affectionate desires could not be gratified. The business of organising the Great Exhibition of 1851 proved more engrossing than had been anticipated, not merely because the idea at the bottom of it was her husband's, but because he was found to be the only man in England who thoroughly understood the scheme. As Lord Granville, in a letter to Prince Albert's secretary, remarked, his Royal Highness seemed to be almost the only person who had considered the subject as a whole and in details. "The whole thing," said Lord Granville, "would fall to pieces if he left it to itself."

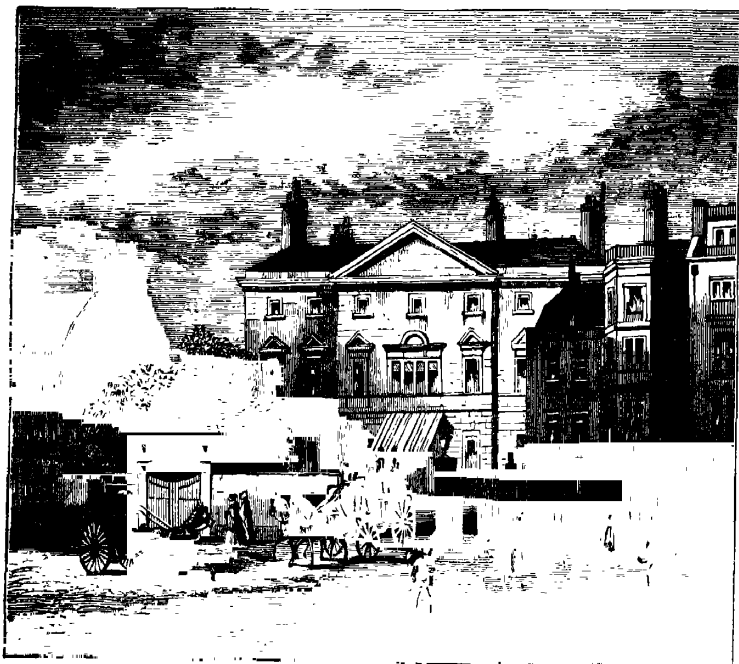
* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XXXI.

On the 21st of February a brilliant meeting in support of the undertaking was held at Willis's Rooms, which was attended by the diplomatic representatives of the leading nations. This was followed up by a grand banquet at the Mansion House, which was attended by the great dignitaries of State, the Foreign Ambassadors, the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition, and the heads of the county and municipal magistracy. After the Royal Commission had been appointed, the questions of site, space, and finance were those which pressed for settlement, and without doubt the last gave the Queen the utmost anxiety. The public, she saw, must be induced to support the scheme, and meetings be organised for the purpose of making its advantages known. Prince Albert's speech at this banquet, however, struck the key-note of all the subsequent advocacy which the Exhibition received. The age, said he, was advancing towards the realisation of a unity of mankind, to be attained as the result and product, and not by the destruction, of national characteristics. Science, by abridging distance, was increasing the communicability of ideas. The principle of the division of labour was gradually being applied everywhere, giving rise to specialism, but specialism practised in publicity, and under the stimulus of competition and capital. Thus was Man winning new powers in fulfilling his mission in the world—the discovery of Natural Laws and the conquest of Nature by compliance with them. The central idea of this Exhibition of 1851 was to give a true test, and a living picture of the point at which civilised Man had arrived in carrying out his mission, and to serve as a base of operations for further efforts which might carry Humanity upwards and onwards to a larger and loftier stage. Such, in a brief paraphrase, were the views of Prince Albert, and they ran through the country amidst a chorus of approval. The whole nation responded to the appeal of his Royal Highness, despite the metaphysics and mysticism which slightly tinged it, and the delight of the Queen was correspondingly great. We can easily understand that King Leopold was at first under the impression that a speech of such stately but restrained eloquence, rich in thought and fruitful in suggestion, must have been read. The Queen, however, informed him that he was mistaken. It was, she says, prepared most carefully and laboriously, and then written down; after which it was spoken freely and fluently without reference to the manuscript. "This," says the Queen, in her letter to the King of the Belgians, "he does so well that no one believes he is ever nervous, which he is." On the 23rd of February a meeting of ladies was held at Stafford House, under the presidency of the Duchess of Sutherland, with the object of inviting the women of England to assist in promoting the success of the Exhibition, and a very influential committee was formed for this purpose.

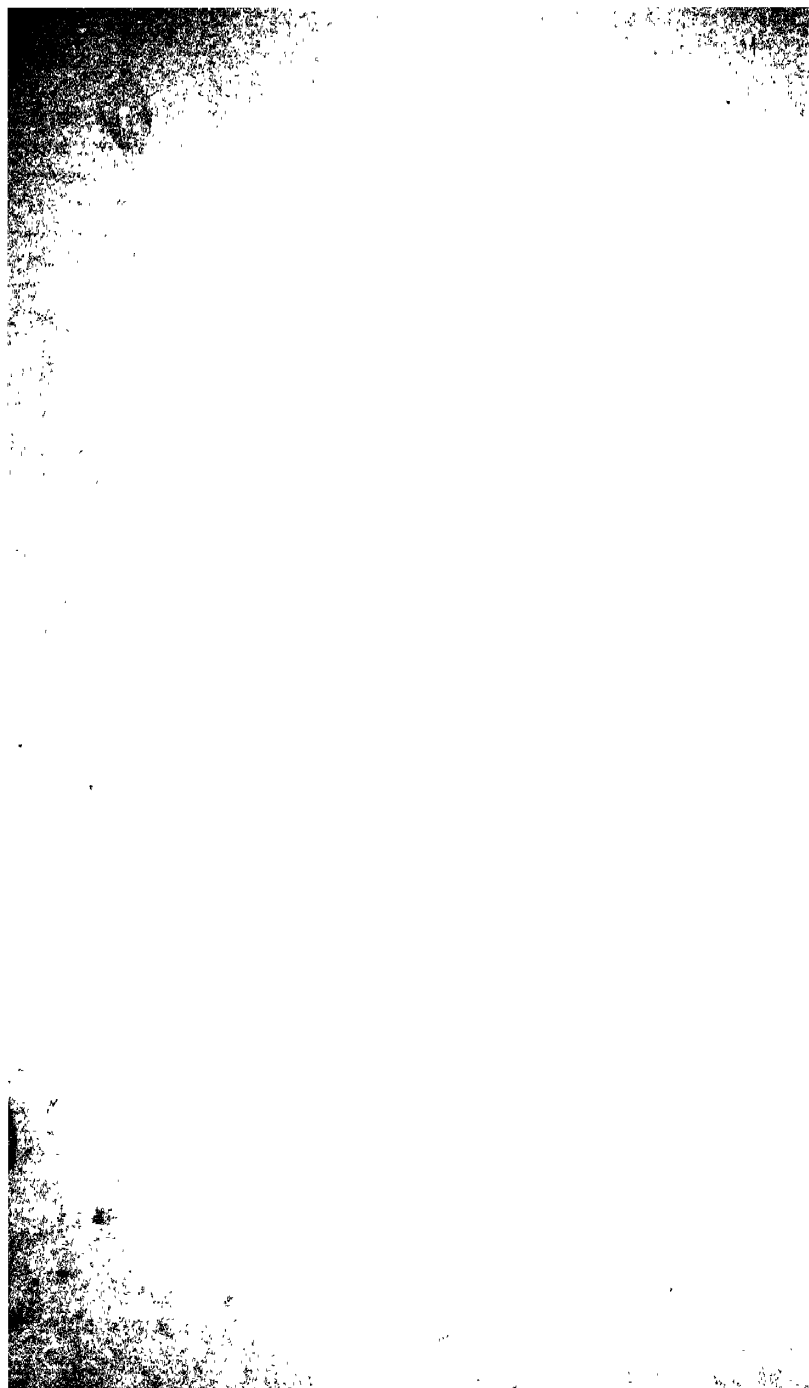
When Easter arrived the Queen's anxiety grew greater as she saw the Prince showing signs of increasing fatigue. At last, yielding to her importunity, he agreed to leave London and take a brief holiday at Windsor. But

his idea of a holiday was peculiar. It was to devise a system of draining Osborne, and utilising the sewage, &c., of the estate.

Age and infirmity had now begun to tell sadly on the Duke of Wellington, and he had become anxious as to the future of the army. Whilst he was alive and strong, as he said, he could hold the Commandership-in-chief. But his position was entirely exceptional for a subject, and in theory at least the office ought to be vested in the Sovereign, or some one very near the Throne. Englishmen have ever been a little jealous of permitting this post to be occupied by a subject. The favour it confers on him, and the influence which—if he has a magic personality—he may wield, might, if wedded to ambition, lead to untoward changes. But the fact that the Sovereign was a woman rendered it impossible to vest the Commandership-in-chief in the Crown. The Duke, therefore, to the surprise of the Queen, who apparently had never thought about the matter, suddenly proposed that arrangements should be made for installing Prince Albert as his successor. It says much for the sagacity and good sense of the Queen and Prince that neither of them liked the proposal—although it was one which would have presented an irresistible temptation to most young men. The Prince pleaded want of military experience. The Duke replied that his plan was to appoint under the Prince, as Chief of the Staff, the general who had most experience in the army. But this did not seem to weigh much with the Queen. Probably she knew her husband's nature better than the Duke, and was perfectly well aware that he would never permit himself to hold office as an ornamental "dummy." The revolution he wrought in Cambridge after he became Chancellor of the University gives us an indication of what must have happened in the army had he consented to become the Duke's successor. It would be wrong to say that the Queen paid much heed to the objection on the score of inexperience. Like the Duke, she fully believed that her husband's extraordinary power of work, and pertinacity of resolution, would soon fit him for the post. But, on the other hand, it was quite clear that the work would absorb all his time. In short, as the Prince would be certain to insist on doing the duty of the office to the fullest extent, and on his own responsibility, it was equally certain that if he became Commander-in-chief, he must abandon all his other occupations—even the chemical researches on the utilisation of sewage, in his pursuance of which he imagined at the time that he had within his grasp a discovery that would immortalise him as a benefactor of humanity. Moreover, how was the Queen to replace him as her private secretary? So much assiduous service could not be expected from any other holder of that office as Prince Albert cheerfully gave, and it was furthermore an office the duties of which, at a time when the Sovereign was beginning to wield an ever-increasing consultative and moderating influence on public affairs, were necessarily augmenting. Then the Queen also urged that as she believed the Prince was undertaking too much work already, she could not approve of his burdening himself with more. To sum up the views of the Queen and her husband

on this difficult and delicate affair: many able generals could do the duty of Commander-in-chief as well, if not better, than the Prince. Nobody, however, in the kingdom could possibly do the work he was then doing for the Queen as well as he did it, and so the flattering proposal was put aside. Had it been accepted, and had the Prince overhauled the Horse Guards as he did the University of Cambridge, perhaps the terrible and shameful disasters of the Crimea

CAMBRIDGE HOUSE, PICCADILLY (1854)

might have been avoided. On the other hand, it may be doubted if even his patient resolution would have enabled him to reform in so short a time the military administration which collapsed in 1854. In that case, the Court would have been blamed, and blamed unjustly, for the departmental catastrophes that still invest the Crimea with bitter memories for British soldiers.

On the 1st of May the Duke of Connaught was born. His birthday was coincident with that of the Duke of Wellington, and he had as his sponsors two of the most illustrious soldiers of Europe—the great Duke himself, and Prince William of Prussia, afterwards Emperor of Germany. The ceremony of baptism took place on the 22nd of June, when the Prince was christened Arthur William Patrick Albert, the Duke and the Prince of Prussia both being present.

As spring gave place to summer, the shadow of death fell on the Royal Family. We have seen how genuine and profound was the Queen's sorrow over the death of Peel. But closely following that sad event came the serious illness of the Duke of Cambridge, a kind-hearted Prince, noted for his *bonhomie* and for the profusion of his charities. The Queen was assiduous in her attentions to her uncle, whom she dearly loved, and one of her visits to his sick bed

PATE'S ASSAULT ON THE QUEEN. (See p. 453.)

accidentally exposed her to a cowardly outrage. When she was leaving Cambridge House, sad-eyed and sorrowful, a man suddenly stepped forward and struck at her face with a cane. Her bonnet protected her somewhat, but her forehead was cruelly bruised by the assault. "The perpetrator is a dandy," writes Prince Albert to Stockmar, "whom you must have often seen in the park, where he makes himself conspicuous." He was one Robert Pate, formerly a lieutenant in the army. After being tried for his offence on the 11th of July, he was sentenced to seven years' transportation. No motive could be assigned for the outrage, and the jury refused to accept Pate's plea of insanity.

The Duke of Cambridge, it may here be said, died on the 8th of July.

Meanwhile, as if to add to the Queen's private griefs, an extraordinary attack was made in the press upon Prince Albert and the Exhibition Commissioners. The building was to be in Hyde Park, and this invasion of one of the pleasure-grounds of "the people" was resented. The truth is that a rich and selfish clique of families dwelling in the neighbourhood objected to a great public show, likely to attract multitudes of sightseers, coming between the wind and their nobility, and they represented "the people" for the occasion. The extent to which they were sensitive as to the rights of the populace may be indicated by one suggestion which they made. It was that the Exhibition be transported as a nuisance to the Isle of Dogs, where "the people" dwell in teeming masses. At last an attack was organised on the Exhibition Commissioners in Parliament, and the Queen, knowing well that if it were successful, the project must be abandoned, was sorely grieved at the folly and prejudice which inspired the opposition. The *Times* was very bitter. Even Mr. Punch, notorious for his sentimental devotion to the Queen, proved himself a sad recreant on this occasion, and Leech made fun of the Prince, because the public were a little niggardly with their subscriptions,* which fell far short of £100,000, which was the lowest estimate tendered for the building. But though the attempt of "a little knot of selfish persons," as the Queen calls them in a letter in which she implores Stockmar to come and comfort her and her husband in their troubles, to drive the Exhibition out of Hyde Park failed, and their attacks in Parliament collapsed, the Prince was still "plagued about the Exhibition," and the old symptoms of insomnia reappeared, greatly to the alarm of her Majesty. At last a way out of all their difficulties was opened up. It was proposed to establish a guarantee fund to meet any deficit that might be incurred, and on the 12th of June it was started by a subscription of £50,000 from Messrs. Peto, the contractors. In a few days the subscriptions sufficed to solve the financial problem. Ultimately, to the surprise of those who had scoffed at the Prince's sanguine anticipations, not only were the guarantors freed from all responsibility, but when the Exhibition accounts were closed, the Commissioners found themselves with a balance of a quarter of a million in hand. The work was begun without further delay.

But no sooner had one source of vexation vanished than another was opened. In August the Queen, mortified at further displays of wayward recklessness on Lord Palmerston's part, and failing to inspire the Prime Minister with enough courage to rebuke him, at last determined to take the matter in hand herself. Although Palmerston was then at the height of his popularity, owing to the triumph of his *civis Romanum sum* doctrine in the Don Pacifico debate, her Majesty penned a Memorandum to Lord John Russell, which has become historic. It is dated the 16th of August, and was written at Osborne. In it she accepts Lord Palmerston's disavowal of an intention to

* *Punch*, Vol. XVIII., p. 229.

offer her any disrespect by his past neglect, but, to prevent fresh mistak she deems it as well to say that in future she requires—

"(1) That he (the Foreign Secretary) will distinctly state what he pr poses in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly what she has given her Royal sanction. (2) Having once given her sancti to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minist Such an act she must consider as failure in sincerity towards the Crow and justly to be visited by the exercise of her Constitutional right of di missing that Minister. She expects to be kept informed of what pass between him and the Foreign Ministers before important decisions are tak based on that intercourse; to receive the foreign despatches in good tim and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to ma herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off." Lo John Russell sent this Memorandum to Palmerston, who lightly pleaded pressu of business in palliation of his past faults, but promised to behave better time to come. Had he been a man of high spirit or sensitive feelings, would have resigned when the Queen's Memorandum was sent to him. Hi spirit, however, was not to be expected from the Minister that sent a Briti fleet to coerce Greece, though he dared not utter a word of protest agai the Russian invasion of Hungary,* or who, whilst he could be swift to rese an impertinence from a decrepit Power like Spain, accepted with the utm meekness a rebuke from Russia in reference to the Greek affair, couch in the language of deliberate insult. On the contrary, whilst his friends ga out that he was manfully fighting the battle of the people against t Sovereign and the foreign Prince, who was "the power behind the Thron Palmerston was abasing himself before both. He implored Prince Alb to intercede for him with the Queen in order that she might grant hi an interview. The Prince, in a Memorandum dated 17th of August, 18 writes:—

"After the Council for the Speech from the Throne for the Prorogati of Parliament on the 14th I saw Lord Palmerston, as he had desired it. I was very *much agitated, shook, and had tears in his eyes*, so as to quite mo me, who never under any circumstances had known him otherwise than wi a bland smile on his face." It was not the condemnation of his policy, told Prince Albert, that affected him most closely. The "accusation th he had been wanting in his respect to the Queen, whom he had every reas to respect as his Sovereign, and as a woman whose virtues he admired, and whom he was bound by every tie of duty and gratitude, was an imputation his honour as a gentleman, and if he could have made himself guilty of he was almost no longer fit to be tolerated in society."† The "almost"

* Mr. Cobden always said that such a protest would have deterred Russia from stamping Hungarian liberty.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

characteristically Palmerstonian. Her Majesty, according to Prince Albert, did not impute any *intentional* want of regard to Lord Palmerston; but her complaint was that he never submitted any question to her "intact," that is to say, he always contrived to commit the Government before the Queen could express

LORD JOHN RUSSELL (1850).

an opinion. As her opinion had of late been at variance with Lord Palmerston's, this mode of doing business was to her objectionable. Her Majesty had always been frank with her Ministers, and when overruled, she had accepted loyally their decision. "She knew," said the Prince, "that they were going to battle together, and that she was going to receive the blows which were aimed at the Government; and that she had these last years received several such as no Sovereign of England had before been obliged to put up with, and which had been most painful to her." She did not wish to trouble her

Ministers about details. But when principles were settled at their conferences, she thought she too should be consulted and advised. Palmerston's excuse was the old one—want of time; but he said he was willing to come to the Palace at any moment to Prince Albert, and give any explanations that might be wanted either to the Queen or her husband.

If the Prince's account be correct, the Minister seems to have conducted himself throughout this interview with hysterical servility, which may, however, have been simulated. As for his penitence, it was short-lived. In September he had another quarrel with the Queen over the wording of a despatch, in which he had foolishly gone out of his way to impugn the honour of England. This despatch rose out of the Haynau incident. The Austrian General Haynau had come to England on a visit, and the Radicals stirred up public feeling against him on account of his brutality in crushing the Hungarian insurrection, more especially for his cowardly conduct in stripping women, and flogging them publicly. When he went to visit the Brewery of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins, the workmen in the place recognised him. They turned out *en masse*, assaulted, hustled, and insulted "the Austrian butcher," till he fled in terror from the premises, and took refuge in a little public-house, from which the police smuggled him away. Naturally, Lord Palmerston expressed his regret to the Austrian Ambassador; but it was also necessary to send a formal Note on the subject to the Austrian Government. This Note was a model of Palmerstonian maladroitness. In the first place, it contained an uncalled-for imputation on the English people, because it admitted that they were so incapable of courtesy and self-control that no foreigner was safe in England who happened to be unpopular. Secondly, it implied that Haynau had been imprudent in visiting England at all. The Queen, whose views were shared by the Prime Minister, objected to both of these statements—one as derogatory to the honour of England, the other as needlessly offensive to Austria. But, on her objecting, she discovered that it was impossible to alter the Note, which had been sent to the Austrian Ambassador *before* the draft had been submitted to her. The Queen, however, insisted on the withdrawal of the Note, and so did Lord John Russell. Palmerston first of all tried to browbeat the Prime Minister by threatening to resign. But when Lord John informed him (16th of October) that the threat was futile, Palmerston submissively withdrew the Note, and substituted for it another drawn up in accordance with the Queen's views.

Another serious conflict of opinion between the Queen and Lord Palmerston at this period arose out of the dispute between Denmark and the German States as to the settlement of Schleswig-Holstein. The German population of these Duchies had revolted against the petty tyranny of the Danes, and it was notorious that they were supported secretly by Prussia. The rebellion was suppressed; and though almost all the Liberals of Europe were in favour of letting the Duchies be incorporated in Germany, the Governments of the various Powers took the contrary view. The Austro-Prussian Convention of

Olmütz, of 29th November, restoring peace and stipulating for the disarmament of the Duchies, left the matter uncertain; but Austria was obviously for thwarting, whilst Prussia was for gratifying, the aspirations of the German or national party in the Duchies. All through this controversy the Queen was anti-Austrian, and strongly in favour of letting the Schleswig-Holsteiners have their own way. Palmerston, and in this he was powerfully supported by the Tories, was violently pro-Austrian, and used the influence of England as far as possible to prevent the Duchies gravitating to Germany. For the moment he was successful. But subsequent events, as all the world knows, justified the wiser and more liberal views of the Queen.

On the 26th of August, 1850, Louis Philippe died; in fact, the sad news of his death greeted the Queen and her husband a few days after their return from a brief visit to the King of the Belgians at Ostend, and marred the celebration of Prince Albert's thirty-first birthday at Osborne.

On the 27th of August the Royal Family migrated northwards. The Queen and Prince Albert opened the great railway bridges at Newcastle and Berwick, and then went on to Edinburgh, where they stayed at Holyrood Palace.

The reception of the Queen in the "grey metropolis of the North" was picturesque as well as enthusiastic. The Royal Company of Archers in their quaint old costume, headed by the Duke of Buccleuch, claimed their historic right of acting as the Queen's body-guard, and they surrounded her carriage as it drove through swarming crowds from the railway station to the Palace, in which no Queen of Scotland had set foot since Mary Stuart crossed its threshold, never to return to it again. Immediately after her arrival, the Queen and her family began to explore the Palace and its ruined precincts, and she records her delight in her Diary at discovering in the crumbling Abbey the tomb "of Flora Macdonald's mother," not the Flora Macdonald who assisted the Young Pretender to escape, but a lady of the Clanranald family, who was then serving as a Maid of Honour. Next morning the Queen and "the children" drove round the park,. and climbed Arthur's Seat, and the Prince proceeded to lay the foundation-stone of the National Gallery of Arts, whilst the rest of the day was spent in sightseeing. At half-past eight on the following morning her Majesty started for Balmoral, which she reached in the afternoon. Here, as Prince Albert says in one of his letters to Stockmar, they tried to strengthen their hearts amid the stillness and solemnity of the mountains,* and truly they had much need of rest. The harassing conflicts with Lord Palmerston, the deaths of Peel, Louis Philippe, Queen Adelaide, the Duke of Cambridge, and the faithful Anson, and the news that the Queen of the Belgians was dying, contributed to produce in the Queen great depression of spirits.

The sport on the hills delighted the Prince. The primitive life and

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

guileless character of the people vastly interested the Queen, who has left on record her account of several curious excursions she made, and of the gathering of clansmen at Braemar, which she witnessed. Writing on the 12th of September, 1850, her Majesty says in her "Leaves from a Journal of Our Life in the Highlands," "We lunched early, and then went at half-past two o'clock, with the children and all our party, except Lady Douro, to the Gathering at the Castle of Braemar, as we did last year. The Duffs, Farquharsons, the Leeds's, and those staying with them, and Captain Forbes and forty of his men who had come over from Strath Don, were there. Some of our people were there also. There were the usual games of 'putting the stone,' 'throwing the hammer' and 'caber,' and racing up the hill of Craig Cheunnich, which was accomplished in less than six minutes and a half; and we were all much pleased to see our gillie Duncan,* who is an active, good-looking young man, win. He was far before the others the whole way. It is a fearful exertion. Mr. Farquharson brought him up to me afterwards. Eighteen or nineteen started, and it looked very pretty to see them run off in their different coloured kilts, with their white shirts (the jackets or doublets they take off for all the games), and scramble up through the wood, emerging gradually at the edge of it, and climbing the hill.

"After this we went into the Castle, and saw some dancing; the prettiest was a reel by Mr. Farquharson's children and some other children, and the 'Ghillie Callum,' beautifully danced by John Athole Farquharson, the fourth son. The twelve children were all there, including the baby, who is two years old.

"Mama, Charles, and Ernest joined us at Braemar. Mama enjoys it all very much; it is her first visit to Scotland. We left after the dancing."

The Court returned to Windsor late in the autumn, and one of the first dismal communications made to her Majesty was that of the death of the Queen of the Belgians on the 11th of October. "Victoria is greatly distressed," writes Prince Albert to Stockmar. "Her aunt was her only confidante and friend. Sex, age, culture, feeling, rank—in all these they were so much on a par, that a relation of unconstrained friendship naturally grew up between them." This friendship, it may be added, survived even the treachery of Queen Louise's father, Louis Philippe, in the matter of the Spanish marriages.

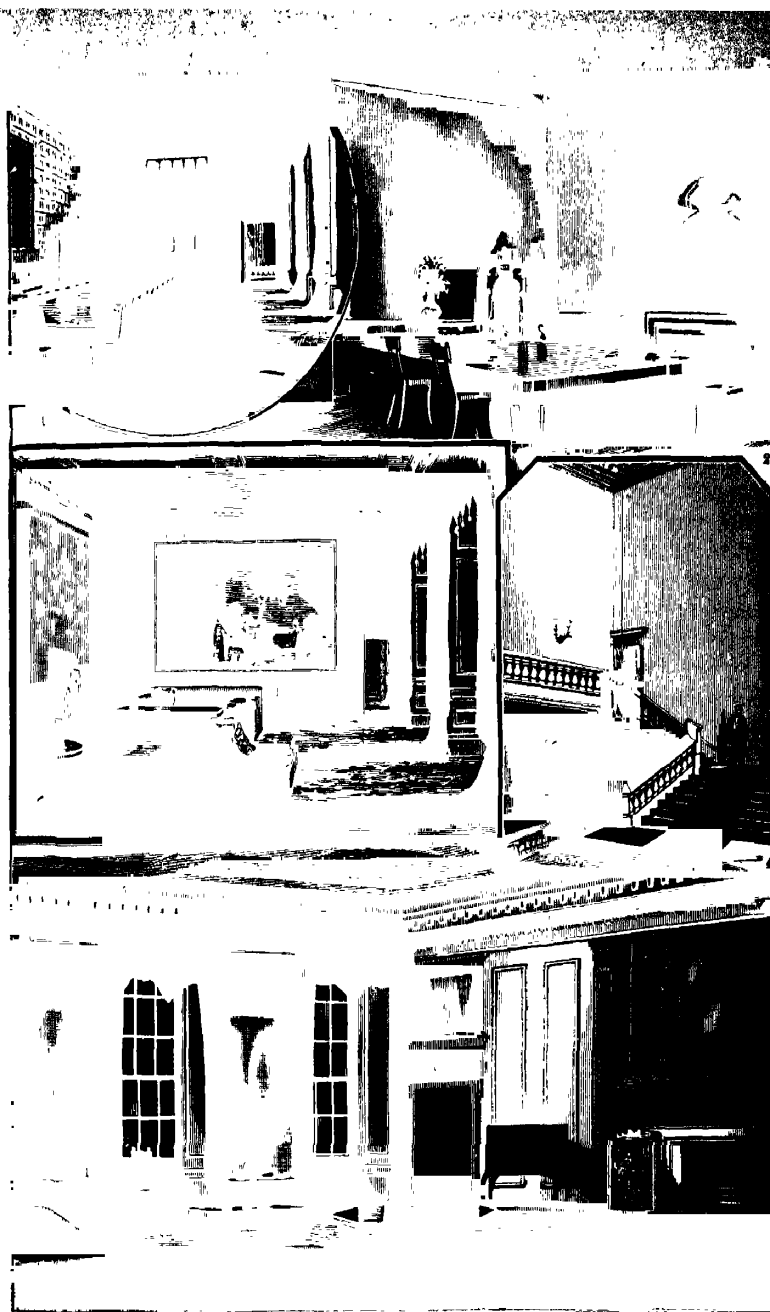
The end of the year 1850 was marked by another amazing epidemic of bigotry on the part of the people and the Government, which was very distressing to the serene and evenly balanced minds of the Queen and her husband. This was known as the "Papal Aggression movement," and it is in

* "One of our keepers since 1851. An excellent, intelligent man, much liked by the Prince. He, like many others, spit blood after running the race up that steep hill in the short space of time, and he has never been so strong since. The running up-hill has in consequence been discontinued. He lives in a cottage at the back of Craig Gowan (commanding a beautiful view) called Robrech, which the Prince built for him."—*Note by the Queen in "Leaves from a Journal."*

these days difficult to understand how a sensible nation could have been swept into its vortex.

On the 24th of September the Pope issued a Brief re-establishing the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England. In other words, he substituted Bishops and Archbishops deriving their titles from their sees, for the Vicars Apostolic who govern Romish missions in heathen lands. He partitioned England into sees, very much as the Wesleyans had mapped it into circuits and districts. The act was purely one of ecclesiastical administration, and of no concern to any body but the small Roman Catholic community in England. But prominent leaders of the Church began to talk about it in extravagant terms, as if it constituted the spiritual annexation of England to Rome, and as if it were a formal assertion of the authority of the Pope over that of the Queen. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, Dr. Wiseman, and Father (afterwards Cardinal) Newman, were particularly indiscreet in their references to the Papal Brief. Dr. Wiseman, for example, issued a pompous Pastoral "Given out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome," on the 7th of October, boasting that "Catholic England had been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished."

Dr. Ullathorne, the Bishop of Birmingham, was one of those prelates who had the sense and tact to see what mischief would spring from Cardinal Wiseman's folly, and he did his best to explain the real meaning of the Papal Brief. But his voice was like that of one crying in the wilderness. Did not Father Newman, preaching at Dr. Ullathorne's enthronisation, say that "the people of England, who for so many years have been separated from the see of Rome, are about, of their own free will, to be added to the Holy Church"? Was it not clear, despite the reasonable explanations of Dr. Ullathorne and others, that what the Papists really meant was that the Reformation was now reversed, and that England was reconquered for Rome? Outraged Protestantism, arguing in this fashion, without distinction of party or sect, accordingly rose in its wrath, and hurled angry defiance at the Pope. The bigots, taking advantage of this outburst of popular passion, demanded that the law should step in and punish the insolent priesthood, who thus challenged the prerogatives of the Crown.

On the 4th of November, Lord John Russell addressed to the Bishop of Durham a letter almost equalling Cardinal Wiseman's in its folly. The Prime Minister, in fact, gave expression to the worst phase of contemporary excitement, and fully endorsed the ridiculous notion that a prelate, who had but recently been restored to, and even then was kept on, his throne in Rome by foreign bayonets, had established his supremacy over England in a manner inconsistent with the authority of the Queen. This Durham letter further stimulated the frenzy of intolerance into which England plunged. Meetings were held everywhere protesting against Papal aggression, and transmitting loyal addresses to the Queen. Guy Fawkes' Day was celebrated with more

THE ROYAL APARTMENTS, HOLYROOD PALACE.

1, Throne Room · 2, Breakfast Parlour ; 3, Evening Drawing-room ; 4, Grand Staircase ; 5, Morning Drawing-room.

...seal, and in most towns effigies of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman were paraded through hooting crowds, and burnt in bonfires amidst the derision of the populace. The Universities and the Corporation of London in December sent deputations in great state to Windsor to present addresses to the Queen, protesting against insidious attacks on the authority, prerogatives, and exclusive jurisdiction of the Crown. The Queen's replies to these addresses were spirited but calm, and absolutely free from intolerance. "I would never have consented," she tells her "aunt Gloucester" in a letter written after the deputations had been received, "to say anything which breathed a spirit of intolerance. Sincerely Protestant as I always have been and always shall be, and indignant as I am at those who call themselves Protestants, while they are in fact quite the contrary,* I much regret the unchristian and intolerant spirit exhibited by many people at the public meetings. I cannot bear to hear the violent abuse of the Catholic religion, which is so painful and so cruel towards the many good and innocent Roman Catholics."†

On the last day of December, 1850, the Queen was gratified to hear that one of her husband's cherished designs had been carried out. The building for the International Exhibition had risen from the ground in Hyde Park with the magical rapidity of a fairy palace. The design which had been chosen was that of a French artist, and Londoners had looked on with amazement at the erection of the great central dome of crystal, which dwarfed even that of St. Paul's into insignificance. The plan for carrying out the design was suggested by Mr. Paxton, chief superintendent of the Duke of Devonshire's gardens, and it was but an expansion of the grand conservatory which he had built for his Grace at Chatsworth. Iron and glass were the materials used for its construction. The cast-iron columns and girders were all alike—four columns and four girders being placed in relative positions forming a square of 24 feet, which could be raised to any height, or expanded laterally in any required direction, merely by joining other columns and girders to them. The building, therefore, grew up in multiples of twenty-four, and it could be taken to pieces just as readily as if it had been a doll's house, and put up on any other site in exactly the same form. As a matter of fact, after the Exhibition was held in 1851, this wonderful Palace of Crystal was removed to Sydenham, where it has long been one of the raree-shows of London. The building covered 18 acres of ground, and gave an exhibiting surface of 21 acres; in truth, it was, within ten feet, twice the width of St. Paul's, and four times as long. The contractors, Messrs. Fox, Henderson, and Co., accepted the order for the work on the 26th of July, and though there was not a single bar of iron or pane of glass prepared at that date, they handed the completed building over to the Commissioners, ready for painting and fitting, on the last day of the year.

* The allusion here is to the Ritualists or Puseyites, or Tractarians, as they were called then.
† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

CHAPTER XXV.

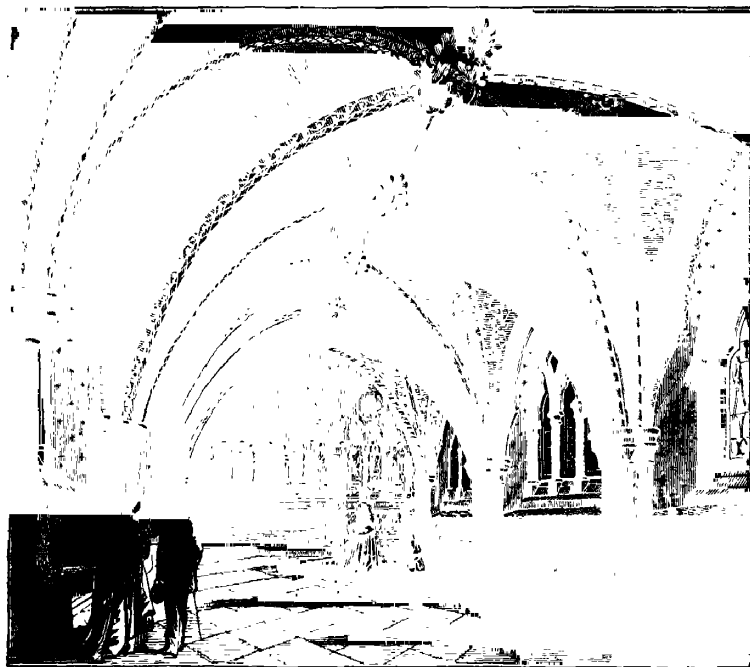
FALL OF THE WHIG CABINET.

Debates on "No Popery"—Mutiny of the Irish Brigade—Defeat of Lord John Russell—Lord Stanley "sent for"—Timid Tories—Lord Stanley's Interviews with the Queen—A Statesman's "Domestic Duties"—Is Coalition Possible?—The Queen's Mistake—The Duke of Wellington's Advice—Return of the Whigs to Office—The Queen's Aversions—The "No Popery" Bill Reduced to a Nullity—Another Bungled Budget—The Income Tax Controversy—The Pillar of Free Trade—The Window Tax and the House Duty—The Radicals and the Slave Trade—King "Bomba" and Mr Gladstone—Cobden on General Disarmament—Palmerston in a Millennial Mood—The Whig-Peelite Intrigue—The Queen and the Kossuth Demonstrations—Another Quarrel with Palmerston—A Merry Council of State.

On the 4th of February, 1851, Parliament assembled with the din of the agitation over Papal aggression ringing in its ears. Men talked of nothing save the legislation that might be necessary to check the encroachments of Rome. But it was not supposed that the course of the Government would be other than smooth, for not only was the Prime Minister in full accord with the popular feeling against Papal aggression, but the great International Exhibition dwarfed public interest in purely party questions. We shall see how these anticipations were falsified by events, and how the Whig Government was hurried to its doom. One of the politicians behind the scenes, who forecast the fall of the Cabinet more accurately than the public, was Mr. Cobden. "I expect," he writes on the 19th of February in one of his letters, "that this 'No Popery' cry will prove fatal to the Ministry. It is generally thought that the Government will be in a minority on some important question, probably the Income Tax, in less than a fortnight. The Irish Catholic members are determined to do everything to turn out Lord John. Indeed, Ireland is in such a state of exasperation with the Whigs, that no Irish member having a Catholic constituency will have a chance of being elected again unless he votes through thick and thin to upset the Ministry." *

The Address to the Queen was carried in both Houses. The Queen's Speech promised a measure for resisting the assumption that a foreign Power had a right to confer ecclesiastical titles in England; and some forthcoming Chancery reforms, and reforms in the registration of titles, were also promised. The Protectionists harped on their old string—agricultural distress. The Radicals complained that the Government gave them no hope of cutting down taxation, and grumbled because no reference was made to Parliamentary reform. But they fought rather shy of the proposed legislation against Papal aggression; yet speaking generally, the "No Popery" cry was popular in both Houses of Parliament.

* *Morley's Life of Cobden.*

On the 7th of February, Lord John Russell moved for leave to introduce his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which prevented the assumption of such titles "in respect of places in the United Kingdom," and he was met by a scathing attack from Mr. Roebuck, who condemned the measure as retrograde and reactionary. The feebleness of the Bill was in comic contrast with the fierce agitation which had produced it, and with the extravagant terms

ST. STEPHEN'S CRYPT, WESTMINSTER PALACE.

of the Premier's speech, which might have led one to suppose the Penal Laws were being re-enacted. As Mr. Roebuck said, if Dr. Wiseman called himself Archbishop, instead of Archbishop of Westminster, the Bill could not even touch him. For four nights did the debate drag on, till ultimately leave to introduce the measure was carried by a majority of 332. The Irish members, had they been sixty Quakers instead of sixty Catholics, could dictate terms to any Ministry in a keen party fight, and as they were determined to punish Lord John Russell for his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, it was obvious that on some other question where a close division was expected the Government would be beaten by the votes of their Irish supporters. It was an ominous sign that they were saved from defeat only by a majority of

sixteen on Mr. Disraeli's motion for the relief of agricultural distress. But the fatal blow came when Mr. Locke King, on the 20th of February, brought forward his motion for leave to introduce a Bill for equalising the town and county franchise, by reducing the latter to the limit of £10 yearly value. Although Lord John Russell promised to bring in a measure for improving repre-

MR. LOCKE KING.

sentation, he resisted Mr. King's motion. It was then carried against him by a vote of 100 against 52. "The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," writes Mr. Cobden to his friend Mr. J. Parker, "is the real cause of the upset of the Whig coach, or rather of the coachman leaping from the box to escape an upset. This measure cannot be persevered in by any Government so far as Ireland is concerned, for no Government can exist if fifty Irish members are pledged to vote against them under all circumstances when they are in danger. A

solution would give at least fifty members to do that work, and they uld be all watched as they are now by their constituents. This mode of hting by means of adverse votes in the House is far more difficult to deal h by our aristocratic rulers than was the plan of O'Connell, when he led his monster meetings. They could be stopped by a proclamation or put vn by soldiers, but neither of these modes will avail in the House. What ly," adds Mr. Cobden, as if he had even then foreseen the success of rnellism in our day, "it was to give a real representation to the Irish inties, and to think of still maintaining the old persecuting ascendency." *

the 22nd of February, Lord John, as Mr. Cobden says, "leaped from the t," for on that day he and his colleagues resigned.

The Queen sent for Lord Stanley, who frankly told her that he could not dertake to form a Ministry. He, however, said he would try to form one Lord John Russell failed to reconstruct his defeated Cabinet. Lord Stanley's tive for refusing office is to be found in the fact that there was a serious ision of opinion among his followers, on the one question that was vital their existence as a party. Some of the ablest of them, led by Mr. Walpole l Mr. Henley, objected to any proposal to tax foreign corn, and yet if the otectionists refused to do that, their *locus standi* in the country was gone. r Majesty next appealed to Lord John Russell to form a coalition with the elites. This project proved to be hopeless. The Peelites were bitterly posed to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and though Lord John offered to enuate it to the verge of absolute nullity, they could not sanction it in r shape or form. Moreover, Sir James Graham was afraid that if he joined Whig Ministry he might quarrel with Lord Palmerston, and Lord Grey s equally afraid that he might quarrel with Sir James Graham. The Peelite ders also thought that before a Coalition Government could be organised h any chance of success, it must be preceded by co-operation in opposition, ween the two parties to it, and hence they wished Lord Stanley to form Ministry which, from its Protectionist policy, must needs have but a brief stence. This abortive attempt to form an alliance between the Whigs and Peelites is memorable, because it was the first step that led them both on path which brought them to the celebrated and fateful Coalition of 1852. On the 26th of February, the Queen accordingly sent for Lord Stanley again, l he, with a somewhat rueful countenance, pledged himself to try and form abinet. Again he failed, and for reasons which are given by Lord Malmesbury his diary under the date of the 28th of February. "We met," writes Lord lmesbury, "at Lord Stanley's in St. James's Square, and have failed in form- a Government. He had previously requested me to take the Colonial Office, gh I consider a great compliment, as it is one of the hardest worked of Those assembled were Mr. Disraeli, Sir John Pakington, Mr. Walpole, Hardwicke, Mr. Henley, Mr. Herries, Lord John Manners, and Lord

* Morley's Life of Cobden.

Eglinton. Everything went smoothly, each willingly accepting the respective post to which Lord Stanley appointed him, excepting Mr. Henley, who made such difficulties about himself, and submitted so many upon various subjects, that Lord Stanley threw up the game, to the great disappointment and disgust of most of the others present. Mr. Henley seemed quite overpowered by the responsibility he was asked to undertake as President of the Board of Trade, and is evidently a most nervous man. Mr. Disraeli did not conceal his anger at his want of courage and interest in the matter. . . . In the House of Lords, Lord Stanley announced his failure, and did not conceal it as being caused by the want of experience in public business which he found existed in his party. This is possibly the case, but what really caused the break up of the conference was the timid conduct of Mr. Henley and Mr. Herries.* Mr. Herries," adds Lord Malmesbury, "at this conference, looked like an old doctor who had just killed a patient, and Mr. Henley like the undertaker who was to bury him." Lord Stanley gave a half-sarcastic turn to his announcement in the House of Lords of the various motives which had led his friends to refuse office. There was a titter when he said that one gentleman had declined to serve because he was pressed with domestic duties, which gave occasion for one of Lord Stanley's brightest jokes. Lady Jocelyn ironically asked Stanley who it was who was so anxious about his domestic duties. "It is not Jocelyn," was the cutting reply.† An attempted combination with the Peelites had broken down, though Mr. Gladstone was offered a high post in the Cabinet, and the Queen then summoned the Duke of Wellington for his advice.

Matters were at an absolute deadlock. There were three questions in the public mind—Protection *versus* Free Trade, Parliamentary Reform, and Papal Aggression. As Prince Albert put it in a memorandum which he drew up for the Duke's consideration, on the *first* question Peelites, Radicals, and Whigs were united, and formed a solid working majority. On the *second* question they were also united against the Protectionists. But on the *third* question the Whigs and Protectionists were united against the Peelites and the Radicals reinforced by the Irish party. Any policy that could unite Peelites, Whigs, Radicals, and Irish would therefore furnish a majority capable of keeping in office a Cabinet that could carry on the Queen's Government. But the Peelites, the Irish, and the Radicals were just as determined that there should be no anti-Papal legislation, as the Whigs and Protectionists were determined on demanding it. Why not, in such circumstances, leave Papal aggression an *open question*, in a Coalition Ministry of Whigs, Peelites, and Radicals, allowing Lord John Russell to go on with an attenuated Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and Sir James Graham to oppose it? This suggestion

* It is but right to say that Mr. Herries was now over seventy years of age, and had been virtually shelved for twenty years.

† According to Mr. Greville, it was Mr. Thomas Baring.

bviously sprang from the opinion which the Queen had held strongly ever since the year 1846, that the country would never get an efficient Government till a Coalition Ministry was formed. It was, however, quite impracticable. The Queen made no allowance for the ease with which a Cabinet loses prestige in the atmosphere of passion which pervades the House of Commons, where the fact that a Cabinet is even suspected of being divided destroys its moral authority. Neither the Duke of Wellington nor Lord

THE GREEN DRAWING-ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE.

Lansdowne, who was also consulted, could advise the Queen to put forward his project. The Duke, in fact, advised her to send for Lord John Russell once again. This was accordingly done. "The last act of the drama fell out last night," writes Mr. Greville on the 4th of March, "as everybody foresaw it would and must." Lord John returned to office with his Ministry unchanged, which, says Mr. Greville, "was better than trying some trifling stitching-up, or some shuffling of the same pack, and it makes a future reconstruction more easy." On the same night Lord Granville dined at the Palace. "The Queen and Prince Albert," writes Mr. Greville, "both talked to him a great deal of what has been passing, and very openly. She is satisfied with herself, as well she may be, and hardly with anybody else;

not dissatisfied personally with Stanley, of whom she spoke in terms indicative of liking him. She thinks Lord John Russell and his Cabinet might have done more than they did to obtain Graham and the Peelites, and might have made the Papal question more of an open question; but Granville says that it

SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS.

is evident she is heart and soul with the Peelites, so strong is the influence of Sir Robert, and they are very stout and determined about Free Trade. The Queen and Prince think this resuscitated concern very shaky, and that it will not last. Her favourite aversions are, first and foremost, Palmerston, and Disraeli next. It is very likely that this latter antipathy (which no doubt

Stanley discovered) contributed to his reluctance to form a Government. Such is the feeling about him in their minds." Mr. Disraeli, aware of their antipathy, had, indeed, offered to efface himself or to accept any office, no matter how humble, that would not bring him into personal communication with the Sovereign, in order to facilitate the return of his party to power. It may be here convenient to note that the Queen, though entertaining strong personal opinions about the capacity of her Ministers, has been ever prompt to change them when they gave her good reasons for doing so. Her antipathy to Peel in 1839 was notorious. Yet when Peel became Prime Minister he completely won her confidence. Her antipathy to Palmerston ceased after he left the Foreign Office and became Prime Minister, and the same may be said of her aversion to Mr. Disraeli, who, as Lord Beaconsfield, received from the Crown a tribute of homage and favour rarely accorded to any subject.

The reinstatement of the Whigs pleased nobody. However, a dissolution was dreaded, and all parties were therefore forced to tolerate them. But they were, as a Government, utterly discredited, and their final fall was imminent. On their return to office, the Government produced a new edition of their Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. It consisted simply in a declaration that the assumption of such titles was illegal. What may be termed the stringent penal clauses were cut out, and in this form the measure was received with universal displeasure, mingled with contempt. The bigots complained that the measure was rendered futile. The Radicals complained that it was a concession to the bigots. As for the Irish members, they opposed what was left of it, simply to compel the Government to drain the chalice of mortification to the lees. So ingeniously was the Bill obstructed that it was not read a third time till a month after its introduction. The House of Lords passed it after debating the second reading for two nights. Its opponents predicted it would be a dead letter, and events verified their prophecies. As Sir George Cornewall Lewis said, "Neither the assumption of the territorial title nor the prohibition to assume it was of the least practical importance."*

The story of the Parliamentary Session of 1851 may be briefly told. The obstruction of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill left little time for legislation. Sir Charles Wood, as usual, bungled the Budget. He had a comfortable surplus of £2,521,000. His estimates were careful and judicious, and showed on the basis of existing taxation an anticipated surplus of £1,892,000. It was in disposing of this sum that Sir Charles plunged into a sea of difficulties. He said it would not enable him to abolish the Income Tax, the retention of which, during the early days of Free Trade, he recommended as necessary for the stability of the fiscal system. Hence he proposed to spend his estimated surplus in (1), reducing debt by about £1,000,000; (2), in commuting a tax "which bore on the health and morals of the lower classes," namely, the Window Tax,

* Letters of the Right Hon. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., to various friends, edited by the Rev. Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis, Bart., p. 240.

into a house duty; (3), in reducing the duty on foreign and colonial coffee to a uniform rate of threepence in the pound; (4), in reducing the timber duty by fifty per cent.; and (5), by transferring to the State a certain proportion of the local charge for maintaining pauper lunatics. On the 17th of February, in Committee of Ways and Means, Sir Charles accordingly moved that the Income Tax and Stamp Duties in Ireland be renewed for a limited period. The manner in which the Budget was received clearly showed that it would be unpopular. The Tories attacked it because the Income Tax was to be retained, and the transfer of the charge for pauper lunatics they ridiculed as a mockery of relief to the distressed rural ratepayers. Mr. Hume complained that there was no attempt made to reduce military expenditure by asking the Colonies to bear the cost of their own defence. The representatives of the large towns protested violently against commuting the Window Tax into a house duty. The controversy was, however, cut short by Lord John Russell's resignation after his defeat on Mr. Locke King's resolution, to which reference has already been made.

On the 5th of April Sir Charles Wood, after his usual manner, brought forward a new Budget. He proposed now to levy a uniform duty of ninepence on the annual value of houses, and sixpence on shops, without reference to the number of their windows. This would in nearly all cases impose a smaller burden on houses than the Window Tax, the capricious and unequal incidence of which had made it intensely unpopular—the greatest relief being given to the houses which had more windows than were proportionate to their annual value. The loss from the Window Tax and the reduction of the duty on coffee left a surplus of £924,000 for emergencies, and Sir Charles Wood was still deaf to the demand for the abolition of the Income Tax. The Tories contended that the tax had been granted to meet a deficit. There was now no deficit, therefore the tax ought to be removed. The Whigs admitted these facts, but denied the conclusion drawn from them. The tax, they argued, ought not to be removed, because a new reason had risen for its continuance, namely, that the Income Tax enabled the Government to minimise the loss to the revenue which might be entailed by the abandonment of protective duties. This, in fact, is the clue to all the tangled Income Tax controversies of the time. The Income Tax was in truth the keystone of Peel's Free Trade policy. The Tories, therefore, spared no pains to strike it out of the fabric of fiscal legislation which he and the Whigs had built up. Yet the injustice and frauds perpetrated under the Income Tax were admitted on all sides; and finally an effort was made by Mr. Hume to limit the renewal of the tax to one year, and refer the whole question of its assessment and incidence to a Select Committee. Mr. Hume's motion was carried against the Government by a vote of 244 to 230. But the fatal objection to it, as Mr. Sidney Herbert pointed out, was that, unless the Government had the Income Tax secured to them for three years, they could not make permanent

reductions in the duties on coffee and timber. It was absurd to dream of entering on a policy which involved further remission of taxation, so long as £5,000,000 of the revenue—for that was what the Income Tax brought in—depended on an annual vote of the House. Then the *concordia discors* of the majority was made manifest. As everybody had voted with Mr. Hume from different motives, it was impossible to get competent men to serve on

THE CAFFRE WAR: NATIVES ATTACKING A CONVOY.

the Committee. That difficulty, however, was after much trouble overcome, and the Government made the best of the situation. They accepted defeat; Lord John Russell, however, stipulating that, whatever might be done, the national credit must be maintained. In other words, he accepted the proposal on the ground that, though the motion granting the Income Tax for one year only was carried, there was no serious intention of refusing to renew the tax if necessary; and that it would be necessary was, of course, certain, unless the £5,500,000 derived from it were replaced by protective duties. This was not a very logical position, and Mr. Disraeli seized the opening which it gave him. Hume's victory, technically speaking, implied that the financial arrangements of the country were in a provisional state.

Why, then, asked Mr. Disraeli, sacrifice any revenue at all till something like permanence had been imparted to these arrangements? On the 30th of July he brought forward a futile motion to this effect in a grandiose speech, and was supported by Mr. Gladstone, whose antipathy to the Government was fast becoming uncontrollable. Yet Mr. Gladstone's argument was sound enough. To surrender the Window Tax for one like the hated

GROUP OF DYAKS.

House Duty, which rested on a narrow basis and was vitiated by special anomalies of inequality and injustice of incidence, that had secured its abolition in 1834, was surely bad finance. And what was gained? Six-sevenths of the house property of the country were exempted from taxation—house property being a fair enough subject for taxation, provided it be assessed on fair general principles. Nothing could be more precarious than the position of the Income Tax; yet but for it the surplus in hand, which Sir Charles Wood was flinging away, would not exist. Mr. Disraeli, however, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's support, lost his motion. His inconsistency in voting for Mr. Cayley's proposal, on the 8th of May, to abolish the Malt Tax, which yielded £5,000,000 of revenue, and in protesting, on the 30th of June, against

the sacrifice of £1,600,000 of surplus, as ruinous to public credit, was, of course, disastrous to his pleading.

In the debates on Colonial Policy the Government were more successful than could have been anticipated. Mr. Baillie's motion censuring Lord Torrington's maladministration of the affairs of Ceylon was defeated by a large majority, which, says Mr. Greville, set the Cabinet, smarting from various reverses at the time, "on their legs again."

On the 18th of April a much more important subject was broached by Sir W. Molesworth, who moved a series of resolutions demanding that the Colonies should be made autonomous, and charged to provide for their own defence. Other motions of the same sort as this one sprang from the *animus* against the Colonial Office which then existed among all parties. As Mr. Urquhart said in debate, independent members were of opinion that, if the good sense of the country did not put down the Colonial Office, the Colonial Office would put down the Empire. The objection of the Government to Sir W. Molesworth's proposal was the old one to all Colonial reforms—that it must lead to the abandonment of our Colonial Empire. The debate was adjourned, and was not resumed.

The chronic discontent of the Cape Colonists, smarting under Lord Grey's abortive design to quarter convicts on them, led to some acrimonious discussions, which aggravated popular antipathy to the costly Caffre War which was raging. Lord John Russell, however, contrived to evade attacks by persuading the House of Commons to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the relations of the Colony to the Caffre tribes.

The Radicals of the Manchester school had raised early in the Session an agitation against Sir James Brooke, popularly called Rajah Brooke, of Sarawak. Rajah Brooke had waged war on the Dyak tribes because they were aggressive pirates. The Manchester school denied that the Dyaks were pirates, and contended that Sir James Brooke simply levied war on the natives in order to seize their territory. Mr. Hume insisted on referring the matter to a Select Committee, but he was defeated by a large majority, and the result of the debate was to exonerate Sir James Brooke from the charges of brutality and barbarism that had been advanced against him.

The slave-hunting squadron in West Africa was another question as to which the Government were sadly harried. The cost of keeping up the squadron rendered it extremely unpopular, and Mr. Hume forced the Government, in Committee of Supply, to make a statement as to its work. According to Lord Palmerston, it was active, energetic, and successful in suppressing the infamous traffic in slaves, and the House of Commons thought that the results of the squadron's operations were so valuable that England ought not to grudge the money spent upon it. On the other hand, the Party of Economy contended that the reduction in the slave trade was due, not to the English squadron, but to the new policy of Brazil, whose Government

had begun to co-operate with ours in seizing slave-traders, destroying barracoons, and releasing slaves.

Foreign affairs but slightly interested Parliament in 1851. No doubt a great deal of excitement was produced by the two letters on the State prosecutions by the Neapolitan Government, which Mr. Gladstone addressed to Lord Aberdeen, and much indignation was expressed at the stupid tyranny of King "Bomba," whose dungeons were full of political prisoners. The charges of cruelty and injustice caused Sir De Lacy Evans to question the Foreign Secretary on the subject in the House of Commons, and from Lord Palmerston's reply it turned out that above 20,000 persons were then confined in Neapolitan prisons for political offences, most of whom had been deprived of liberty in flagrant violation of the existing laws of their country. Copies of Mr. Gladstone's letter were sent by Lord Palmerston to every foreign Government, in the hope that a joint-remonstrance from the Powers might put an end to King Ferdinand's outrages on civilisation.

Mr. Cobden renewed his annual motion for bringing about a general disarmament among the European nations; and undoubtedly his speech was received with much more sympathy than usual by the House of Commons and the country. It was the year of the International Exhibition, and all the world was talking of fraternity among the nations, and of their strife being limited, in the golden future, to peaceful contests in the fields of industry. "We are witnessing now," said Mr. Cobden in a memorable passage of his speech, "what a few years ago no one could have predicted as possible. We see men meeting together from all countries in the world, more like the gatherings of nations in former times, when they came up for a great religious festival; we find men speaking different languages and bred in different habits associating in one common temple erected for their gratification and reception." The Government, he held, might with everlasting honour to themselves seize the favourable hour for broaching a peace policy, and endeavour to win the assent of Europe to a project for universal disarmament. The idea then in men's minds was that England should set the example by approaching France with a proposal, that each country should reduce its armaments to the footing on which they stood at the time of the Syrian dispute. Lord Palmerston approved generally of Mr. Cobden's objects, and was willing to say that he would do everything in his power to bring about the friendliest relations with France. But he did not wish to be fettered beforehand with definite instructions to open up at once negotiations for mutual disarmament; and, professing himself satisfied with this expression of opinion, Mr. Cobden withdrew his motion.

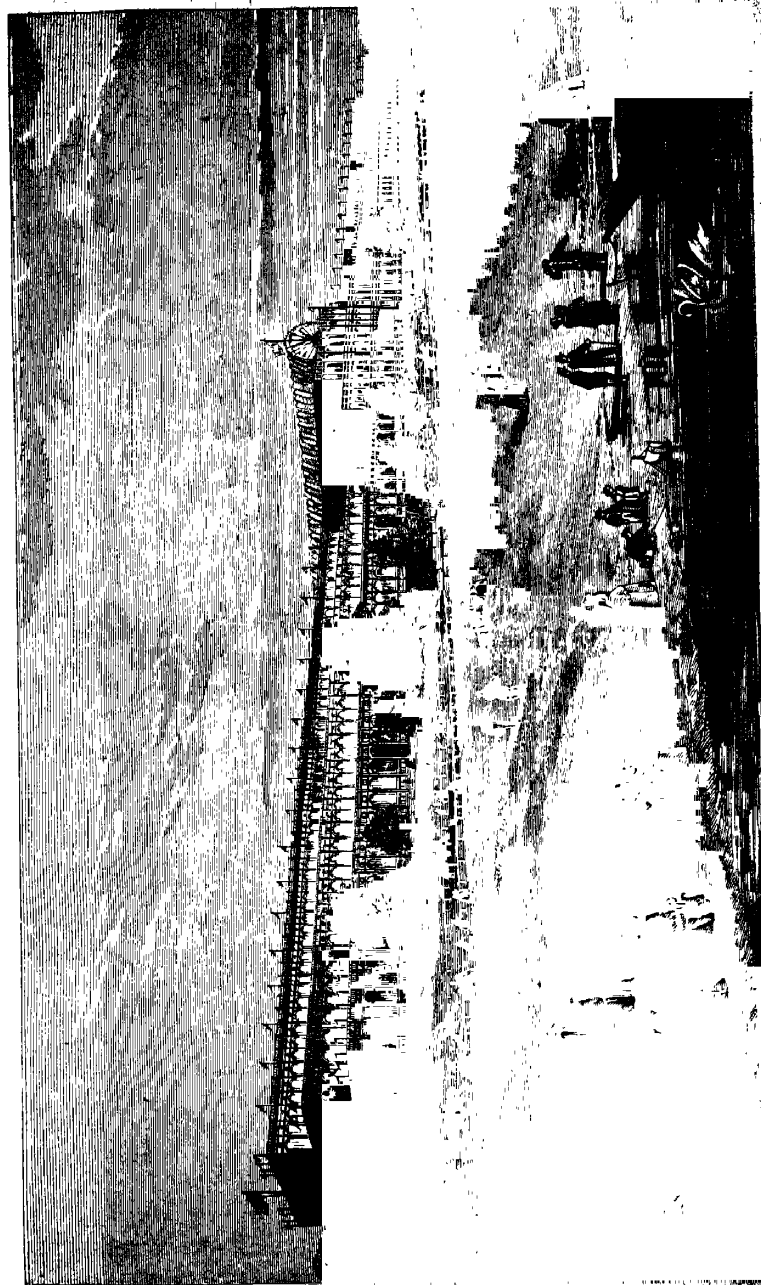
The Jews in the Session of 1851 failed to remove the political disabilities under which members of their community lay.* They carried their point in the

* Mr. Disraeli did not support the Tory opposition to the Jews.

House of Commons. In the House of Lords, however, the Tories threw the Jewish Disabilities Relief Bill out by a vote of 144 to 108. A hot controversy arose over the attempt of Alderman Salomons, the newly-elected member for Greenwich, to take the Oath without repeating the words, "On the true faith of a Christian." It ended in the Alderman being removed from his

LORD CARLISLE.

seat by the Serjeant-at-Arms, and in Lord John Russell carrying a motion denying Mr. Salomons's right to sit whilst he was unsworn.

The smaller measures of the Session included a Bill for strengthening the appellate branch of the Court of Chancery by appointing two extra judges. The Bill to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister, though carried in the House of Commons, was, as usual, rejected in the Lords. Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person on the 8th of August, and the occasion

was interesting, for the representatives of the people for the first time wen into her presence from the new House of Commons, which had at last been made ready for occupation. The long procession through the grand corridors between the two chambers, was accordingly a little more orderly than usual The Royal Speech was devoted to a brief review of a barren but not unimportant Session.

Legislation, in fact, had been brought to a standstill by the anti-Papal Bill which had been obstinately obstructed. The prestige of the Ministry was gone and their natural strength completely abated by the mutiny of the Irish Whigs And yet, when Lord John Russell resumed office after his resignation, he gained rather than lost in power, and the attack on him became more and more languid every day. The truth is that the people did not think much about politics after May, 1851. The Ministry was safe after the failure of the Tories to take their places. But it was no stronger than when it had been beaten on Mr. Locke King's motion, and its lease of office depended largely on the tolerance of disdain. The people were indeed preoccupied with the Great Industrial Exhibition of All Nations to such an extent that they paid no more attention during the latter half of the Session, to the doings of the Government, than to the debates of a local vestry. "There is," writes Mr. Greville on the 8th of June, "a picture in *Punch* of the shipwrecked Government saved by the 'Exhibition' steamer, which really is historically true, thanks in great measure to the attractions of the Exhibition, which has acted on the public as well as upon Parliament. . . . There has been so much indifference and *insouciance* about politics and parties that John Russell and his Cabinet have been released from all present danger. The cause of Protection gets weaker and weaker every day; all sensible and practical men give it up as hopeless."* That he had been saved by the "Great Exhibition" steamer evidently did not satisfy Lord John Russell. Hence he seems to have been ever hankering after a plan for strengthening his Cabinet by the addition to it of a Peelite element. Sir George Cornewall Lewis was sent down to Netherby in September to intrigue with Sir James Graham for this purpose, but Graham, though offered the Board of Control, or as it would now be called the India Office, refused to join the Cabinet because he was afraid lest Lord John Russell might make dangerous concessions to the Party who were agitating for Parliamentary Reform. It is interesting to note that Lord Palmerston strongly opposed this project of inviting Graham to join the Whig Cabinet, and strove hard to induce his colleagues to make their overtures to Mr. Gladstone. It is impossible to blame Sir James for the course he took. Lord John Russell's incurable antipathy to statistical research induced him to hand over the question of Reform to a small Ministerial Committee, consisting of Lord Minto, Lord Carlisle, and Sir C. Wood, and so little did the Whigs love Reform, that some of them, like Lord Lansdowne, had resolved to leave the Cabinet if a strong Reform measure were proposed.

* Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. III., p. 407.

Another circumstance helped to weaken the Ministry. Lord Palmersto usual, succeeded during the autumn in again irritating the Queen and own colleagues by one of his singular freaks at the Foreign Office. V Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, arrived at Southampton on the of October, he was welcomed by a popular demonstration, and some lea Radicals took part in it. Lord Palmerston immediately resolved to re him, and it became known that if he did this the Austrian Government w recall their Ambassador. Lord John Russell pointed out the impropriet the step which Lord Palmerston obstinately insisted on taking. Palmers last word on the subject to the Prime Minister was that he considered he a right to receive M. Kossuth privately and unofficially, and that he w not be dictated to as to the reception of a guest in his own house, th his office was at the disposal of the Government. A meeting of the Ca was immediately summoned, and the matter was laid before those presen Lord John Russell. It was agreed that Lord Palmerston could not propriety receive Kossuth, and he promised to submit to the decision o colleagues. Up to this point everything went smoothly, and the Queen greatly relieved in mind to learn that the Foreign Secretary had bee reasonable as to promise *not* to insult a friendly Power. Her fe on the subject was that, being at peace with Austria, we had no to get up demonstrations in favour of persons who had been endeavo to upset the Austrian Government. "I was at Windsor," writes Mr. Gr on the 16th of November, "for a Council on Friday. There I saw Palmerston and Lord John mighty merry and cordial, talking and la ing together. Those breezes leave nothing behind, particularly with Pa ston, who never loses his temper, and treats everything with gaiety levity. The Queen is vastly displeased with the Kossuth demonstra especially at seeing him received at Manchester with as much enthus as attended her own visit to that place. . . . Delane* is just come Vienna, where he had a long interview with Schwarzenberg, who treate at least affected to do so, the Kossuth reception with contempt and difference."† Two days after Mr. Greville made this entry in his Diar the amazement of the Queen and Lord John Russell, Lord Palmer addressing a deputation that waited on him from Finsbury and Islin expressed on behalf of England his strong sympathy with the cause o Hungarian revolutionary leaders. He had kept the word of promise t ear, but had broken it to the hope. What he had said was infinitely irritating to Austria than his reception of Kossuth could have been. breach of faith with his indignant colleagues was inexcusable, and it pre the way for Palmerston's expulsion from the Cabinet, which followe recognition of the *coup d'état* in December.

* The Editor of the *Times*.

† Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. III., p. 415.

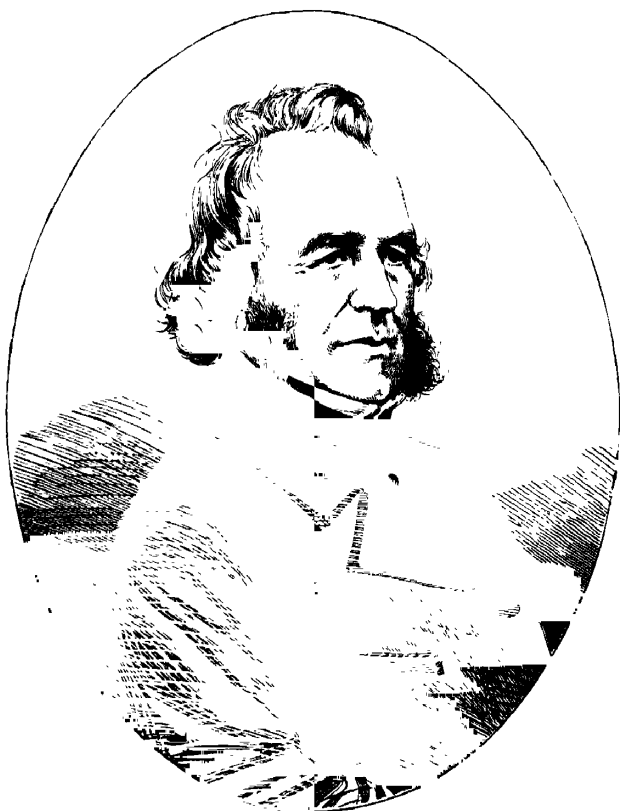
CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FESTIVAL OF PEACE AND THE *COUP D'ÉTAT.*

The World's Fair—Carping Critics—Churlish Ambassadors Rebuked by the Queen—Opening of the Great Exhibition—A Touching Sight—The Queen's Comments on "*soi-disant* Fashionables"—The Duke of Wellington's Nosegay—Prince Albert among the Missionaries—The Queen's Letter to Lord John Russell—Her Pride in her Husband—The London Season—The Duke of Brunswick's Balloon "Victoria"—Bloomerism—The Queen at Macready's Farewell Benefit—The Queen's Costume Ball—The Spanish Beauty—An Ugly "Lion"—The Queen at the Guildhall Ball—Grotesque Civic Festivities—Royal Visits to Liverpool and Manchester—A Well-Dressed Mayor—The Queen on the "Sommerophone"—The *Coup d'État*—The Assassins of Liberty—The Appeal to France—The Queen's Last Quarrel with Palmerston—Palmerston's Fall—Outcry against the Queen—A "Presuming" Muscovite—The Queen's Vindication

DURING the greater part of the Session of 1851 the English people, to use a phrase of Mr. Disraeli's, "were not up to politics." It was the year of the marvellous World's Fair, or Great International Exhibition, and the keen interest which it aroused diverted public attention from Ministerial blundering. But though the interest of the country in the Exhibition was strong, it was feeble compared with that which the Queen and Prince Albert took in it. In spring, when the Court returned to London, the Prince concentrated all his energies on the labour of organising the arrangements for the opening of the Crystal Palace. All through March and April he worked night and day, undaunted by the carping criticisms of those who predicted that the direst calamities would spring from the Exhibition. These foolish persons asserted that the Exhibition Commissioners were simply organising a foreign invasion of London. To attract to the capital dense crowds of foreigners, they declared, would lead to riot, to the spread of revolutionary doctrines, to the introduction of pestilence and of foreign forms of immorality, and to the ruin of British trade, the secrets of which would be revealed to our competitors in the markets of the world. Colonel Sibthorp, in the Debate on the Address, actually implored Heaven to destroy the Crystal Palace by hail or lightning, and others declared that the Queen would most surely be assassinated by some foreign conspirators, on the opening day of the great show.

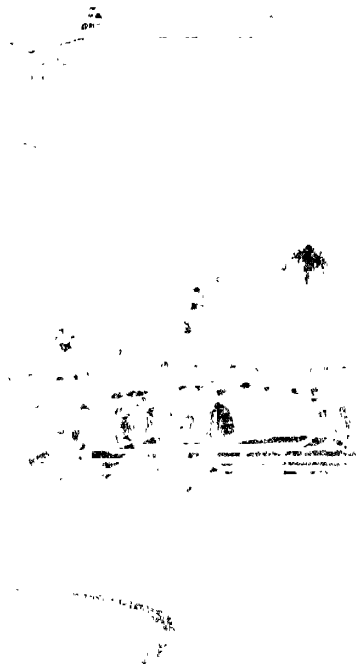
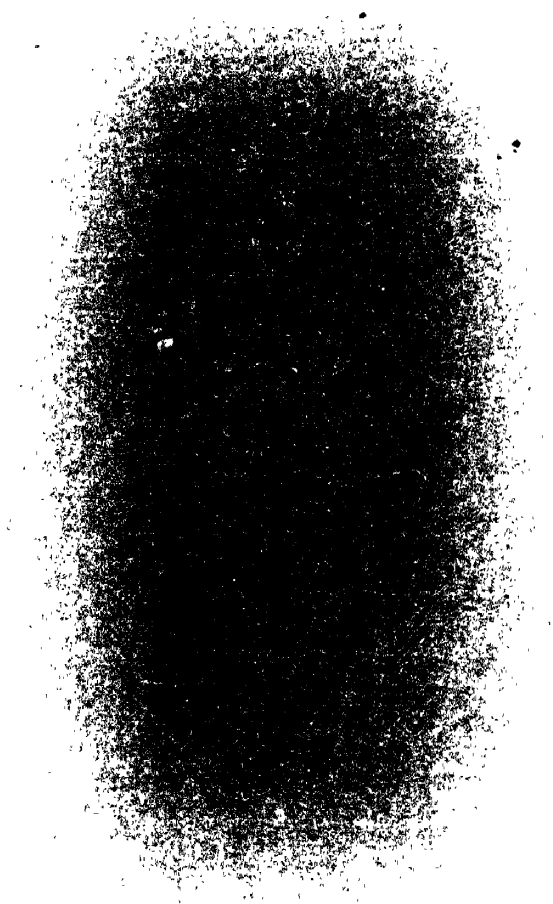
The diplomatic body in London also behaved churlishly to the promoters of the scheme, arguing that foreigners, by coming in contact with the democratic institutions of England, would lose their taste for Absolutism. When Prince Albert proposed that the Ambassadors should have an opportunity of taking part in the proceedings by presenting an Address to the Queen, M. Van de Weyer, as senior member of the diplomatic body in London, privately asked the opinion of his colleagues on the subject. They all gave their assent with one exception, Baron Brunnow, who was "not at home" when M. Van de Weyer called on him. But at a meeting of the diplomatic body it was decided by a majority of them not to present any Address to her Majesty. This decision

was arrived at mainly by the influence of Brunnow, who said he could not permit the Russian nation or people to be mentioned in an Address of this kind. He was also jealous of allowing M. Van de Weyer or any other Ambassador to speak for the Russian Government. The Queen was chagrined at this incivility, and instructed M. Van de Weyer to tell his colleagues that of course she could

SIR JOSEPH PAXTON.

not compel them "to accept a courtesy which anywhere else would be looked on as a favour." Brunnow, however, held out. In the end it was agreed that the Ambassadors should present no Address, but merely be formally presented to the Queen at the opening function, and, having bowed, that they should file away to the side of the platform, where they certainly did not cut an imposing figure during the ceremony of inauguration.

On the 29th of April the Queen made a private visit to the Exhibition,

and returned from it saying that her eyes were positively dazzled with "the myriads of beautiful things" which met her view. Though some of the Royal Family, like the Duke of Cambridge, were afraid that there might be a riot on the opening day, the Queen was not affected in the least by their warnings, asserting that she had the completest faith in the good sense, good humour, and chivalrous loyalty of her people. Nor was this confidence misplaced. On the day of the opening, she was received with passionate demonstrations of loyal enthusiasm from the crowds, amounting in the aggregate to about 700,000 persons, who came forth to see her pass. As for those who entered the building, they seemed awestruck with astonishment at the brilliant scene, radiant with life and colour, which lay before their eyes. At half-past eleven on the 1st of May the Royal *cortège* left the Palace, and filed along in a stately procession through the enormous crowds who swarmed in the Green Park and in Hyde Park. "A little rain fell," writes the Queen, "just as we started, but before we came near the Crystal Palace the sun shone and gleamed upon the gigantic edifice, upon which the flags of all the nations were floating. We drove up Rotten Row, and got out at the entrance on that side. The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. We went for a moment to a little side room, where we left our shawls, and where we found Maria and Mary [now Princess of Teck], and outside which were standing the other Princes. In a few seconds we proceeded, Albert leading me, having Vicky at his right hand and Bertie [Prince of Wales] holding mine. . . . The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains, the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices, which sounded like nothing), and my beloved husband, the author of this 'Peace-Festival,' which united the industry of all nations of the earth—all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever."* When the National Anthem had been sung, Prince Albert, at the head of the Commissioners, read their Report to the Queen. She in turn read a short reply. A brief prayer was offered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and then the "Hallelujah Chorus" was sung. The grand State procession of all the dignitaries was then formed, and walked along the whole length of the crowded nave amidst deafening cheers. "Every one's face," writes the Queen in her Diary, "was bright and smiling, many with tears in their eyes. Many Frenchmen called out 'Vive la Reine!' . . . . The old Duke and Lord Anglesey walked arm in arm, which was a touching sight." When the procession returned to the point from which it started, Lord Breadalbane proclaimed the Exhibition open in the name of the Queen, whereupon there was a flourish of trumpets and more cheering. "Everybody," writes the Queen,

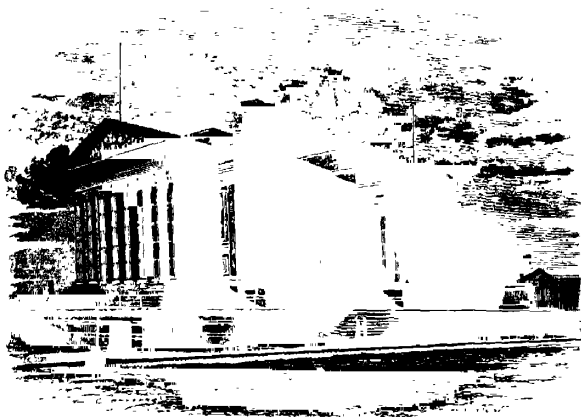
* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLII.

"was astonished and delighted. Sir George Grey (Home Secretary) in tears." On the way home her Majesty again met with a magnificent reception. After entering the Palace, she and the Prince showed themselves on the balcony and bowed their adieus to the vast throng, whose loyal shouts rent the air. The most perfect order was maintained, and, writes the Queen, "the wicked and absurd reports of dangers of every kind which a set of people, namely, *soi-disant* fashionables and the most violent Protectionists spread, are silenced. . . . . I must not," she adds, "omit to mention an interesting episode of this day, namely, the visit of the good old Duke on this his eighty-second birthday to his little godson, our dear little boy.* He came to us both at five, and gave him a golden cup and some toys, which he himself had chosen, and Arthur gave him a nosegay." From every quarter congratulations on the complete success of the day poured in upon the Queen, and though 700,000 spectators lined the route between the Exhibition and the Palace, no accidents and not a single police case could be traced to this enormous gathering of sightseers.

One result of the Exhibition was the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It was thought that the great gathering of foreigners offered a fitting occasion for celebrating an event of the kind, and Prince Albert was asked to preside over the commemoration. His Royal Highness agreed, but stipulated that the celebration was to have no denominational or sectarian turn. Representatives of all parties, therefore, were invited; and the Prince's speech, which he prepared with unusual care, was marked by broad catholicity of feeling, and was admirably in harmony with the great festival of civilisation which he himself had organised. Lord John Russell was so deeply impressed with the speech, that he wrote to the Queen congratulating her on the effect that it had produced. In reply the Queen wrote as follows:—"We are both much pleased at what Lord John Russell says about the Prince's speech of yesterday. It was on so ticklish a subject, that we could not feel certain beforehand how it might be taken. At the same time, the Queen felt sure that the Prince would say the right thing, from her entire confidence in his great tact and judgment. The Queen, at the risk of not appearing sufficiently modest (and yet why should a wife ever be modest about her husband's merits?), must say that she thinks Lord John Russell will admit now that the Prince is possessed of very extraordinary powers of mind and heart. She feels so proud of being his wife, that she cannot refrain from herself paying a tribute to his noble character."†

As might have been expected, the London season of the Exhibition year was an exceptionally brilliant one. It was marked by a strange combination of eccentricity and gaiety. The Duke of Brunswick kept the town talking with

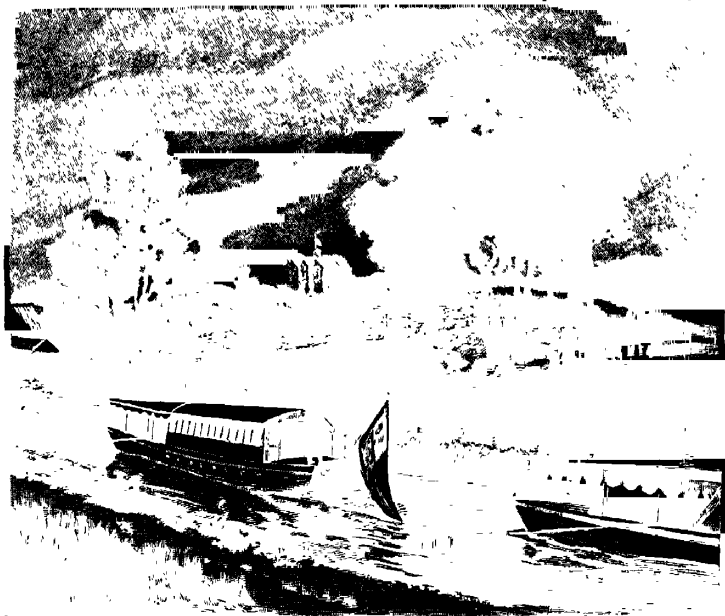
* Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught.

† Quoted by Sir Theodore Martin in his Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLII.

sufficient volubility, and his voyage to France in a balloon, the "Victoria," with Mr. Green, the aëronaut, was a nine days' wonder. In midsummer "Bloomerism" whetted the wits of Londoners. The votaries of "Bloomerism" took their name from the wife of a gallant American officer. This lady invented a new costume for women, consisting of loose trousers gathered at the ankles, a short, full skirt, and a broad hat. Adventuresses and "advanced" ladies tried to popularise the costume, but failed. Ridicule killed their cause, and when barmaids in public-houses and "fast" women generally began to adopt "Bloomerism," its doom was sealed. The season of 1851 was, indeed,

ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL

clouded with but one dismal fact; the aristocracy were somewhat pinched because agricultural prices were low, and yet the nobility bore their part in the great vortex of hospitality, which the World's Fair had set whirling, bravely enough. London swarmed with distinguished foreigners, and balls and routs and dinner-parties went on without ceasing.

The first striking event of the season was the withdrawal of Macready from the stage on the 1st of February, and from the Memoirs of that great actor we find that the Queen made a point of being present at his benefit performance on the 26th of February at Drury Lane—the scene of his triumphs, not only as an actor but as a manager, who had restored Shakespeare's plays to the stage in their fullest integrity. Nor was this the only performance which her Majesty honoured with her presence. Writing on May 17th, Lord Malmesbury records that "Lady Londonderry appeared at the Duke of Devonshire's play in a gown trimmed with green birds, small ones round the body and down the sides, and large ones down the centre. The beak of one of the birds caught in the Queen's dress, and was some time before it could

be disentangled." On the 12th of June there was a grand fancy ball at the Palace, the period chosen for illustration being the time of Charles II. The nobility and gentry appeared in the characters of their ancestors. The high officers of State donned the costumes of their predecessors in the reign of the "Merry Monarch." "We went to the Queen's Ball," writes Lord Malmesbury; "it is said that her Majesty received 600 excuses out of 1,400 invitations, and that she did not fill up their places. I thought it very

THE ROYAL VISIT TO WORSLLY HALL. THE STATE BARGE ON THE BRIDGWATER CANAL. (See p. 468.)

inferior to the first two. Most of the fancy dresses shabby, as if they had been got up cheap."

This was the season during which "the Spanish beauty," Mademoiselle de Montijo, afterwards Empress of the French, shone meteor-like in London Society, and divided the honours with Narvaez, "an ugly little fat man, with a vile expression of countenance," according to Lord Malmesbury, who, after being Prime Minister of Spain, and having headed many pronunciamientos, uttered one famous *bon mot* on his deathbed. When he was asked by the priest to forgive his enemies, he answered, "I have none, as I always got rid of them."*

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I. pp. 284 and 283.

On the 9th of July, however, the most remarkable event of the season
ok place. It was the gorgeous ball given at Guildhall by the Lord Mayor
d Corporation of the City of London to celebrate the success of the
eat Exhibition. That success was now assured. The weekly takings at the
tes had never been less than £10,298. In one week they had amounted
£22,189, and already Prince Albert was discussing, with his confidential
visers, what they should do with the large surplus which they were
rtain they would have in hand. The crowning triumph of the undertaking
s therefore celebrated by the City magnates with more than their usual
play of lavish magnificence. The Queen and Prince Albert accepted
vitations, and when they started in their State carriage from Buckingham
lace, they drove through dense crowds of people, amidst shouts of con-
atulations delivered in all sorts of tongues. Nay, when they left the
ildhall on the morning of the 10th of July, at daybreak, they were amazed
find loyal crowds still waiting to cheer them, with no diminution of
thusiasm as they drove home. "A million of people," writes the Prince
Baron Stockmar on the 11th of July, "remained till three in the morning
the streets, and were full of enthusiasm towards us." He says, also,
at the ball passed off "brilliantly,"* but with this must be read, as a mild
rrective, the description given by Lord Malmesbury in his Diary, which
as follows:—"July 10th.—Went in the evening to Madame Van de
eyer's. I hear the ball to the Queen at the Guildhall was extremely
nusing. People very ridiculous. The ladies passed her at a run, never
rtseying, and then returned to stare at her. Some of the gentlemen passed
th their arms round the ladies' waists, others holding them by the hand at
n's length, as if they were going to dance a minuet. One man kissed
hand to the Queen as he went by, which set her Majesty off in a fit
laughter." The ball, however, marked the beginning of the end of
is splendid season. "To-night," writes Prince Albert to Baron Stockmar
the letter just alluded to, "we have our last ball. The day after
morrow I *come back here to dine with the Agricultural Society*. . . .
the 18th we return to Osborne for good." It was not, however, till the
h of July that the Court removed to Osborne, and on the 18th they visited
Crystal Palace once more. This visit the Queen describes in a letter
Stockmar, in which she says:—"The immense number of manufacturers
th whom we have spoken have gone away delighted. The thousands who
at the Crystal Palace when we are leaving are all so loyal and so gratified,
ny never having seen us before. All this will be of a use not to be
cribed. It identifies us with the people, and gives them an additional cause
loyalty and attachment."

On the 27th of August the Queen, Prince Albert, and their family left
borne for Balmoral, which had now been purchased by the Prince from

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLIII.

its owner. On the journey northwards they were received at Peterborough by the venerable Bishop of that see, who had been her Majesty's tutor, and a touching interview took place between the Queen and her old preceptor. At Boston and Doncaster loyal addresses were presented, the party passing the night at the Angel Inn, Doncaster, much to the delight of the inhabitants of that town. On the 28th they reached Edinburgh, where they occupied the State apartments at Holyrood, and drove through the town in the evening. Next day they arrived at Balmoral, where they remained till the 7th of October. During this holiday the Queen and her husband devoted themselves to the rural occupations that always while away the autumn in the Highlands —the Queen walking, driving, riding, sketching, and visiting the cottages of the poor people in her neighbourhood, with whom she had become an especial favourite—the Prince pursuing his favourite sport of deer-stalking, with even more than his wonted ardour. They also entertained many distinguished guests, among whom may be mentioned Hallam the historian, and Liebig the chemist, who were both charmed with the welcome which they received, and with the easy simplicity of the Queen's life in her northern home.

On the 8th of October they proceeded to Edinburgh, and met with one or two adventures by the way which brought vividly to the Queen's mind the hazards of railway travelling. When nearing Forfar the axle of a carriage truck became overheated by friction, and the train was stopped till the truck was uncoupled. At Kirkliston there was an explosion of steam in one of the feeder-pipes of the engine, which delayed the train for an hour, and prevented the Royal party from reaching Edinburgh till eight o'clock at night. Next morning they resumed their journey. At Lancaster, where they stopped for luncheon, the Queen and her children went to view John of Gaunt's ancient castle, and she was presented with its keys at the gateway of the stronghold—two addresses being read to her, which she herself has said were "very prettily worded." In the afternoon the Royal party reached Croxteth Park, the seat of the Earl of Sefton. Next morning they started to visit Liverpool, calling on Lord Derby at Knowsley Park on the way.

They would have been welcomed with a splendid reception from the Mayor and Corporation and inhabitants of the great northern seaport, had not the weather broken, and had not torrents of rain poured down without ceasing, veiling everything and everybody in the densest fog. Still the Queen persisted in proceeding with the appointed programme, and, good-naturedly determined to make the best of the unpropitious elements, she visited the eastern and southern districts of the town, inspected the docks by land, viewed them from the Mersey from the deck of the *Fairy*, and made a return progress through the central and northern streets, which by this time were one sea of mud, where, however, patient and loyal crowds stood waiting to cheer their Sovereign and her family as they passed. "We proceeded," writes her Majesty, "to the Council Room, where we stood on a throne, and

received the addresses of the Mayor and Corporation, to which I read an answer, and then knighted the Mayor, Mr. Bent, a very good man." What seems to have pleased the Queen most was her visit to St. George's Hall, a building which she enthusiastically described as "being worthy of ancient Athens." Here she had to step out on the balcony and stand in the rain bowing her acknowledgments to the vast crowd who stood cheering with undamped ardour in the street below. From Liverpool the Queen and her party, attended by Lady Ellesmere, the Duke of Wellington, Lord and Lady Westminster, and Lord and Lady Wilton, proceeded in a barge along the Bridgwater Canal to Worsley Hall, the seat of Lord Ellesmere. The barge was towed by four horses, and whilst one half was covered in, over that part which was open an awning was stretched. "The boat," writes the Queen, "glided along in a most noiseless and dream-like manner amidst the cheers of the people who lined the sides of the canal." At Worsley Hall the Queen met Mr. Nasmyth, the inventor of the steam-hammer, and she seems to have been greatly delighted with his conversation, and fascinated by his drawings and maps explaining his investigations into the geography of the moon. The evening, indeed, was devoted mainly to scientific conversation, this ascetic turn being given to it by the arrival of the news that the first great submarine telegraph cable had been successfully laid between Dover and Calais. Next day, the 10th of October, the weather brightened, and the Royal party visited Manchester, the working people of the town turning out in holiday garb to welcome their Sovereign. "A very intelligent but painfully unhealthy-looking population they all were, men as well as women"—such is the Queen's description of her hosts. In the Peel Park, Salford, her reception by 82,000 school children of all sects and creeds, and their singing of the National Anthem, appear to have surprised and impressed her profoundly. She also remarked "the beautifully dressed" Mr. Potter, the Mayor of Manchester, "the Mayor and Corporation of which town," writes the Queen, "had till now been too Radical to have robes." Mr. Potter was duly knighted for his courtesy and kindness to the Royal party, and the Queen expressed herself as especially delighted with the order and good behaviour of the crowds who followed. She notes, however, in her Diary "that there are no really fine buildings" in Manchester—an observation which serves to mark the progress made by this now splendid city since 1851. Next day the Royal party left Worsley Hall, passed again through Manchester, and through Stockport, Crewe, Stafford, Rugby, Weedon, Wolverton, and Watford, where their carriages were found waiting for them ready to post to Windsor, which they reached at half-past seven in the evening.

On the 14th of October the Queen paid her final visit to the Great Exhibition, and she records the fact that "an organ, accompanied by a fine and powerful brass instrument, the Sommerophone, was being played, and it nearly upset me." The Sommerophone had a compass of five octaves, and

when played by its inventor, Herr Sommer—the only performer who could make it discourse music—was one of the marvels of a year singularly full of the marvellous. Next day the grand show was closed with somewhat scant ceremony, the Queen writing in her Diary, "How sad and strange to think that this great and bright time has passed away like a dream, after all its triumph and success." It is curious to observe that in the contemporary expressions of public feeling which were prompted by the wind-up of the Exhibition, the same note of melancholy is sounded, as if there were abroad a half-conscious foreboding that the Festival of Peace was only too likely to be followed by War.

These forebodings were justifiable. Affairs abroad began to assume a threatening aspect. It has been shown how the enthusiastic demonstrations with which Louis Kossuth had been honoured in England had caused the Queen many anxious moments. Her mind was sadly troubled, also, by the ostentatious display of sympathy which Lord Palmerston extended to the Hungarian patriot, and by the veiled threat of Austria to recall her Ambassador if these demonstrations continued. Mr. Greville has somewhat maliciously said that the Queen's feelings on this subject were caused by jealousy. Kossuth's reception at Manchester, he observes, had been even more enthusiastic than her own. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* Here Mr. Greville does her Majesty a gross injustice. The abhorrence of the English Court for Austrian Absolutism was strong and unstinted, and most forcible expression is given to it in many letters from Prince Albert to Stockmar. England, however, was at peace with Austria, and had no interest in going to war with her. But the Queen argued that it would be impossible to keep up even the semblance of friendly relations with foreign States, if her Foreign Secretary were to pose as the friendly protector of every rebel leader who had attempted to upset their Government, or received addresses in which their rulers were stigmatised as "odious assassins." Her anger against Lord Palmerston was not to be appeased by his apologists, who reminded her that he was taking a popular and democratic line, which was sure to win for the Queen the affection of the people, thereby more than compensating her for the loss of Austria's goodwill. Her answer, penned by herself in a vigorous letter to Lord John Russell on the 21st of November, was:—"It is no question with the Queen whether she pleases the Emperor of Austria or not, but whether she gives him a just ground of complaint or not. And if she does so she can never believe that this will add to her popularity with her own people."* We have already† described the action which was taken by the Cabinet in relation to this business, and it now remains to record the next quarrel which her Majesty had with Lord Palmerston, and which ultimately led to his expulsion from the Ministry.

On the morning of the 4th of December the Queen was at Osborne, and

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLIV.

† See p. 479.

there she was informed of the *coup d'état* in Paris on the 2nd inst.] Prince-President, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, though he had sw to protect the Republic, had, in concert with a clique of conspirators,* l before the 1st of December determined to restore the Empire. The f thing to do was to win over the army. The next to disgust the nation w Parliamentary institutions. The former task was easily accomplished.] latter, however, was somewhat more difficult, and the manner in which conspirators set about it was most ingenious. Every newspaper that direc attention to the dangerous drift of the Prince-President's policy was suppres He began to conspire, says Alexis de Tocqueville, "from November 10th, 18 His direct instructions to Oudinot, and his letter to Ney only a few mon after his election, showed his determination not to submit to Parliament Government. Then followed his dismissal of Ministry after Ministry, until had degraded the office to a clerkship. Then came the semi-royal progr then the reviews of Satory, the encouragement of treasonable cries, the select for all the high appointments in the army of Paris of men whose infam character fitted them to be tools. Then he publicly insulted the Assembly Dijon, and at last, in October, we knew his plans were laid. It was tl only that we began to think what were our means of defence, but that no more a conspiracy than it is a conspiracy in travellers to look for tl pistols when they see a band of robbers advancing." †

Two powerful motives urged the Prince-President forward. The time the revision of the Constitution was approaching, a fundamental law of wh was that he was ineligible for re-election at the expiry of his term of off This law virtually forced him to choose between usurpation and obscur unless he could get it revised in his interests. But it was evident to l that it would not be so revised, unless popular pressure were put upon Assembly, by some imposing demonstration of the masses in his favour. win their sympathies he demanded the abolition of the Electoral Law May 31st, 1850. That law imposed a three years' residential qualificat on the voter, and in practice it reduced the electorate from 10,000,000 7,000,000 electors. The electoral law of May 31st was therefore the Prin President's moral weapon against the Assembly. The Assembly, however, fused to further his policy on both points, and endeavoured to protect it against reprisals by authorising its President to exercise such control over army as he might deem necessary for its protection. This in turn was resen by the Prince-President as an attack on the prerogatives of the Execut and Cabinet after Cabinet fell in the course of the struggle between the Cl of the State and the Parliament. But the end was within sight when a]

* These were Morny (a natural son of the Prince-President's mother, the Queen Hortense, Count Flahault), Persigny, Fleury, Maupas, Marshal Mangan, and probably Rouher.

† Correspondence and Conversations of Alexis de Tocqueville with Nassau William Se edited by W. C. M. Simpson, Vol. II., p. 5.

determining the responsibility of the Prince-President and his Ministers was brought forward. It provided for the punishment and trial of Ministers and of the Prince-President in the event of their violating the Constitution, and it was the last measure of importance which the Chamber was permitted to consider. On the night of the 1st of December the Prince-President and his coadjutors secretly printed a number of decrees, which were posted before day-

THE COUP D'ÉTAT, LANCERS CHARGING THE CROWD IN THE BOULEVARDS OF PARIS. (See p. 494.)

break on the walls of Paris. These announced the dissolution of the Nationa Assembly and of the Council of State; the abrogation of the law of May 31st 1850; the convocation of the French electoral colleges from the 14th to th 21st of December; and the proclamation of a state of siege in Paris. Th Prince-President further submitted to the electors a new programme, of whicl the chief points were (1), a responsible chief named for ten years; (2) Ministers dependent on the Executive alone; (3), a Council of State; (4), Legislature elected by universal suffrage without *scrutin de liste*, and (5), Second Assembly, or Senate, filled with all the illustrious persons of the nation In a word, he proposed to revive the system under which the First Consul trans formed France into a military Empire. Proclamations appealing to the arm

were also issued. As for the Chamber, its members were arrested when t
attempted to offer a protest. All prominent men who might have organ
opposition among the masses were suddenly captured and thrown into pri
At the first show of popular resistance, the troops, who had been plied w
strong drink for the occasion, fired on the people—in fact, the army sei

PRINCE CHARLES LOUIS NAPOLEON.

France, and, having gagged and bound her, laid her at the feet of
Bonapartists. When Mr. Senior asked M. de Tocqueville if he did not th
that the contest had been virtually forced on by the Assembly, we have
that the French statesman denied the charge. M. de Tocqueville conte
that the proposition to put the army under the orders of the Presiden
the Chamber was absurd, because it was impracticable, and need not h
alarmed the Prince-President. The army had been so corrupted tha
would not have obeyed the orders of the Chamber. As for the law of
sponsibility, that was not meant as a step in a conspiracy to crush
Prince-President. This law, M. de Tocqueville assured Mr. Senior, was

up to the Chamber by the Council of State, who had been two years at work on it, and the Committee of the Chamber, fearing lest it might provoke a collision with the President, actually refused to declare it urgent. "Though I have said," observed De Tocqueville, "that he (the Prince-President) has been conspiring since his election, I do not believe that he intended to strike so soon. His plan was to wait till next March, when the fears of May, 1852, would be most intense. Two circumstances forced him on more rapidly. One was the candidature of the Prince de Joinville. He thought him the only dangerous competitor. The other was an agitation set on foot by the Legitimists in the *Conseils Generaux* for the repeal of the law of May 31st. That law was his moral weapon against the Assembly, and he feared that if he delayed, it might be repealed without him."* The brutality displayed by the police who dispersed the Legislative Assembly, and by the soldiery who fired in the most wanton manner on the 3rd of December, without any justification whatever, on the houses, and on peaceful passers-by along the boulevards of Paris, was stigmatised by the public opinion of England as barbarous and outrageous. It set the educated classes in France without distinction of party against the Prince-President to such an extent, that it became a mark of social and intellectual distinction to refuse to recognise or serve under the new *régime*. In the provinces the Prince-President's tactics of repression were equally successful, and some 10,000 persons were seized and transported to penal settlements, without being convicted by any form of legal trial. The papers of the distinguished statesmen and generals who were alleged to have been conspiring against the Prince-President were ransacked; but no trace of evidence was found against them, and they were accordingly never brought to trial at all. Having thus destroyed the Constitution by the sword, Prince Charles Louis Bonaparte appealed for a vote of indemnity to a nation which had no alternative but to choose between him and anarchy. The result of this appeal was a vote of 7,439,000 votes in his favour, and 640,737 against him—M. de Montalembert, to the grief and surprise of the educated classes, being among those who joined the majority.

What was the attitude of the Queen to these events? On the 5th of December, Lord Palmerston sent a despatch to Lord Normanby, the British Ambassador at Paris, stating that "it is her Majesty's desire that nothing should be done by her Ambassador at Paris which could wear the appearance of an interference of any kind in the internal affairs of France." Lord Normanby accordingly called on M. Turgot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to communicate this instruction, and apologised for his delay in making the communication. M. Turgot sarcastically replied that the delay was not of importance, as he had two days before that heard from M. de Walewski, the French Envoy in London, that Lord Palmerston had approved of the deeds of

* De Tocqueville's Conversations and Correspondence with Nassau W. Senior, Vol. II., p. 6.

the Prince-President. When the despatch from Lord Normanby recordi
this interview reached the Queen, she sent it to Lord John Russell, pointi
out that Lord Palmerston's approval of the *coup d'état* was not only
defiance of her own personal wishes, but also of a resolution of the Cabin
Lord John Russell complained to Lord Palmerston about the matter, b
instead of expressing regret, the latter sent to Lord Normanby a despat
strongly approving of the *coup d'état*, which, however, he concealed from t
Prime Minister and the Queen. It was not till the 18th of December th
Lord John Russell was able to inform the Queen that he had at last receiv
from Lord Palmerston an explanation, which was so unsatisfactory that
had been compelled to write to that turbulent Minister "in the most decisi
terms." In plain English, Lord John called on Palmerston to resign.
sent in his resignation promptly enough, excusing himself by saying that
approval of the *coup d'etat* was but the expression of a personal and not
an official opinion. The whole correspondence was submitted to the Quee
who accepted the resignation of the Foreign Secretary with alacrity. "
was quite clear to the Queen," writes Prince Albert in a letter to the Pri
Minister, "that we were entering on most dangerous times, in which Milita
Despotism and Red Republicanism will for some time be the only powers
the Continent, to both of which the Constitutional Monarchy of England w
be equally hateful." The calmative influence of England, her Majesty thoug
should be used to assuage and not embitter the conflicts abroad which prod
such a perilous state of things. But this influence, she held, had "been rende
null by Lord Palmerston's personal manner of conducting the foreign affai
and the universal hatred which he has succeeded in inspiring on the Continen

On the 22nd of December a Cabinet Meeting unanimously condemn
Palmerston's conduct, and the post vacated by him was accepted by Lo
Granville, who was installed at the Foreign Office on the 27th of Decemb
Lord Palmerston's friends forthwith began to fill the Press with fooli
reports, that he had been dismissed because foreign Courts had influenced t
Queen against him. These insinuations were utterly unjust. For when Bar
Brunnow asked Lord John Russell to contradict these rumours, the Que
wrote to Lord John as follows:—"Baron Brunnow's letter is in fact ve
presuming, as it insinuates the possibility of changes of government
this country taking place at the instigation of Foreign Ministers, and t
Queen is glad that Lord John gave him a dignified answer." Palmersto
dismissal, in truth, was due to his incurable recklessness, and his inveter
habit of not only compromising both the Queen and the Cabinet witho
consulting them, but of acting contrary to the course which had be
definitely adopted by Queen and Cabinet alike, in grave and delicate affai
Louis Napoleon was the only personage of distinction who regretted his fa
"So long as he was in office," remarked the Prince-President cynical
"England would have no allies."

DIANA FOUNTAIN, BUSHEY PARK

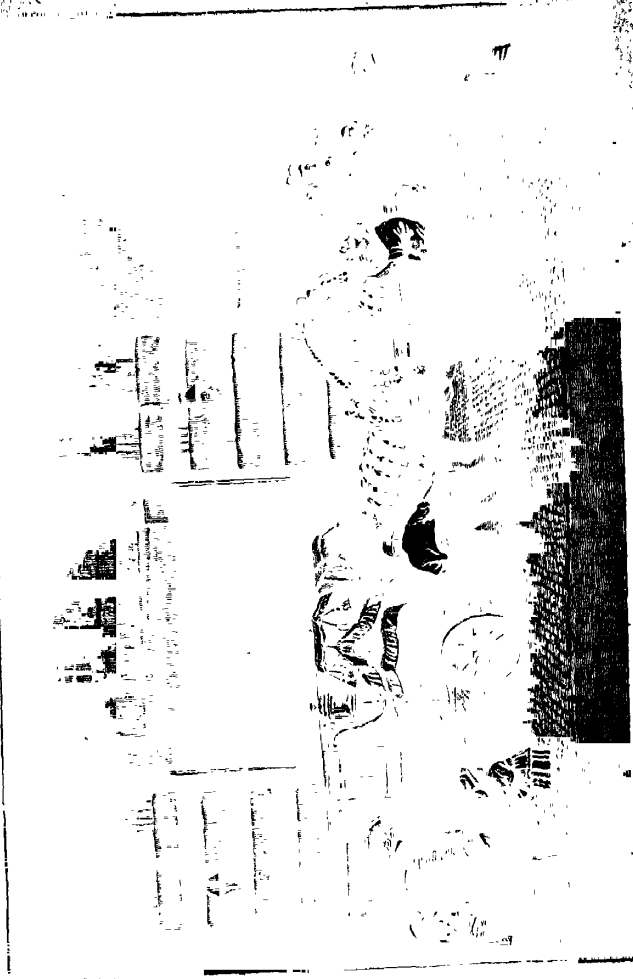
CHAPTER XXVII.

A YEAR OF EXCITEMENT AND PANIC.

Cassandras in the Service Clubs—The Tories and the Queen's Speech—Lord John Russell's Triumph—The Militia Bill—Defeat of the Russell Ministry—Fall of the Whig Cabinet—Palmerston's "Tit for Tat"—A Protectionist Government—Novices in Office—A Cabinet of Affairs—Lord John Russell's Fatal Blunder—Mr Disraeli's Budget—The Second Burmese War—Dalhousie's Designs on Burmah—How the Quarrel Grew—Lambert's Indiscretion—The Attack on Rangoon—Fall of the Citadel—Annexation—Desultory Warfare—Dissolution of Parliament—The General Election—Equipoise of Parties—Factions and Free Trade—Palmerston's Forecasts—Forcing the Hand of the Ministry—Death of the Duke of Wellington—The Queen's Grief—The Nation in Mourning—The Lying-in-State—Shocking Scenes—The Funeral Pageant—The Ceremony in St. Paul's—A Veteran in Tears—The Laureate's Votive Wreath—Review of the Duke's Character.

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-TWO was a year fruitful in alarms and excitement. The excitement arose from the discovery of gold in Australia towards the end of the year 1851, and from the rich supplies of the precious metal which came pouring in from the new El Dorado. The alarms arose from the unsettled state of affairs abroad, the tortuous policy of Louis Napoleon, and Cassandra-like warnings from military writers that the national defences were utterly untrustworthy. A troublesome Caffre War at the Cape had also been draining away the best blood of the army during eighteen months, and absorbing troops who could be ill spared at home.

Parliament met on the 3rd of February, and members, of course, could talk of nothing save the rupture between Lord Palmerston and the Ministry. The Queen's Speech suggested, as topics of legislation, certain Reports of Commissions on the practice and proceedings in the Supreme Court of Law and

Equity, the reorganisation of the Government of New Zealand, and ... mentary Reform. Why, asked the Tories, was there no allusion to agricultural distress? Was it not absurd to congratulate the country on the fact that

HARNESSING THE BLACK HORSES AT THE ROYAL MEWS, BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

(After the Painting by Charles Lutyens, in the Possession of the Earl of Bradford.)

remission of import duties had not diminished revenue, when revenue was only maintained by the unpopular and iniquitous Income Tax? Why was no notice taken of the open and ostentatious defiance by the Roman Catholic

of the Act against Papal Aggression? For the tranquillity of Ireland the Government surely ought not to take credit, inasmuch as it was due to the exodus of the Irish people to America. As for Parliamentary Reform Lord Derby declared contemptuously that there were not 500 reasonable men in the country who wanted a new Reform Bill. These criticisms however, fell flat. The one question of the hour was, Why had the Foreign Secretary resigned? and explanations were given by Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. "In all my experience," says Mr. Greville, writing of this incident, "I never recollect such a triumph as Lord John Russell achieved, and such complete discomfiture as Palmerston's. . . . Palmerston was weak and inefficient, and it is pretty certain he was taken by surprise, and was unprepared for all that John Russell brought forward. Not a man of weight or influence said a word for him, nobody but Milnes [afterwards Lord Houghton] and [Lord] Dudley Stuart. The Queen's letter was decisive, for it was evident his conduct must have been intolerable to elicit such charges and rebukes; and it cannot fail to strike everybody that no man of common spirit, and who felt a consciousness of innocence, would have brooked anything so insulting."*

But Palmerston, though a fallen Minister, was not the man to sit meekly under such a mortification. As he said himself, he would soon give Lord John Russell "tit for tat." His chance for retaliation came when the arbitrary acts of the Prince-President of the French Republic roused the fighting instincts of the English people. A wave of panic ran over the country, and it was asserted that as Charles Louis Bonaparte had founded his power by the sword, so by free use of the sword must he keep it. M. Berryer had expressed in the Chamber the taunt which was freely whispered through France, that the Prince-President's aim was to establish an "Empire without genius and without military glory." Surely, then, Englishmen argued, France under this unscrupulous usurper must be forced into war, in order to divert her attention from the bondage in which she is held by her Autocrat and his army. But if France must needs make war so that the French people may get military glory in compensation for civil liberty, a war on England, whose Press teemed with insulting criticisms on the brutality of the *coup d'état*, was of all wars the one most likely to be popular with the French soldiery. From such reasoning it was but a corollary that England was, as usual, utterly unprepared for attack, and a panic-cry was accordingly revived in favour of strengthening her defensive forces. Yielding to this cry, Lord John Russell introduced his celebrated Militia Bill, which organised a local as distinguished from a general militia—that is to say, a force whose regiments could be called on for service, not in any part of the United Kingdom, but only in their own counties. This was the weak point of the scheme, and the Duke of Wellington did not conceal his bad opinion of it.

* Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. III., p. 447.

Fortified by the Duke's moral support, Lord Palmerston assailed the Militia Bill of the Government with relentless ferocity. On the 20th of February he carried against the Government, by a majority of nine, an amendment in favour of organising a general instead of a local militia, and Lord John Russell resigned on the 23rd of February. Thus fell the last Whig Cabinet that has ruled England—all succeeding Liberal Ministries being either coalitions of Whigs, Peelites, and Radicals, or of Whigs and Radicals alone.

For reasons which have been already given, the times were not propitious for a coalition of this sort. The Queen had therefore no option but to send for Lord Derby, and ask him to form a Protectionist Ministry. She was, of course, deeply sensible of the fact that by recent declarations in favour of Protection, no Ministry of which he was the head could command the confidence of the nation. Indeed, Lord Derby himself was aware of this. But as his followers had joined Lord Palmerston in ejecting the Whigs, he felt that he could not in honour shrink from the embarrassing task of forming a Cabinet to govern the country, with a certain majority against him in the House of Commons, and a dubious majority at his back in the House of Lords. A futile attempt was made to induce Lord Palmerston to join the Tory Cabinet—the Queen agreeing to accept him as a Minister, provided he did not go to the Foreign Office, and was not entrusted with the leadership of the House of Commons. Palmerston refused all Lord Derby's overtures, because he did not care to cast in his lot with a Party which was committed to Protection. One Tory leader, however, shared none of Lord Derby's fears for the future. Writing in his Diary on the 20th of February, Lord Malmesbury says:—"Went to Disraeli's after breakfast, and found him in a state of delight at the idea of coming into office. He said he 'felt just like a young girl going to her first ball,' constantly repeating, 'now we have got a *status*.'"

The chief appointments in the new Cabinet were as follows:—The Earl of Derby, Prime Minister; Lord St. Leonards, Lord Chancellor; Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, as to which the joke current in Society at the time was "that Benjamin's mess will be five times as great as the others;"* the Earl of Malmesbury, Foreign Secretary; Sir John Pakington, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Spencer Walpole, Home Secretary; Mr. Herries, President of the Board of Control; † Earl of Lonsdale, Lord Privy Seal. The only members of the Cabinet who had ever held office before were Lord Derby and Lord Lonsdale, and the country was anxious as to the competence of a Cabinet of novices to carry on the Government of the Queen. "The new Government," writes Mr. Greville, "is treated with great contempt, and many of the appointments are pitiable." Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in a letter to Sir Edmund Head, remarks that "the chief effect of the change has been that Graham and Cardwell have come to sit among the Whigs, while Gladstone and Sidney

* Lord Malmesbury's Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 309.

† The corresponding office in our day is Secretary of State for India.

Herbert sit below the gangway."* As for Lord Palmerston—though he got Lady Palmerston to invite Lord John Russell to one of her parties, and otherwise showed in public some desire to be reconciled to him—he told Lord Clarendon privately that "John Russell had given him his independence, and he meant to avail himself of that advantage."† Moreover, to add to Lord Derby's perplexities, there soon arose great complaints against Mr. Disraeli as

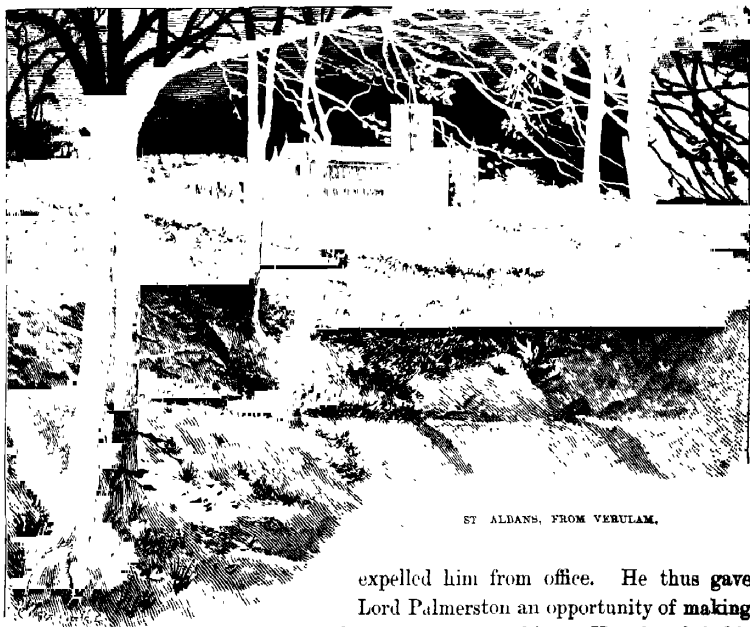
SIDNEY HERBERT. (After the Statue by Foley.)

Leader of the House of Commons. "They say," writes Mr. Greville, "that he does not play his part as Leader with tact and propriety, and treats his opponents impudently and uncourteously."

The new Government promised the Queen that they would wind up the affairs of the Session as quickly as possible, and as a dissolution was objectionable at that critical moment, they assured her that they would bring forward no contentious business. They introduced a Militia Bill, designed to meet the objections of Lord Palmerston to the measure of Lord John Russell.

* Letters of the Right Hon. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., to various persons, edited by the Rev. Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis, Bart., p. 251.

† Mr. Greville's Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, Vol. III., p. 448.

Though Mr. Walpole, the Minister in charge of the Bill, covered the Cabinet with ridicule by proposing that every militiaman who served two years should get a vote for the county in which he was enrolled, public contempt was diverted from the Ministry to the Opposition. By an inconceivable blunder, Lord John Russell, without consulting with his colleagues, came down to the House of Commons and opposed the second reading of a Bill, to the principle of which he knew the majority were already committed by the vote that had

ST ALBANS, FROM VERULAM.

expelled him from office. He thus gave Lord Palmerston an opportunity of making a bitter attack on him. He also led his Party to a defeat as sure as it was disastrous. He discovered dissensions and divisions of opinion among his followers, the exposure of which not only demoralised them, but weakened public confidence in them as a competent governing organisation. This blunder settled the destiny of Lord John Russell. All sections of the Opposition now joined Mr. Bright in saying that Lord John must never again be permitted to lead the Liberal Party. The incident, unimportant as it seems, was of high historic significance. It rendered the Coalition Ministry under Lord Aberdeen inevitable. It rendered Whig Cabinets henceforth impossible in England.

Mr. Disraeli's Budget speech was a brilliant performance which pleased everybody but his own Party. Its principal point was to provide for the

continuance of the Income Tax for one year. But what made it interesting was its glowing eulogy of the Free Trade measures of Sir Robert Peel, not to mention the elaborate statistics by which Mr. Disraeli, while silent on the Corn Duties, proved that incomparable benefits had been conferred on the country by Peel's tariffs, and by his reductions of import duties. The oration was, of course, a bid for the accession of Palmerston and the Peelites to the Tory Party. "Disraeli's speech on introducing his Budget," writes Lord Malmesbury, "has produced a bad effect in the country, for the farmers, though reconciled to giving up Protection, expected relief in other ways, and he does not give a hint at any measure for their advantage."* A night or two afterwards, Mr. Disraeli had therefore to make a vague recantation of his change of opinions, and at a Mansion House dinner Lord Derby did his best to explain away the Budget speech of his embarrassing colleague, by an elaborate exposition of the doctrine of compromise, on which he said British institutions were founded.

During the first part of the Parliamentary Session of 1852 the cause of Parliamentary Reform made but little progress. Mr. Hume, on the 25th of March, moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the extension of the Franchise. Though he tried to galvanise his party into vigorous life by a scornful and defiant retort to Lord Derby's recent attack on democracy,† the discussion of the subject was felt to be academic rather than practical, and his motion was rejected by a vote of 244 to 39. A similar fate attended Mr. Locke King when he, too, brought in his motion to assimilate the County and Borough Franchise. Several debates were devoted to the question of the prevalence of bribery at elections, and Lord John Russell's Bill, empowering the Crown to direct a Commission of Inquiry into any place at which an Election Committee reported the existence of bribery, was carried through both Houses of Parliament. The disfranchisement of Sudbury and St. Albans for corrupt practices had left four seats in the House of Commons to dispose of. Mr. Disraeli's scheme for allocating them to the West Riding of Yorkshire and the Southern Division of Lancashire was, however, rejected on Mr. Gladstone's amendment—a defeat which was a sharp reminder to the Ministry that, so long as they were in a minority and refused to dissolve Parliament, they could not hope to control the House of Commons when contentious business came before it.

An attack on the endowment of Maynooth College by Mr. Spooner, who demanded an inquiry into the system of education pursued at that seminary, wasted much time. Both parties, with a General Election impending, shrank

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 332.

† On coming into office, Lord Derby announced that it was the mission of his Government to "oppose some barrier against the democratic influence that is continually encroaching, which would throw power nominally into the hands of the masses, but practically into the hands of the demagogues who lead them."

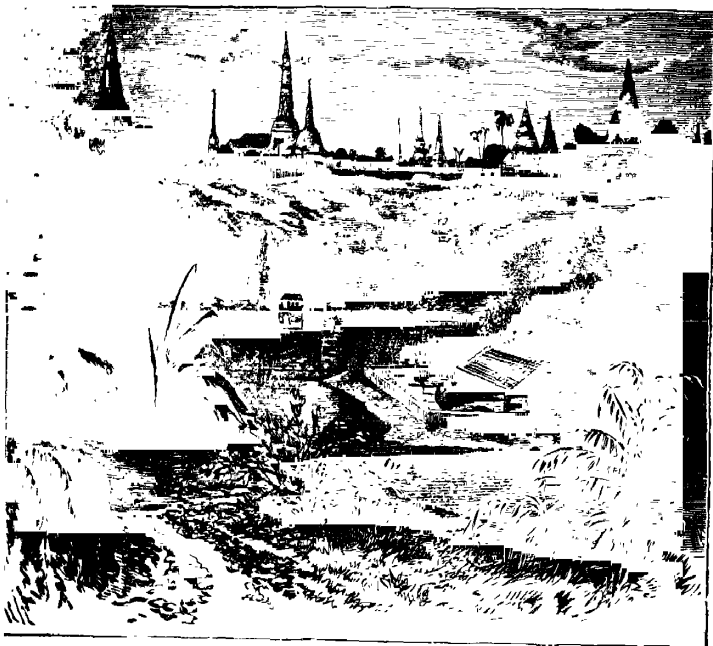
from offending the Roman Catholic voters too deeply. Yet they were equally afraid of displeasing the aggressive Protestantism of the country. After repeated adjournments the matter dropped, chiefly owing to a significant threat from Mr. Gladstone and Lord John Russell, that to attack Maynooth was to reopen the whole question of the distribution of ecclesiastical endowments in Ireland, a question the discussion of which could not be advantageous to the Anglican minority in that kingdom. A barren debate on the remission of the Hop Duty, and Mr. Milner Gibson's failure to carry resolutions condemning the Paper Duty, the Duty on advertisements, and the Stamp Duty on newspapers, together with Mr. Disraeli's success in carrying his provisional Budget, continuing the Income Tax for one year, sum up the financial business of the Session. By the end of June all the measures which the Government had proposed to pass were disposed of.

Lord Derby's first Government may have consisted of novices, but it evidently did excellent practical work as a Cabinet of affairs. For between its accession to office and the dissolution of Parliament it passed the Militia Act, the New Zealand Constitution Act, several good Law Reforms, including an Act to simplify special pleading and to amend procedure in the Common Law Courts, an Act extending the jurisdiction of County Courts, and another to abolish the office of the Masters in the Court of Chancery. Besides these, they passed useful Acts for improving the water supply of London, and restricting intramural interments.

Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person on the 1st of July, one of the most interesting passages in her speech referring to the origin of the second Burmese war, and the capture of Rangoon and Martaban—events the record of which need not detain us long.

The second Burmese war ostensibly arose out of a complaint made to the Indian Government by a Mr. Sheppard, master of a Madras trading vessel.* He alleged that he had been imprisoned and fined by the Governor of Rangoon on the false charge of having thrown a man overboard. This was followed by other complaints from British subjects, who had been ill-used by the Burmese authorities, and the Rangoon merchants declared that, unless they were protected against the lawless exactions of the Governor's subordinates and dependants—who had been told by him to get money as best they could, seeing he had none with which to pay their salaries—they must abandon all efforts to trade in the country. The Governor-General of India came to the conclusion that these complaints were justifiable, and easily proved that the Treaty of Yandaboo, made at the end of the first Burmese

* This was the occasion, not the cause. The Americans and the French were beginning to show themselves in the Eastern seas. According to Mr. Arnold, it was because they were casting covetous eyes on the Delta of the Irawaddy, that Lord Dalhousie determined to forestall them by annexing that region. *See* Arnold's Administration of Lord Dalhousie, Vol. II., p. 14; Papers of the House of Lords, 1856, No. 161.

had been violated. Commodore Lambert was accordingly sent in H.M.S. *Fox* and two steamers to Rangoon, with a courteous message seeking reparation from the King of Ava, on account of the conduct of the Governor of Rangoon. The request was refused, and it was followed by a more peremptory demand. The Court of Ava replied in a conciliatory tone, recalled the Governor of Rangoon, and appointed a new one, who treated Commander

VIEW NEAR RANGOON

Fishbourne, Lambert's second in command, with some discourtesy. Commodore Lambert forthwith blockaded Rangoon, and seized a vessel belonging to the Burmese king.* On the 10th of January, four days after the blockade was established, the *Fox* was compelled to destroy a hostile stockade on the river. After some diplomatic fencing between the Indian Government and the King of Ava, an ultimatum was sent to his Majesty. He still refused to make any concessions, and war was declared.

General Goodwin, with a contingent from the Bengal Army, sailed from

* Lord Derby and Mr. Herries admitted that Lambert acted without instructions. Hansard, Vol. CXX., 854; Memoirs of Herries, Vol. II., p. 250; Parl. Papers relating to Burmah, 1852. Cobden also accused Fishbourne of provoking the Governor. *See* Cobden's Political Writings, Vol. II., p. 57.

India for the mouth of the Irawaddy on the 28th of March. He arrived there on the 2nd of April, and on the 5th stormed and captured Martaban, where the enemy, five thousand strong, fought behind a river line of defences extending over 800 yards. In the meantime, General Goodwin had been reinforced by a contingent from Madras, and Commodore Lambert had destroyed the stockades on the Rangoon river. It was then determined to attack Rangoon on the 9th of April. On the 11th, Rear-Admiral Austen

MAJOR FRASER'S STORMING PARTY CARRYING THE STOCKADE IN FRONT OF RANGOON. (See p. 505.)

cleared the way for the army by destroying the whole line of river defences on both banks. On the 12th three regiments of infantry and part of the artillery were landed, and the contest was, to the surprise of the General, commenced by the Burmese, who left their stockades and attacked the flanks of our advance. A strong stockade which stood in the way was carried, after severe losses. Major Fraser, Commanding Engineer, took the ladders to the fort, and mounting its defences alone, attracted by his gallantry the storming party round him which drove the enemy from the position. The troops were ordered to march on Rangoon, but by a different road from that on which the Burmese had made preparations to meet them. They carried by assault the Grand Pagoda, the fall of which citadel made us masters of

the town. All the posts on the river fell into our hands in turn, and on the 27th of July Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India, arrived at Rangoon, and congratulated the army on its victories. He then returned to Calcutta. On the 9th of October General Goodwin occupied Prome with a strong force, and in November an expedition was sent against Pegu, which was taken, after some sharp fighting, on the 20th of that month. After this victory Lord Dalhousie annexed the whole province to the British dominions; indeed, had it not been that he had an objection to expose British India to contact with the frontier of China, he would probably have annexed the whole of Burmah. Our small garrison at Pegu was then subjected to harassing attacks by the Burmese, and the war dragged slowly on. The Burmese always fled to the jungle whenever our men attacked them, returning to annoy our troops whenever they fell back on their quarters. Our capture of the chief centres of population and defence was not followed by the submission of the people. There were few roads in the country. General Goodwin had not adequate transport for his artillery. The climate had sadly weakened his forces, so that the unexpected prolongation of the war, however disappointing to the country, was inevitable.

After the prorogation of Parliament, on the 1st of July, it was dissolved on the 21st of August. On all important questions the Government during the Session had held uncertain and ambiguous language, appealing to the hopes of all parties alike. There was no strong feeling in the country on any subject save that of Free Trade, and it soon became apparent that the majority of the electors would not tolerate a return to Protection, or the imposition of a protective duty on corn. Still, the Protectionists were able to defeat some very able and distinguished men, notably Sir George Cornewall Lewis in Herefordshire, Sir George Grey in Northumberland, and Mr. Cardwell in Liverpool. In each case their successors were feeble mediocrities. Edinburgh, however, elected Macaulay without his even becoming a candidate. But though the Tories did not gain enough seats to enable them to abolish Free Trade, they had fully 300 staunch supporters who would vote like one man for their policy. The Opposition was more numerous, but it was split up into Whigs, Radicals, Peelites, and the Irish brigade, pledged not to give any vote that might tend to bring Lord John Russell back to office. The attitude of the Government was very equivocal during the contest. "They have," writes Mr. Greville, "sacrificed every other object to that of catching votes; at one time, and at one place, representing themselves as Free Traders, in another as Protectionists, and everywhere pandering to the ignorance and bigotry of the masses by fanning the No Popery flame. Disraeli announced that he had no thoughts, and never had any, of attempting to restore Protection in the shape of import duties; but he made magnificent promises of the great things the Government meant to do for the farmers and the owners of land—by a scheme the nature and details of which he refused to

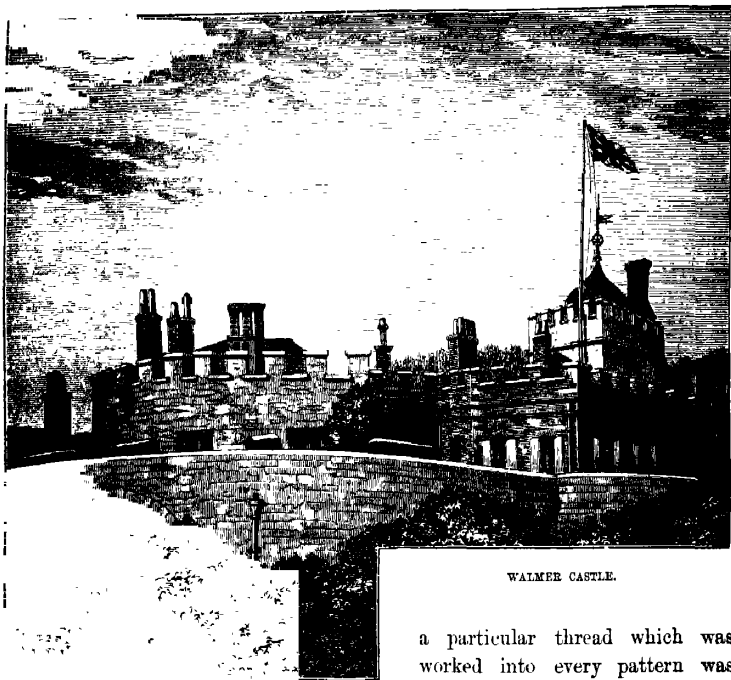
reveal." This scheme was to be one giving compensation by fiscal arrangements to the landed interest for the loss of the Corn Duties. Fear of an alliance between the Whigs, the Peelites, and the Manchester Radicals, on the basis of reduced expenditure and fresh Reform Bills, caused many Whigs to desert their Party. The Opposition was in a truly deplorable state. Their resentment against Lord John Russell, to whose mismanagement they attributed their electoral reverses, was deep and bitter. Malcontents openly advocated that the leadership should be transferred to Lord Lansdowne; and Lord Palmerston said that though he would be willing to join a Lansdowne Cabinet if formed, he would never serve *under* Lord John Russell, though he had no objection to serve *with* him. Lord Lansdowne's hostility to Parliamentary Reform rendered him incapable of leading a Party that could not afford to dispense with Liberal votes. Moreover, he objected from chivalrous motives to take the leadership unless Lord John Russell asked him to do so. Lord John, on the other hand, told Sir J. Graham that he had made up his mind not to join any Government unless he was replaced in his post as Premier—an arrangement which would have simply perpetuated those divisions and dissensions in the Liberal Party that enabled the Tories to hold office. Lord Palmerston forecast the fate of the Government with wonderful shrewdness, when he said that the chances were they would fall on some mountebankish proposal for helping everybody out of the taxes, without adding to the burdens on the taxpayer.*

The Queen's Speech, so to speak, showed the cloven hoof of the Protectionists. One paragraph filled the Free Traders with the darkest suspicions. It ran as follows:—"It gives me pleasure to be enabled, by the blessing of Providence, to congratulate you on the generally improved condition of the country, and especially of the industrious classes. If you should be of opinion that recent legislation, in contributing with other causes to this happy result, has at the same time inflicted unavoidable injury on certain important interests, I recommend you dispassionately to consider how far it may be practicable equitably to mitigate that injury, and to enable the industry of the country to meet successfully that unrestricted competition to which Parliament in its wisdom has decided that it should be subjected." Writing to his wife on the day after the debate on the Address, Mr. Cobden alluded to this paragraph as "a queer, tricky allusion to the Free Trade question," which "brought on a sharp attack upon the Government last night, and as all parties are agreed to force the Disraelites, I hope we shall bring matters to an end soon."† The great aim of the Opposition, without distinction of faction, was to force the Government to say, frankly and fairly, whether they did or did not accept Free Trade in its entirety. But in the meantime an event occurred which for

* Life and Correspondence of Lord Palmerston, by the Right Hon. Evelyn Ashley, Vol. II., p. [illegible]

† Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XX.

the moment stilled the clamour of contending parties, and united the whole nation in one great wail of mourning.

That event was the death of the Duke of Wellington at Walmer Castle on the 14th of September. This mournful calamity had been long expected. But when it happened the people seemed incapable of realising it. "It was," said Prince Albert in a letter to Colonel Phipps, "as if in a tissue

WALMER CASTLE.

a particular thread which was worked into every pattern was suddenly withdrawn." Moreover, it broke the last link that bound the nineteenth to the eighteenth century. "He was," wrote the Queen to King Leopold, "the pride and good genius, as it were, of this country; the most loyal and devoted subject, and the staunchest supporter the Crown ever had. He was to us a true friend and most valuable adviser. . . . . We shall soon stand sadly alone. Aberdeen is almost the only personal friend of the kind left to us—Melbourne, Peel, Liverpool, now the Duke—all gone." *

The Queen would at once, and of her own motion, have ordered a public funeral, with the highest honours of State, for the remains of the illustrious dead, following the precedent set in the case of Nelson. She, however,

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLVI.

deemed that a solemn vote of Parliament would confer additional distinction on the ceremony. It was thus determined that the body of the Duke should lie in the custody of a Guard of Honour until both Houses of Parliament could meet in November and pass a resolution in favour of burying, in St.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

(*After the Portrait by Count D'Orsay.*)

Paul's Cathedral, the Victor of Waterloo by the side of the Victor of the Nile. The pages of *Hansard* are full of the glowing tributes to the memory of the great Duke, paid by the foremost orators of the Senate. Of these, one of the most brilliant came from Mr. Disraeli, and it subsequently gave rise to a good deal of scandal. A morning paper published a translation—said to come from the pen of the late Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C.—of the eulogium passed by M. Thiers in the French Chamber on the Emperor Napoleon I. This certainly bore such a suspiciously close resemblance to Mr. Disraeli's oration

that the English orator was accused of plagiarism. But the highest tribute of homage to the Duke of Wellington came from the English people, to whom the Duke seemed to embody all the manly virtues of their race. To this fact Mr. Cobden himself bears striking, though grudging, testimony in a letter to his friend Mr. Thomasson, of Bolton, condemning the militant policy which led to an ever-increasing war expenditure. "Let as ask ourselves candidly," he writes, "whether the country at large is in favour of any other policy than that which has been pursued by the aristocracy, Whig and Tory, for a century and a half? The man who impersonated that policy more than any other was the Duke of Wellington, and I had the daily opportunity of witnessing, at the Great Exhibition last year, that all other objects of interest sank to insignificance, even in that collection of a world's wonders, when he made his entry into the Crystal Palace. The frenzy of admiration and enthusiasm which took possession of a hundred thousand people of all classes at the very announcement of his name, was one of the most impressive lessons I ever had of the real tendencies of the English character." *

On the announcement of the Duke's death every town in England displayed the customary emblems of mourning. When, on the 10th of November, the arrangements for the public funeral were well advanced, the corpse was removed, under military escort, from Walmer Castle to the great hall in Chelsea Hospital, where it was received by the Lord Chamberlain, and laid in state on a bier prepared for the purpose. On the 11th, the Queen, Prince Albert, and their family privately visited the Hospital, and paid their last respects to their dead friend. After they left, the Chelsea Pensioners, the Life Guards and Grenadiers, and the children of the Duke of York's Schools were admitted. On the 12th, the nobility and gentry who held tickets of admission from the Lord Chamberlain came, and then there ensued a scene of deplorable confusion. Eighteen thousand persons passed before the bier between nine o'clock in the morning and five in the afternoon, and many thousands more, after waiting wearily outside in rain and gusty weather, turned away hopelessly when darkness set in.

When the public appeared next day (Saturday) claiming admission, the crowd before the Hospital gates in the morning simply overwhelmed the police. As it grew and gathered, the press became unbearable, and a surging mass of spectators fought and struggled with each other for their lives. Yells of agony rent the air; men and women were knocked down, or fell fainting for want of breath. Screaming children were held aloft in the air to escape suffocation by mothers, who themselves disappeared every minute in the struggle. A great cloud of steam exhaled from the heaving multitude, and far and near the approaches were impassable. After some time the police, reinforced by soldiery, gained control over the crowd, and some 50,000 persons then passed through the hall. On Monday better arrangements prevailed, and

* Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXI.

50,000 persons passed the body with the greatest ease. On Tuesday 60,000 and on Wednesday 65,000 persons were admitted. On Saturday three persons and on Tuesday two, perished in the crush.

On Wednesday a squadron of cavalry conveyed the corpse to the Horse Guards.

As it became clear that the day of the funeral (the 18th of November) would be kept as one of almost religious solemnity, and that no business would be done in London, the Bills of Exchange and Notes (Metropolis) Bill was passed quickly through Parliament. It enacted that bills falling due on the 18th of November should become payable and be presented on the 17th but that, if paid before 2 p.m. on the 19th, they should not be subject to charges for notarial protest.

On the morning of the 18th of November the great funeral pageant, which Charles Dickens irreverently termed "a masquerade dipped in ink," passed to St. Paul's, through streets draped in black. Heavy rain and biting wind did not prevent spectators from perching themselves all through the preceding night on every spot where a glimpse of the procession could be obtained. Windows, roofs of houses, porticoes, balconies, every "coign of vantage" were covered with mourners. A million and a half of spectators gazed at the procession, and few ever forgot the strange and sudden silence into which the multitude was everywhere hushed, when the head of the column appeared led by the dark, frowning masses of the Rifle Brigade, marching to the beat of muffled drum and the wail of the "Dead March" in *Saul*. Solemnly

> "Sad and slow,
> As fits an universal woe,"

one of the most wondrous of military pageants filed past to the strains of mournful martial music. When the car with the remains of the Duke appeared a thrill of sorrowful emotion surged through the crowd at each point of the route, as they saw "warriors carry the warrior's pall." Strange unutterable thoughts were aroused at the sight of the narrow and curiously emblazoned tenement which contained all that Time and Death had left of him who had overcome the master of modern Europe, but who, in turn, had himself fallen before a Conqueror unconquerable by the mightiest. To this exaltation of feeling succeeded an outburst of homely grief when the Duke's favourite charger, led by his venerable groom, appeared following his master's coffin. When the procession came to Temple Bar it was received by the Lord Mayor and Corporation, and at ten minutes to twelve it reached St. Paul's.

The appearance of the cathedral will never be forgotten. Tiers of seats covered with black cloth rose on every side of the nave. The sombre draperies of the interior threw up the florid architecture of the great Protestant temple in relief of dazzling whiteness, and rows of gas jets round the cornices shed a soft, warm radiance on the scene. The service was choral. The Dean and

the lesson, and when the "Nunc dimittis" was chanted, a dirge accompanied by trumpets followed, at the end of which the body was slowly lowered into the vault, the while the organ and wind instruments pealed forth the sad strains of the "Dead March." As the coffin slowly vanished from view a wave of intensely sorrowful emotion passed over the vast assembly of mourners. Prince Albert visibly shook with grief. The veteran Marquis of Anglesey lost control of his feelings. Tears suddenly coursed down his furrowed cheeks, and, stepping forward, he placed his trembling hand on the vanishing coffin, as if to bid a last farewell to his old chief and companion in arms. The rest of the service proceeded in the usual manner, the conclusion of the ritual being Handel's anthem—"His body is buried in peace." Thereupon Garter King at Arms stepped forward and proclaimed the style and titles of the illustrious dead, and the Comptroller of the Household of the Duke advanced, broke his staff of office, and handed the pieces to Garter King at Arms, who laid them in the grave. The Bishop of London pronounced the benediction, and all was over.

The Queen and Prince Albert were of opinion that no *éloge* on the great Duke was in better taste than Lord John Russell's; but, perhaps, the one that will best stand the test of time was that of Alfred Tennyson:—

"Where shall we lay the man whom we deplore?
Here in streaming London's central roar.
Let the sound of those he wrought for,
And the feet of those he fought for,
Echo round his bones for evermore

*　*　*　*　*　*　*

Mourn, for to us he seems the last,
Remembering all his greatness in the past
No more in soldier fashion will he greet
With lifted hand the gazer in the street
O friends, our chief state-oracle is mute
Mourn for the man of long-enduring blood,
The statesman-warrior, moderate, resolute,
Whole in himself, a common good
Mourn for the man of amplest influence,
Yet clearest of ambitious crime,
Our greatest yet with least pretence,
Great in council and great in war,
Foremost captain of his time,
Rich in saving common-sense,
And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime.
O good grey head, which all men knew,
O voice from which their omens all men drew,
O iron nerve to true occasion true,
O fall'n at length that tower of strength
Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew!
Such was he whom we deplore.
The long self-sacrifice of life is o'er.
The great World-victor's victor will be seen no more."

Though much has been written about the career of the Duke of Wellington, a brief review of his character may not be amiss here. "His striking characteristic was his judgment," writes Mr. Spencer Walpole. "He had no doubt in addition capacity and courage. He could not have fought

THE WELLINGTON MONUMENT IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, COMPLETED IN 1878. (*By Alfred Stevens.*)

Salamanca without the one, and he would not have held Waterloo without the other. But in capacity he was not, possibly, superior to Moore; in courage he was not superior to Gough. He was a great general, not because he had a great intellect, but because he made fewer mistakes than other men." * His success in war was as conspicuous as his failure in politics, and for the simplest of reasons. He was the only great soldier of his time who understood

* Spencer Walpole's History of England. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1886. Vol. V., p. 4[illegible].

that to triumph in battle it is necessary to have the most exact and minute knowledge of the mechanism of an army, to know as thoroughly how a soldier's knapsack should be buckled, as how a mighty campaign should be planned. In this consisted his superiority over Napoleon I., who concentrated his mind on the grand scheme of a battle or a campaign, leaving to his subordinates the task of carrying it out in detail. All Napoleon's subordinates could do the work of subordinates better than their Imperial master. Not one of Wellington's subordinates, from the Marquis of Anglesey himself down to the humblest private, could do his individual work better than the Duke could do it for him. It was this easy mastery in handling all the machinery of war that enabled him to readjust his arrangements so much more quickly than his opponents could, when any part of a carefully-planned scheme miscarried. But just because he did not possess the same minute and exact knowledge of the political organism, he constantly fell into grievous errors in statesmanship. Starting with wrong premises in politics, he perpetually blundered into erroneous conclusions. His saving virtue as a politician was his strong common sense. It taught him with unerring certitude when a thing *must* be done long before his reasoning faculty, obscured by faulty data, taught him that it ought to be done. He never regarded himself as in any sense the servant of the people. It was as the sworn servant of the Crown that he always spoke and acted, and the only test he ever applied to any project of legislation was whether it was likely to strengthen or weaken the Monarchy. No considerations of personal consistency, conviction, or convenience could deter him from accepting or abandoning a policy or a principle, if it could be shown that by doing either he prevented the authority of his Sovereign from being undermined. Duty to the Crown was the pole-star of his life. To gain a point for the advantage of his Sovereign he would even push aside all considerations of personal dignity. Sir Francis Doyle tells a story about him which illustrates most curiously this dominant trait in his character. One day, when Sir Francis Doyle's father was dining at Apsley House, the Duke said to him, "After the battle of Talavera I wanted the Spanish force to make a movement, and called upon Cuesta to take the necessary steps, but he demurred. He said, by way of answer, 'For the honour of the Spanish Crown I cannot attend to the directions of the British general, unless that British general go upon his knees and entreat me to follow his advice.' Now," proceeded the Duke, "I wanted this thing done, while as to going upon my knees I did not care a twopenny damn, so down I plumped." * This little anecdote gives one a clearer insight into the secret of the Duke of Wellington's public life than all the biographies of him that have ever been written.

* Reminiscences and Opinions of Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, Bart. London: *Longmans, Green, and Co.* 1886. Pages 321—330.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE LAST YEAR OF "THE GREAT PEACE."

Abortive Attacks on the Ministry—Mr. Disraeli's First Budget—Fall of the Tory Cabinet—The Queen and Lord Aberdeen—Organising the Coalition—A Ministry of "All the Talents"—The Queen and South Kensington—A Miser's Legacy to the Queen—Sport at Balmoral—Proclamation of the Second Empire—The Queen Initiates a Policy—Personal Government in the Victorian Age—The "Battle of the Numeral"—A Servile Minister—Creole Card-Parties at Kensington—Lord Malmesbury's Spies—Napoleon III. and "Mrs. Howard"—Napoleon III. Proposes to Marry the Queen's Niece—Mr. Gladstone's First Budget—The India Bill—Lord John Russell's Education Scheme—Transportation of Convicts to Australia Stopped—The Gold ever in Australia—The Rush to the Diggings—The First Gold Ships in the Thames—Gold Discoveries and Free Trade—Chagrin of the Protectionists—The Rise in Prices—Practical Success of Peel's Fiscal Policy—Strikes and Dear Bread—End of the Great Peace.

No sooner had the Duke of Wellington been buried than rival parties resumed the war of faction. The Free Traders, who had been resuscitating the old anti-Corn Law organisation in the North of England, resolved to force from the Ministry an unambiguous declaration against Protection. Mr. Charles Villiers accordingly moved a series of resolutions on the 23rd of November, affirming, that the Free Trade policy of the country had been wise, just, and beneficial *—"three odious epithets," said Mr. Disraeli, which could not be accepted by the Tory Party. He ridiculed this attempt to revive the cries of "exhausted factions and obsolete politics." He was himself fain, however, to propose a resolution, which admitted that Free Trade had cheapened the necessaries of life, which bound the Government to adhere to that policy, but which did not contain any formal recantation of Protectionist principles.† Mr. Bright hit the weak spot in these tactics when he asked, was it safest to let the national verdict on Free Trade be drawn up by Mr. Villiers, who advocated it, or by Mr. Disraeli, who did not advocate it, and the majority of whose followers were pledged to exact from the people some kind of compensation to the landed interest for the repeal of the bread tax? Had it suited Lord Palmerston to let the Ministry be beaten, nothing could have prevented their defeat. But, as we have seen, he had resolved never to serve under Lord John Russell; and there was too much reason to fear that at the moment Lord John was the only possible Premier in the event of Lord Derby resigning office.

"A moderate resolution," writes Sir George Cornewall Lewis to Sir Edmund Head, "had been prepared by Graham, and assented to by Lord John and Gladstone. Charles Villiers was willing to move it, but Cobden insisted on something stronger, in the secret hope that the House would reject it, and thus damage itself in public opinion, thereby promoting the cause of Parliamentary Reform. Palmerston got possession of the resolution prepared by Graham, and moved it as an intermediate proposition."‡ The

* Hansard, Vol. CXXIII., p. 351. † Ibid., p. 411.

‡ Letters of the Right Hon. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., to Various Persons, p. 259.

resolution affirmed the principle of Free Trade, but not in terms obtrusively offensive to the Tories. It was eagerly accepted by Mr. Disraeli, who saw in it the means of deliverance from his enemies, and it was carried by a majority of 468 to 53—the minority representing all the Tories who were prepared to cling to Protection, even after it had been formally abandoned by Mr. Disraeli in his audacious address to his constituents.*

Mr. Disraeli's tactics in thus evading defeat have sometimes been cited as a proof of his skill. In reality, they were the outcome of inexperience and exaggerated self-confidence. He did not correctly understand why Sir James

NORTH TERRACE AND WYKEHAM TOWER, WINDSOR CASTLE.

Graham and Mr. Gladstone desired to move a moderate resolution. They were, of course, anxious not to turn out the Ministry before Mr. Disraeli's Budget saw the light. They were morally certain that it would contain some fantastic proposals, which must not only wreck the popularity of the Government, but destroy public confidence for ever in Mr. Disraeli's financial skill. Events proved that they were right in their calculation.

On the 3rd of December, in a speech of dazzling brilliancy, Mr. Disraeli introduced his famous and fatal Budget. It reduced the Malt Tax by one-half. The House Duty was raised from 9d. to 1s. 6d. in the £, and extended from houses of £20 to houses of £10 rental. Light dues paid by ships other than for the support of lighthouses pure and simple were taken off. Tea duties were to be reduced gradually by small annual amounts from 2s. 2¼d. to 1s. a

* T. P. O'Connor's Life of Lord Beaconsfield, p. 441; Hickman's Beaconsfield, p. 183.

pound. The Income Tax was to be extended to funded property and salaries in Ireland. A distinction was drawn in taxing permanent and precarious incomes, the exemption for industrial incomes being limited to £100 a year, and for incomes from property to £50; and the rates of assessment per £

THE DUKE OF ARGYLE.

were 7d. on incomes from rent of land and from funds, but only 5¼d. on incomes from farming, trade, and salaries. Farmers' incomes were to be taken as a third instead of a half of their rents. The remissions were so balanced by the additions to taxation that no surplus on the estimated revenue could be shown. A surplus of £400,000 was, however, manufactured by appropriating as revenue the repayments on local loans made to the Exchequer Loan Commission—repayments hitherto used for clearing off debt. The scheme

could not stand criticism. After four nights' debate, it was utterly demolished, Mr. Gladstone's speech attacking it being one of the few which are said to have ever really turned doubtful votes in the House of Commons. The addition to the House Tax, pressing, as it did, *on those who* would come within the extended range of the Income Tax, infuriated the urban voters. The remission of half the Malt Tax failed to satisfy a landed interest, hungering for compensation for the abolition of the Corn Laws, because a reduced Malt Tax, it was agreed, benefited nobody but the publicans and the brewers. An extension of the Income Tax to funded property, Mr. Gladstone contended, was a breach of Mr. Pitt's pledge to the public creditor, in 1798, that no distinct and special tax should ever be laid on the stockholder as such. Mr. Gladstone, like all the eminent financial authorities, protested against recognising the illusory principle of a graduated Income Tax, which lurked in the distinction made between permanent and precarious incomes. He further protested against the danger of estimating too narrowly for the services of the year, and urged with incontestable force that it was a vicious principle to reckon as surplus revenue £400,000 of repayments on the score of local loans—that is to say, to regard the repayment of borrowed money as true income. The Government were beaten on their Budget, by a vote of 305 to 286, on the morning of the 17th of December.* In the evening Lord Derby handed his resignation to the Queen at Osborne.

Her Majesty, fully aware of the reasons that rendered Lord John Russell an impossible Premier, now saw her way to organising the strong Government of capable and experienced statesmen which, ever since 1846, she had held could only be formed by a coalition of the Whigs and the Peelites. She accordingly summoned Lord Aberdeen and Lord Lansdowne to assist her out of the Ministerial crisis. Gout prevented Lord Lansdowne from attending at Osborne. His ill-health, together with his loyalty to Lord John Russell, and the disinclination of the Peelites to serve under him, rendered it impossible for him to accept the Premiership. It was equally impossible for the Queen to ask Lord Palmerston to become Prime Minister, after the recent events which had led to his dismissal from the Foreign Office. Hence Lord Aberdeen, though the head of the smallest faction, was the candidate for the Premiership who least divided the Opposition. He was therefore charged with the task of forming a Cabinet.† On the 28th of December the famous Coalition

* Hansard, Vol. CXXIII., p. 1693.

† It is worth while to recall this fact. After the resignation of Mr. Gladstone in 1886, when the Tory Party attempted to form a Coalition Ministry under Lord Hartington as Premier, and Lord Salisbury as Foreign Secretary, the project was defended on the plea, that just as the Whigs in 1852 bought up a small but powerful faction of Peelites, by giving their leader the Premiership, so should the Tories in 1886 buy up the small but powerful section of Liberal "Unionists" by putting Lord Hartington at the head of affairs. The argument, it will be seen, was based on a complete ignorance of party history and of the ideas and policy of the Court in 1852, because it was for other reasons altogether that Lord Aberdeen was elevated to the Premiership

Ministry was organised—Lord Cranworth was Lord Chancellor; Lord Aberdeen, Prime Minister; Mr. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Palmerston, Home Secretary; Lord John Russell,* Foreign Secretary; the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Sidney Herbert, War Secretary; Sir J. Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Granville, President of the Council; Sir C. Wood, President of the Board of Control; the Duke of Argyle, Lord Privy Seal; Sir W. Molesworth, Chief Commissioner of Works; the Marquis of Lansdowne, a Minister without office. "The success of our excellent Aberdeen's arduous task," writes the Queen to the King of the Belgians, "and the formation of so brilliant and strong a Cabinet would, I was sure, please you. It is the realisation of the country's and our own most ardent wishes, and it deserves success, and will, I think, command support." † The Queen here simply reflected public opinion. Never had a Cabinet of abler men, individually speaking, ruled England since the Ministry of "All the Talents" fell from power. But the Sovereign and her people both forgot that in our strange and anomalous constitution no Cabinet is, as a rule, so weak as a Cabinet of strong men. This Ministry, which started on its career on the flood-tide of Court and popular favour, was destined, by its vacillation in foreign policy, to lead the country into the terrible calamity of a European war. It was doomed to fall amidst the execrations even of those who, like Mr. Cobden, declared that to his dying day he could never sufficiently regret giving one of the votes that brought it into power.

After the formation of the Government, the usual explanations of the position of affairs were given in both Houses of Parliament, Lord Derby attempting to show that the destruction of his Ministry had been plotted by an unprincipled combination of hostile factions. On the contrary, as Sir George Cornewall Lewis says in one of his letters, "there was no real anxiety on the part of the Opposition to turn out the Government; the sections of it were divided, and there was none of that 'coalition' which Lord Derby spoke of. The Budget, however, was more than human flesh and blood could bear. The promises of a substitute for Protection which Disraeli had made at the Elections rendered it necessary that the Government should propose something which appeared for the benefit of the agriculturists. They sounded some of their supporters among the county members as to a transfer from the local rates to the Consolidated Fund; but I believe the answer they got was, that a measure which destroyed the power of the magistrates and the local

* It was partly by Macaulay's persuasion that Lord John permitted himself to be embalmed in history as the fourth Prime Minister of the century who, after serving as Premier, accepted an inferior rank. The other three were Sidmouth, Goderich, and Wellington. "Russell's example," says Mr. Spencer Walpole, "*indicates that a man who has once served in the highest place had better refuse all subordinate offices.*" Cf. Walpole's History of England, Vol. V., p. 61; and Trevelyan's Life of Macaulay, Vol. II., Chap. XIII.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXVII.

authorities would not be acceptable to their party. They had nothing then to propose but a reduction of the Malt Tax, which created a large deficit, and rendered an increase of taxation necessary. This latter object was effected by doubling and enlarging the House Tax. Disraeli was evidently very confident of the success of his Budget, and impatient to produce it. But when it had been out a week it was clear the country would not agree to it. The farmers

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did not care about the reduction of the Malt Tax; but the towns did care very decidedly for the increase of the House Tax, and showed a strong objection to it. . . . . Having made their Budget a means of redeeming their promise to give their party an equivalent for Protection, they could not modify it, and therefore defeat on it was vital." * On the 31st of December all the appointments under the new Government were filled up, and Parliament was adjourned till the 10th of February, 1853.

In the early part of the year the Queen was much distressed by reason of her husband's anxieties in connection with the affairs of the Great Exhibition. His idea was to apply the surplus in the hands of the Exhibition Commissioners

* Letters of the late Sir G. C. Lewis, Bart, p. 260.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

(After the Equestrian Portrait by Count D'Orsay.)

to the purchase of a site at South Kensington, for the Science and Art Institution which he hoped to see created. Ninety acres of land were bought for £342,500, of which sum Government advanced £177,500, with the intention of transferring the National Gallery to the site. The agent of the Commissioners, however, had in purchasing the land stupidly agreed to take it on a building lease, under conditions which would have destroyed

THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO THE BRITANNIA TUBULAR BRIDGE. (See p. 523.)

their plans, and involved them in the dilemma of repudiating their agent, or incurring liabilities to erect dwelling-houses, which they dared not undertake. The vendor, Baron Villars, generously permitted them to make other arrangements for buying the fee-simple of the land; but the anxieties of the Prince during the period when the issue was in suspense preyed terribly on his mind and health, and the Queen has herself recorded how she exhausted all means in her power to cheer and sustain him in his distress.

Her Majesty's birthday was spent in the sunshine of domestic happiness at Osborne. In the festivities of the season the Queen, early in June, assures her uncle, King Leopold, that she and her family joined only to a limited extent. They gave two State balls and two State concerts. They go, she says, three or four times a week to the play or opera, are hardly ever

ter than midnight in going to bed and, but for the fagging business of ublic affairs, the Season "would be nothing to us." During the summer, fe at Osborne was diversified by several short yachting excursions round ie South Coast. In August the Queen planned and carried out a brief isit to her uncle, King Leopold of Belgium, reaching Antwerp on the 10th the Royal yacht in a tempest of wind and rain. At the King's country eat at Laeken the Royal party spent four bright and happy days, saddened nly by the too visible gap in the family circle, left by the death of Queen ouise. The disagreeable and tempestuous voyage homeward was only broken y a charming visit to Terneusen, where the simple hospitality and quaint ld-world ways of the villagers greatly delighted her Majesty, who seems have passed a pleasant day among them.

On the 30th of August her Majesty was amazed to receive information at almoral to the effect that an eccentric old barrister called Nield had be- ieathed a legacy of £250,000 to her. John Camden Nield was a miser, who ad pinched and starved himself for thirty years to add to his patrimony. he Queen very properly resolved to refuse the legacy if Mr. Nield had any lations living who had a claim to the money;* but as it appeared he had one, she accepted the gift. The holiday at Balmoral was as bright and appy as could be wished. "Nothing," writes Lord Malmesbury, who was in ttendance on the Queen at this time, "can exceed the good nature with hich I am treated, both by her Majesty and the Prince. Balmoral is an old ountry house in bad repair, and totally unfit for Royal personages. . . . . . The Royal party consists of the Duchess of Kent, the ladies in aiting, Colonel Phipps, and Sir Arthur Gordon. The rooms are so small at I am obliged to write my despatches on my bed, and to keep the window nstantly open to admit the necessary quantity of air; and my private cretary, George Harris, lodged somewhere three miles off. We played at lliards every evening, the Queen and the Duchess being constantly obliged get up from their chairs to be out of the way of the cues. Nothing uld be more cheerful and evidently perfectly happy than the Queen and rince, or more kind to every one round them. I never met any man so markable for the variety of information on all subjects as the latter, with great fund of humour *quand il se déboutonne*." The Prince himself records his Diary,† however, that "Balmoral is in full splendour, and the people ere are very glad that it is now entirely our own." On the 4th of ptember Lord Malmesbury writes:—"The Prince had a wood driven not r from the house. After we had been posted in line, two fine stags passed e, which I missed. Colonel Phipps fired next, and lastly, the Prince, thout any effect. The Queen had come out to see the sport, lying down

* Lord Malmesbury, who was at Balmoral at the time, is the authority for this statement. *Vide* moirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 377.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLVI.

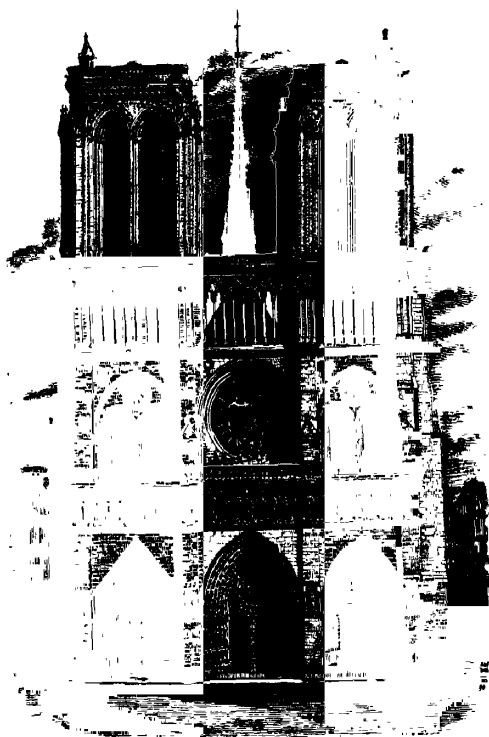
in the heather by the Prince, and witnessed all these fiascos, to our humiliation." * This happy holiday was sadly broken by the death of the Duke of Wellington, which brought the Court unexpectedly back to Windsor in October, their route being through Edinburgh, Preston, Chester, and North Wales, where they inspected, on the 14th of October, the Britannia tubular bridge over the Menai Straits. The Queen drove through the bridge in a State carriage drawn by men, while Prince Albert, accompanied by Mr. R. Stephenson, walked across on the roof of the tube. On reaching the south end, the party descended to the water's edge, from which they obtained a complete view of the magnificent proportions of the gigantic structure.

During 1852 one striking event in Foreign Affairs that occupied the attention of the Queen was the transformation of the French Republic into the Second Empire. In Paris, on the 1st of January, Charles Louis Napoleon was installed at Notre Dame as President of France, and he promulgated a new Constitution, preserving little of the form and none of the spirit of Liberty. The whole Executive was to be vested in the President, who was to be advised by a Council of State, a Senate of nobles nominated for life, and a powerless legislative body elected by universal suffrage for six years, whose transactions at the demand of five members could be kept secret. The next step taken by the Prince-President was to issue Decrees on the 23rd of January, compelling the Orleans Princes to sell their real and personal property in France within a year, and confiscating the property settled on the family by Louis Philippe previous to his accession in 1830. This raised a storm of indignation among all Frenchmen who were not accomplices of the Prince-President in the *coup d'état*, and it caused Montalembert to resign his seat on the Consultative Commission of the 2nd of December. De Morny and Fould also resigned, M. de Persigny replacing the former.† To the Queen, whose partiality for the Orleans family was well known, these Decrees were painfully offensive. The Prince-President's strongest partisan in England, Lord Malmesbury, wrote a letter remonstrating with him, and the reply serves to illustrate the character of the men who consented to serve in the Senate. "He (the Prince-President)," says Lord Malmesbury in a letter to Lord Cowley, British Ambassador at Paris, "declared the confiscation necessary, as even some of his own Senators had been tampered with by Orleanist agents and money." ‡ On September 13th this patriotic Senate prayed for "the

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 347.

† "Persigny," writes Lord Malmesbury, "whose real name was Fialin, was one of those adventurers who looked forward with confidence to the success of Louis Napoleon's fatalism and dreams of ambition, and proved it by the most absolute devotion, and, I must add, personal affection, for his master, whom he always accompanied through his failures and imprisonments. Faithful to the Emperor, the Emperor was faithful to him, and loaded him with honours. He was a courageous and impetuous man, and his hot temper was against him as ambassador."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 300.

‡ Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 310.

re-establishment of the hereditary sovereign power in the Bonaparte family;" and on the 4th of November the Prince-President announced that he had in view the restoration of the Empire, and ordered the French people to be consulted on the matter. The French people, when consulted, were for the restoration—7,839,552 voting "Yes," and 254,501 "No." The vote was cast on

NOTRE DAME, PARIS (WEST FRONT)

the 21st of November, three days after Wellington was laid in the grave. As Cobden said, one might almost picture the third Napoleon rising from the yet open tomb of the vanquisher of the first.* On the 2nd of December Charles Louis Napoleon was declared Emperor of the French under the title of Napoleon III. The Constitution of January was confirmed with some slight modifications. A Royal title was given to Jérôme Bonaparte, Napoleon's uncle. St. Arnaud, Magnan, and Castillane were created Marshals of France; and

* Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXI.

then there arose the first of the Imperial difficulties—that of obtaining recognition from the European Courts.

The Queen took a thoroughly sensible view of the situation. The atrocities of December and the confiscation of the Orleans property had not prepossessed her Majesty in favour of the French Emperor. But in her opinion there was no essential difference between such a Republic as had

COMTE DE MONTALEMBERT.

been established by the *coup d'état* strengthened by the Constitution of January, and a military Empire without glory or genius. If the vast majority of Frenchmen were desirous of transforming their Prince-President into an Emperor, that was their affair, and Foreign Courts had no concern in the matter. The Queen was, therefore, strongly in favour of recognising the title of the Emperor of the French, and of according to him the customary courtesy of addressing him in ceremonial communications as *mon frère*.* The Northern Courts, however, could not bring themselves to treat

* On hearing of the *coup d'état*, the Queen, *without waiting for Ministerial advice*, personally directed the Cabinet to follow a policy of strict neutrality. Lord John Russell replied: "Your Majesty's

as an equal, an adventurer who, to use his own expression in announcing his marriage in the Chamber on the 22nd of January, 1853, "had frankly taken up before Europe the *position de parvenu.*" Ultimately they all yielded to facts, and with the exception of Russia, agreed to address Charles Louis Bonaparte as their "brother." The haughty autocrat of Muscovy, who had smiled on him approvingly when he strangled Liberty in France, frowned on the attempt to raise on its ruins a fabric of Empire, claiming parity with the ancient dominion of the Romanoffs. The Czar, therefore, persisted in addressing the French Emperor, not as "my brother," but "my cousin." This trivial slight is mentioned here, because it had subsequently a potent influence on the fortunes of England.

"England," writes Sir Theodore Martin, "conceded the phrase *mon frère* without a grudge."* That is a somewhat misleading statement. It was certainly decided in England that the Emperor should be recognised some little time before the Empire was proclaimed, because everybody knew that its proclamation was inevitable. Having determined that the Prince-President was to be recognised in some fashion as Emperor, a question as to style was raised by the pedants of diplomacy, which showed where the "grudge" lay. It gave rise to that most grotesque of diplomatic struggles—the once famous but now forgotten Battle of the Numeral. Charles Louis Bonaparte, through his envoys, let it be known at the Court of the Queen that he meant to call himself Napoleon III. "Why Napoleon the Third?" asked alarmed Diplomacy. "Clearly he means to filch from us a recognition of the ephemeral title of the Duc de Reichstadt, the son and heir of Napoleon I., who was proclaimed when the First Empire crashed into ruins." It was a crafty device to avenge Waterloo with the blast of a herald's trumpet, and to wipe out fifty years of French history, just as the Parliament of the Restoration tried to efface the Commonwealth by dating the statutes of 1660, as of the twelfth year of the Merry Monarch's reign. The usurper might be recognised by England as Napoleon II., perhaps, but never, argued Lord Malmesbury, as Napoleon III., for that would have countenanced more than our recognition of the Second Empire was actually meant to convey. It would have implied a recognition of the Emperor's *hereditary*, as distinguished from his *elective*, title to the Throne. Most wearisome were the disputes and most tiresome the conferences between Lord Malmesbury, then Foreign Secretary, and the French Ambassador on this subject. At last it was agreed that we should accept the disagreeable numeral, after the French Government admitted in writing that it was not to imply our recognition of the Emperor's hereditary right to the Imperial

directions respecting the state of affairs in Paris shall be followed." Note that the relations of the Crown and the Minister were identical in this case with those which obtained under the Tudor Sovereigns. It is a curious instance of a policy being *initiated* by specific "directions" from the Queen in an age when, according to constitutional practice, the functions of the Crown are supposed to be limited to suggestion, criticism, and sanction.

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLVII.

Crown of France. From first to last, however, Lord Malmesbury and the other diplomatists were mistaken. Very little reflection might have taught them that if the numeral were meant to efface Waterloo, and the Monarchies of the Bourbons and the Barricades, the usurper would have styled himself Napoleon V., and not Napoleon III., for his elder uncle Joseph and his father Louis both survived the young and ill-fated Duc de Reichstadt. A hereditary title, moreover, would not need to have been consecrated by a *plébiscite*, and the reign of its wearer would not have been dated from 1852, but from the date of Louis Bonaparte's death. It is, therefore, natural to ask how Charles Louis Bonaparte came to style himself the Third and not the Second Emperor. The explanation illustrates the facility with which the tragi-comedy of fussy English diplomacy is transformed into farce at the touch of fact. Lord Malmesbury, who is rendered supremely ridiculous by the story, tells it himself as follows in his Diary:—

"December 29 (1852). We went to Heron Court. Whole country under water. Lord Cowley* relates a curious anecdote as to the origin of the numeral III. in the Emperor's title. The Prefect of Bourges, where he slept the first night of his progress, had given instructions that the people were to shout 'Vive Napoléon!' But he wrote 'Vive Napoléon!!!' The people took the three notes of interjection for a numeral. The President, on hearing it, sent the Duc de Mortemart to the Prefect to know what the cry meant. When the whole thing was explained, the President, tapping the Duke on the shoulder, said, '*Je ne savais pas que j'avais un Préfet Machiavéliste.*'" †

After the proclamation of the French Emperor, his matrimonial schemes touched the family connections of the Queen somewhat closely. The Emperor's marriage, in truth, was the favourite topic for gossip and scandal in every high social circle in Europe. As a matter of fact, Charles Louis Napoleon was averse from marriage. Two women were already devoted to him; perhaps more zealously than any bride of exalted rank could ever be. One was Madame Favart de l'Anglade, a creole, who lived some time at Kensington Gate, and whose whist and dinner parties have, perhaps, not yet been quite forgotten in the old Court suburb. (Lord Malmesbury, it may be said in passing, was told by Kisseleff, the Russian Ambassador at Paris, that had the *coup d'état* failed, Charles Louis Bonaparte and De Morny were to have fled for concealment to this lady's house.) The other woman who exercised so much influence on the Prince-President's life was a Mrs. Howard. She was his mistress, and he created her Comtesse de Beauregard after he broke off his intimacy with her.‡ This event was virtually an intimation of his intention to marry. He

* English Ambassador at Paris.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 379.

‡ This person wielded an influence that few people suspected at the time. For example, in September, 1852, Lord Malmesbury, then Foreign Secretary, set a gang of police spies to watch the outraged victims of the *coup d'état* in London. Having put together all the information he could get,

was anxious to have an heir—for obviously none of the Bonapartes were fit to succeed him. To perpetuate a dynasty a Royal bride would be useful, and to enable him to obtain a Royal bride, Charles Louis Bonaparte persuaded France to proclaim him Emperor.

His first project was to seek in marriage the Princess Caroline Stephanie de Vasa, a grand-daughter of the Grand Duchess of Baden, and daughter of Prince Gustave de Vasa, son of the last King of Sweden of the old legitimate dynasty. The proposal was not accepted, and the lady afterwards married a German Prince. In December, however, Walewski was sent to the English Court to ask the hand of the Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe for his Imperial master, greatly to the disquietude of the Queen, who was her aunt. On the 28th of December, when the Tory Ministers went to Windsor to deliver up their seals of office, the Queen began at once to discuss this delicate affair with them. Lord Malmesbury says:—"The Prince (Albert) read a letter from Prince Hohenlohe on the subject, which amounted to this, that he was not sure of the settlement being satisfactory, and that there were objections of religion and morals. The Queen and Prince talked of the marriage reasonably, and weighed the *pros* and *cons*. Afraid the Princess should be dazzled if she heard of the offer. I said I knew an offer would be made to the father. Walewski would go himself. The Queen alluded to the fate of all the wives of the rulers of France since 1789, but did not object positively to the marriage."* This project, however, fell to the ground, and the Emperor, tired of being rejected by Princesses, acted on the wise apophthegm of Ovid—*Si qua vis aptè nubere, nube pari.* On the 22nd of January, 1853, he announced his intention of marrying Eugenia de Montijo, Countess of Theba, daughter of the Donna Maria Manuela Kirkpatrick, Dowager Countess de Montijo, by the Count de Montijo, an officer of rank in the Spanish army. The father of the Donna Maria Manuela Kirkpatrick was British Consul at Malaga, and supposed to be descended from the assassin of the Red Comyn, whose family motto, "I mak sickar" ("I make sure"), perpetuates grim

he illustrated the spirited foreign policy of the day by sending his private secretary and relative, Mr. George Harris, to convey this information secretly to Charles Louis Bonaparte. But that potentate did not deign to give Mr. Harris an interview For three days he was kept dancing attendance, and at last by a private letter of introduction to an aide-de-camp of the President's, he got access to Canrobert, Tascher, and Roquet, who loftily told him that in a week's time perhaps he might have an audience. "Then," writes Mr. Harris to Lord Malmesbury, "I returned to Paris, and called on Mrs. Howard, toadied and flattered her, stating that I was in a great hurry to get back to London, and only wanted to see his Highness the President for two minutes She sent off an orderly at once, and before night, I received an invitation from Louis Napoleon to accompany him out shooting to say my say, at 5.30, and dine afterwards."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol I, p. 346. That the Foreign Minister of England should act the part of a Bonapartist spy, is curious That his relative and private secretary should have accepted the mission of a subordinate *mouchard*, and, in carrying it out, should have "toadied and flattered" a Parisian *cocotte* to get an audience from the Prince-President, gives one a quaint glimpse of diplomatic manners and customs in 1852.

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 379.

MDLLE. EUGENIA DE MONTIJO, AFTERWARDS EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH.

memories of his loyalty to the Bruce. His Majesty told the deputations from the Senate, the Legislative Body and the Council of State, that whilst it was his aim to place France once more within the pale of the old Monarchies, that result would be better attained by policy than by "Royal alliances, which create feelings of false security, and frequently substitute family interests for those of the nation." Now, any dispute which engages Europe in diplomatic controversy that finally leads to war, is apt to produce fresh groupings of the Powers. An Imperial parvenu seeking for a respectable ally finds in these new groupings excellent opportunities for insinuating himself into "the pale of the old monarchies." Hence the Emperor's marriage was a sinister omen for England, because it was his fixed idea that England was the most profitable ally France could have. The Queen, however, on hearing that the Emperor's marriage was a love match, imagined that his abandonment of an attempt to contract a Royal alliance gave additional force to his assurance at Bordeaux, on the 9th of October, 1852, that the "Empire was Peace," and that under its guidance France was about to enter on a busy epoch of Industrialism. English Society approved of the marriage,* and the Press was loud in its praises of the Imperial pair.† Nobody, indeed, had the faintest suspicion at the time that war was in store for us—a war which gave the French Emperor that very alliance with England for which he was then scheming. But before describing the events that led up to the most disastrous calamity that darkens the Queen's reign, it may be well to sketch briefly the chief points in the Home Policy of her Majesty's Ministers during 1853.

It has been said that there were only two great projects in which the Queen interested herself during this year, filled, as it was, with distracting anxieties as to foreign affairs—the Budget and the India Government Bill. There was, however, a third: Lord John Russell's scheme—unhappily abortive—for establishing a national system of public instruction.

Parliament met on the 10th of February, and Mr. Disraeli called Sir James Graham and Sir Charles Wood to account for speaking rudely of the French Emperor in their hustings addresses. Nothing came of his pungent attack, and public interest in politics was languid till April arrived, when Mr. Gladstone introduced his celebrated Budget—the first of a series that enabled

* The Imperial marriage took place—the civil ceremony on the 29th, and the religious ceremony on the 30th of January, 1853.

† Compare with such comments a passage in a letter written by Mr Nassau Senior, to M. de Tocqueville. "Mrs. Grote tells me that you rather complain that the English papers approve the marriage, a marriage which you all disapprove. The fact is that we like the marriage because you dislike it. We are, above all things, desirous that the present tyranny should end as quickly as possible. It can end only by the general alienation of the French people from the tyrant; and every fault that he commits delights us, because it is a step towards his fall."—Correspondence and Conversations of Alexis de Tocqueville, Vol. II., p. 34. Cf. also Palmerston's opinion from another point of view. Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 7.

him to divide with Sir Robert Peel the glory of being the greatest Finance Minister of the Victorian age.

Mr. Gladstone found that Mr. Disraeli, by under-estimating his revenue and over-estimating his expenditure, had left him with a surplus, not of £461,000, but of £2,307,000.* Unexpected military expenditure, due to dread of a French invasion, had reduced this surplus to £807,000. The primary feature in Mr. Gladstone's Budget was the extension of the tax on personal property devised by will to real property, and also to personal property that passed by settlement. This, Mr. Gladstone reckoned, would ultimately bring in £2,000,000, and put him in a position to deal with the Income Tax, which came to an end in 1853. He proposed to continue the Income Tax at sevenpence in the pound for two years, then to reduce it to sixpence, and in three years after that to reduce it to fivepence. He extended the tax to Ireland, but, by way of compensation, remitted the debts which Ireland had recently incurred to the Imperial Treasury. He increased the duties on Scotch spirits from 3s. 5d. to 4s. 8d., and on Irish spirits from 2s. 8d. to 3s. 4d. a gallon, and thus, he reckoned, he had a surplus of £2,151,000 to spend. How did he spend it? He abolished the duty on soap, thereby terminating the last of the taxes on the four "necessaries"—salt, leather, and candles were the other three—which Adam Smith condemned a century before.† He reduced the taxes on 256 minor articles of food, besides tea, advertisements, carriages, dogs, male servants, apples, cheese, cocoa, butter, and raisins. He reduced the rate of postage to the Colonies—a reduction which, it is surprising to find, had not been even suggested by Mr. Disraeli or any of his predecessors in the highest of Imperial interests. An ingenious feature in his Budget was his manipulation of the Funds. Old Three per Cent. Consols, which could be paid off at a year's notice, sold for a little over par, that is to say, £100 of stock sold for a little more than £100. New Three per Cents, however, which were not redeemable for twenty years, sold for £103—*i.e.*, £100 of stock was worth in the market £103, the difference of £3 representing the value of the State guarantee to pay interest on the stock for twenty years. Hence, he said, if he gave a like guarantee for some of the unguaranteed stock, he might lay hands on the increment of value thereby added to it for the benefit of the State. He accordingly permitted fundholders to exchange £100 of Consols, or "Reduced Three per Cents." for Exchequer bonds,‡ or for £82 10s. in New Three and a Half per Cent. Stock, guaranteed for forty years to pay £2 17s. 9d. of interest, or for £110 irredeemable Two and a Half per Cent. Stock. Mr. Spencer Walpole has said

* Mr. Disraeli reckoned the revenue of 1852 at £51,625,000. It actually reached £53,089,000. He set down the expenditure at £51,164,000, whereas it came only to £50,782,000.

† Dowell's History of Taxation, Vol. II., p. 322; Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. III., p. 337.

‡ These bore interest at £1 10s. per cent., but were in future to bear interest at £2 15s. up to 1864, and £2 10s. up to 1894.

that "in breadth, in comprehension, in boldness, in knowledge, and in originality," Mr. Gladstone's first Budget will compare with Peel's greatest efforts in 1842 and 1845.* But even Mr. Walpole admits that, whereas Peel's Budgets can be tested by results, Mr. Gladstone's can be judged of only from its intention. The Crimean war—which he did not foresee, and which, as will be shown presently, was then brewing—upset all his calculations. It was not

PRINCE JÉRÔME BONAPARTE.

favourable to conversion of debt; moreover, the new succession duty did not bring in one-fourth of the estimated sum.† Only one important change was effected in the scheme. The duty on advertisements, which Mr. Gladstone proposed should be reduced to 6d., was abolished by the odd and novel method of moving and carrying an amendment substituting the cipher (0) for the figure 6(d.), in the resolution of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Hume

* Walpole's History of England, Vol V., p. 68.

† Students of financial history may be referred to Hansard, Vol. CXXI., p. 11, for Mr. Disraeli's first Budget, and to Hansard, Vol. CXXV., pp 818, 1355, 1399, and 1423, for Mr. Gladstone's. Cf. also Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, 1870.

challenged the competence of the House of Commons in Committee to adopt a resolution with a "nought" in it instead of a definite figure, but the Speaker ruled against him.

The India Bill was introduced by Sir C. Wood on the 3rd of June, 1853.

SKETCH IN THE OUTER CLOISTERS, WINDSOR CASTLE.

The complaints against the system under which India was ruled were that it led to wars, deficits, maladministration of justice, neglect of public works and of education. The Dual Government of the Imperial Board of Control and the Court of Directors of the East India Company was maintained, but the Court of Directors was reduced from thirty members to eighteen, twelve of whom were to be chosen by the Company, and six nominated by the Crown;

who were to be Indian officials of ten years' service. The new system, which was to prevail till Parliament chose to change it, put an end to the old plan of leasing the Indian Empire for a term of years to a Company of merchant adventurers. As to patronage, competition was substituted for nomination as the mode of entering the public service. Direct appointments to the Indian Army were, however, left in the hands of the Directors of the Company. The scheme was warmly discussed, the friends of the Company insisting on immediate legislation; its enemies, thinking that in time they might be able to educate the country up to the point of abolishing the authority of the Directors, and transferring the government of India absolutely to the Crown,* pressed for delay. Mr. Disraeli and the bulk of the Tories were for postponing legislation, but in the end the Government carried the Bill.

Lord John Russell, on the 4th of April, explained his scheme for establishing a system of national education. The main point in it was that it empowered Municipal Authorities to raise a rate in aid of voluntary schools, the rate to be applied to pay twopence in the week for each scholar, provided fourpence or fivepence were contributed from other sources. The scheme was, however, abandoned. Lord John had in his speech foreshadowed the introduction of a Bill imposing drastic reforms on the Universities, and this roused the Tory Party to obstruct his proposals. It is but fair to draw attention to this Bill, because Lord John Russell is entitled to the credit of having been the first statesman to present a comprehensive scheme for organising primary education, based on the principle that it is the duty of the community to provide for the instruction of the people by levying an education rate. This, said Mr. W. J. Fox, was "a most important step in the progress of public instruction."

A Bill empowering the Local Governments in Canada to deal with Clergy Reserves was introduced by Mr. F. Peel on the 15th of February. It is notable because the debates on it illustrate the difference between the ideas of the two parties in the State as to Colonial Government—the Tories in those days being on the whole opposed to granting the Colonies privileges of self-government, whilst the Liberals favoured such grants. In 1791 it was enacted that whenever the Crown disposed of waste lands in Canada, one-seventh of their value should be reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy. The funds, it seems, had not been fairly distributed, the Established Churches of England and Scotland having received the largest share of them. In 1840 the Imperial Legislature had confirmed this appropriation by restraining the Canadian Legislatures from meddling with these funds. The Bill of the Government simply gave the Canadian Legislature the right of dealing with them as it thought fit, on the ground that the disposal of lands which derived their value from Canadian capital and Canadian enterprise was a matter of Colonial rather than of Imperial concern. The Bill was passed.

* This was the principle which Mr. Fox and the "old Whigs" advocated.

On the 11th of July a Bill for altering the punishment of transporta
was introduced into the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor. Only
Colony—Western Australia—was willing to receive convicts, and not n
than 800 to 1,000 a year could be sent there. The Government propo
therefore, to limit transportation to such cases of crime as would carr
sentence of fourteen years' imprisonment, and substitute shorter periods
imprisonment for offences, which up till now had been punished by vary
periods of transportation.

This proposal, which was carried, was forced on the State by the gr
changes which had been effected in the Australian Colonies after the discov
of gold in New South Wales. Here it may be well to notice the manner
which these gold discoveries were made, and their effect on the prospe
of the Empire.

It was on the 10th of September, 1852, that the West India mail stea
brought news to England which revived the old yearning for the discov
of the fabled El Dorado—dormant in the English breast since the days
Raleigh. Gold, it was reported, had been found near Bathurst, in New So
Wales, where a frantic rush to the diggings had taken place. The merch
left his warehouse, the shopman his counter, even the lawyers deserted t
clients—all eager to join in the headlong race to the mines. But all
gold they were likely to win could not possibly balance the loss caused to
Colony at the time by the mad stampede of the shepherds, who abando
their countless flocks for the mines. The gold fever was further exacerba
by the subsequent discovery of another rich deposit in Victoria. America
found her El Dorado in California; Englishmen accordingly heard with p
that they, too, had come into a richer heritage in the hitherto despised con
settlements of Australasia. On the 23rd of November, 1852, three vessels f
Australia sailed into the Thames with a cargo of seven tons of solid g
The *Eagle* brought 160,000 ounces, worth £600,000, and she had made
passage from Melbourne to the Downs in seventy-six days; the *Sapphire*
Pelham, from Sydney, brought 14,668 ounces and 27,762 ounces respectiv
the *Maitland*, from Sydney, followed with 14,326 ounces; the *Australia*,
first steamer that arrived from these Colonies, next came in with a still la
quantity; and in December the *Dido* appeared with a cargo of gold-
valued at £400,000.

Politically the Protectionists tried to turn these discoveries to some acco
They had predicted that Free Trade would ruin the country. On the c
trary, £6,000,000 of taxation had been remitted since 1846, and yet th
was no shrinkage of revenue. Exports had risen from £58,000,000
£78,000,000, the shipping trade was brisker than ever, and on the 1st
January, 1853, there were not quite 800,000 paupers in the country.* E
the landed interest could not pretend to have been ruined, seeing that

* Walpole's History of England, Vol. V., p. 45.

Income Tax assessment under Schedule B, which is levied on rents of agricultural land, had risen from £46,328,811 in 1845 to £46,681,488 in 1852. This tide of prosperity under Free Trade seemed certain to flow rather than to ebb, so that the Tories were taunted with the utter failure of their dismal Protectionist prophecies. It need hardly be said that the Queen, who, as a strong Free Trader, had watched with deep anxiety the result of the great revolution in fiscal policy which she had helped Peel to initiate, was intensely gratified, not to say relieved in mind, when the figures illustrating the commercial condition of her realm were brought under her notice. The Protectionists, however, had an answer to these facts. It was, they averred, the unexpected discovery of gold in Australia that had saved the country from the ruin which they predicted must come from Free Trade. It may be pointed out that the figures we have given for the purpose of showing how the trade of the country stood after 1846, cover the period *before*, and not the period *after*, gold was imported from Australia—a circumstance which the Queen and Prince Albert were quick to note and appreciate. The Tory Protectionists, in fact, completely misunderstood the effect which would be produced by any sudden increase in the supply of gold. That effect was two-fold: (1) on the mother country, and (2) on the Australian Colonies.

There is very little mystery about the effect of an increase in the production of gold. The more we put into the market the less valuable will it become. If we double the quantity of gold in circulation, it follows that an article which could be bought for a sovereign will not be sold for less than two sovereigns. The price of the article is thus said to rise, whereas the value, or, properly speaking, the purchasing power of the gold, for which it is exchanged, is said to fall. An increase in the stock of gold ought, therefore, to lead to a rise in prices, and to a fall or depreciation in the value of the metal. In 1853 some foolish persons therefore predicted that gold would soon be as cheap as silver; and yet, though the supply was trebled, gold was not trebly depreciated in value. "Undoubtedly some effect," says Mr. Walpole, "was consequently made on prices; but the effect was probably only slowly and gradually felt. Gold was absorbed in vast and unprecedented quantities in the arts, and the supply which was actually available for barter was not immediately augmented to the same degree."* It is difficult to understand how so able a writer has been led into an error which must vitiate every deduction drawn from the effect of the Australian gold discoveries on the prosperity of the English people, in the Victorian period. Nobody has ever been able to estimate even approximately the amount of gold that is absorbed in the arts. All that we know is that the amount is so small, that it could not affect such an enormous increase in the supply as that which came from Australia.† Besides, as gold did not fall much in value, it was not likely

* Walpole's History of England, Vol. V., p. 49.

† For facts bearing on this point, see Fawcett's Manual of Political Economy, p. 490.

that it would be much absorbed in the arts. But, then, what became of all the gold that was so suddenly poured into England from Australia? Some of it was absorbed in coinage,* but not enough to account for the absorption of the vast quantity that remained. The key to the puzzle is, in truth, to be found in the statistics of commerce which we have already cited.

The value of gold was kept up in spite of the sudden increase in the

THE CONVEYING OF AUSTRALIAN GOLD FROM THE EAST INDIA DOCKS TO THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

(After the Engraving in the "Illustrated London News.")

supply, because, under Free Trade, the commerce of the country began to expand by leaps and bounds. The Australian supplies, in fact, were absorbed in trade, for it is obvious that the sudden expansion of business which followed from Free Trade must have caused a corresponding demand for money, not only to conduct the operations of barter, but to pay the wages of the additional workers who produced the articles sold for money. When this fact is grasped, it is easy to understand what the Australian gold discoveries did for England. Had no new supplies of gold been found in 1853, Free Trade would have brought serious disasters in its wake, but not precisely in the form predicted by the Tories. The sudden expansion of trade would have

* In 1847 the Mint coined £5,000,000, in 1850 £11,000,000, and in 1858 only £1,200,000.

caused a sudden demand for gold; the value of gold must have risen. Supposing gold had thus doubled in value, then the prices of commodities would have been halved, that is to say, one hundred oxen would have sold only for as many sovereigns as fifty sold for before the value of gold was thus increased. Everybody who had to make a fixed money payment, such as rent or interest, would have had their payment doubled, for they would have had to produce twice as much to meet their obligations as originally sufficed for that purpose. The burden of the National Debt, for example, would have been doubled, for, to pay every pound's worth of interest to the fundholder, the public would have had to realise what represented two pounds' worth of wealth when the interest was first fixed. In fact, the only people who would have gained, would have been the few who had to receive fixed payments, at the expense of the many who had to make them. The discovery of gold at a time when a liberated and expanding trade was causing an increased demand for the metal was thus a providential coincidence. By preventing the demand from outrunning the supply, it prevented a sudden increase in the value of the metal, which must have reduced prices and upset all the monetary arrangements of the country.

What was the effect of the discovery of gold on the Australian Colonies? Very much the same as the discovery of rich deposits of any other saleable ore, excepting in this respect, that gold is the one metal that commands an immediate sale, at a high and very slightly varying price. Land, Labour, and Capital are the three great requisites of production. Of these Australia, prior to 1853, had only the first in abundance. The gold mines attracted a rush of emigrants to Australia. But gold mining is a lottery in which the prizes fall to the few. The average earnings of the digger were soon found to be lower than the wages paid in other employments. Hence crowds of men who had been attracted to the mines soon left them, and were ready to follow other pursuits, so that the gold rush gave Australia the second element in production--labour. But the gold which was won, and the demands of the mining population, soon stimulated industry and increased wealth in the Colonies—in other words, the gold rush brought to Australia the third requisite of production—capital.

The Australian gold discoveries, therefore, transformed an insignificant penal settlement into a rich and queenly Commonwealth, and saved England from the gold famine, with its disastrous fall in prices, which a sudden expansion of trade must inevitably have produced after Protective duties were abolished. There were, however, two shadows on the picture. The gold rush to Australia depleted the labour market at home. The demands of the Australian Colonies for British goods, after gold had been discovered, were enormous. A sudden diminution in the supply of labour, combined with a corresponding increase in the demand for the goods which Labour produces, naturally led to a demand in England for increased wages. Strikes broke

out all over the country. Labour was scarce and business brisk, and though the conflict was, except in rare cases, unaccompanied by violence, it may be said that generally speaking victory lay rather with the workers than with their masters. Wages were forced up, which was perhaps fortunate, because, as the year wore on, it soon became apparent that a bad harvest in England, France, and Germany would seriously increase the price of food.* The enormous impetus given to industry, and the rise in wages which followed, enabled skilled labour to bear this increase in the price of bread. The unskilled labourers, however, who from lack of organisation cannot "strike" with much effect, suffered acutely, especially towards the end of the year. But by that time a calamity was within measurable distance, which diverted the minds of the English people from dear bread and bad harvests. That calamity was the Crimean war, which rendered 1853 the last year of "The Great Peace" which followed the battle of Waterloo.

* Wheat which in June, 1853, stood at 45s. a quarter, on the 25th of November went up to 72s. 9d. The 4-lb. loaf rose from 10½d. to 1s. Annual Register, Vol. XCV., p. 165.

STUDY OF A CHILD.

(*After an Etching by the Queen.*

OFF THE COAST OF ASIA MINOR (TURKEY IN ASIA)

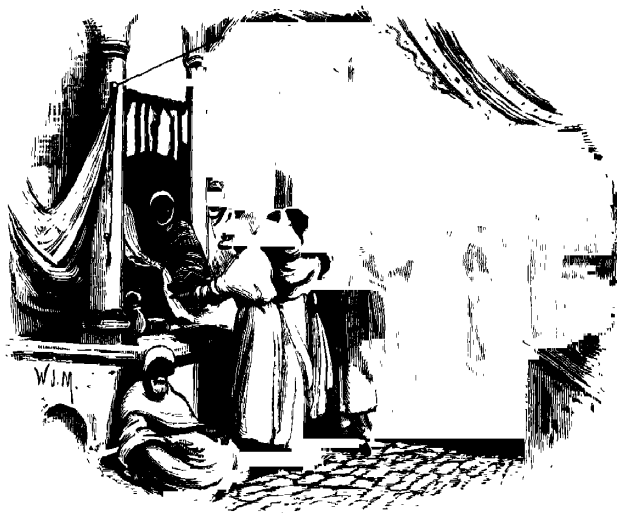
CHAPTER XXIX.

DRIFTING TO WAR.

Origin of the Crimean War—Russia and "the Sick Man"—Coercing Turkey—The Dispute about the Holy Places—A Monkish Quarrel—Contradictory Concessions—The Czar and the Tory Ministry of 1844—The Secret Compact with Peel, Wellington, and Aberdeen—Nesselrode's Secret Memorandum—The Czar and Sir Hamilton Seymour—Lord John Russell's Admissions—The Czar's Bewilderment—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe—The Marplot at Constantinople—A Hectoring Russian Envoy—The Allied Fleets at Besika Bay—The Conference of Vienna—The Vienna Note—The Turkish Modifications—The Case for England—The British Fleet in the Euxine—A Caustic Letter of the Queen to Lord Aberdeen—Prince Albert's Warnings—The Massacre of Sinope—Internal Feuds in the Cabinet—Lord John Russell's Intrigues—Palmerston's Resignation and Return—The Fire at Windsor—Birth of Prince Leopold—The Camp at Chobham—The Czar's Daughters—Naval Review at Spithead—Royal Visit to Ireland.

WHEN Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of August, 1853, the following passage was inserted in the Queen's Speech. "It is with deep interest and concern that her Majesty has viewed the serious misunderstanding which has recently risen between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. The Emperor of the French has united with her Majesty in earnest endeavours to reconcile differences, the continuance of which might involve Europe in war." The war to which these differences led has ever been regarded by the Queen as the one heart-breaking calamity of her reign—a calamity hardly equalled by the great Mutiny, which, though it nearly wrecked her Eastern Empire, ended in establishing her authority more firmly than ever in her Asiatic dominions. No such tangible result as that followed, however, from the war into which the country was now being rapidly hurried. The results of this war—the battles, the siege operations, "the moving accidents by flood and field"—are all well known; but its causes are to this day very imperfectly understood by Englishmen. The folly and weakness of the Aberdeen Ministry, the influence of Prince Albert, the aggressive designs of Russia, the obstinacy and brutality of the Turks, the determination of Napoleon III. to foment a disturbance from which he might emerge with the status of a Ruler who had linked the throne of a parvenu in an alliance with an ancient

monarchy, the factious desire of the Tory Opposition to entangle the Coalition Ministry in Foreign troubles—to all these causes have different writers traced the Crimean war. Let us, then, examine carefully, and closely, the development of the dispute that broke the peace of Europe in connection with the attitude to it—sometimes, it must be frankly said, a wrong attitude—which the Queen and the Court of St. James's held.

The geographical conditions of Russia, and the political state of Turkey, favoured the outbreak of war between these States. Russia has no outlet to

BAZAAR IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

the sea except through the Baltic in the north, which is frozen in winter, and through the Bosphorus in the south, which is open all the year, but which is dominated by the Sultan so long as Constantinople is the capital of Turkey. Russia has, therefore, an obvious interest either in making Turkey her vassal, or in expelling the Turks from Europe, and establishing a Power at Constantinople in servitude to the Czar. It is almost a heresy to say that Russia has not aimed at seizing Constantinople herself. Yet if we are to base our judgment on authentic historical documents, and not on the heated imaginings of excited Russophobists, it is necessary to say this. The Emperor Nicholas was the most aggressive of modern Czars, and there is no reason to doubt the cynical candour with which he expressed his views on this subject to Sir George Hamilton Seymour, in his conversations with him early in the year.*

* "You know," said the Emperor on the 14th of January, to Sir Hamilton Seymour, "the dreams and plans in which the Empress Catherine was in the habit of indulging; these were handed down to our time;

Yet it is certain that his ideas as to the reconstitution of European Turkey in the event of the Turkish Empire breaking up, took the form of organising a series of autonomous States, which, like the Danubian Principalities in 1853, should be under his protection, though, perhaps, under the nominal suzerainty of the Turks—by that time banished to Asia Minor—"bag and baggage." These ideas may have been right or wrong. It is, however, just to say that they were the ideas of the Czar, and that they do not correspond with the scheme for making Constantinople the capital of Russia, which most popular English writers accuse him of cherishing.* The interest of Russia being thus revealed, let us see where her opportunity lay. It lay in the fact that the Ottomans, though they had enough bodily strength to conquer, had never enough brain-power to govern a European Empire. In this respect they differed signally from the equally savage hordes of Manchu Tartars, who overran China, and who, instead of destroying, adapted themselves to the civilisation with which they came in contact. The Christian provinces of Turkey, and the Greek Christians, under the rule of the Sultan were misgoverned, plundered, and at times tortured by the myrmidons of a barbarous and feeble autocracy. The Russian Czar, as head of a nation fanatically devoted to the Greek cult, could always find in this misgovernment and oppression apt opportunity for interfering between the Sultan and his Greek subjects. Moreover, in every act of interference the Czar of Muscovy knows that he will be supported to the death by the fervid fanaticism of the Russian people.

But the example of other Powers was not wanting in 1853 to emphasise the promptings of interest and opportunity. In 1852 the Turks determined to strike a blow at Montenegro, with which they had for centuries waged chronic warfare. The Sublime Porte sent Omar Pasha to occupy the Principality of the Black Mountain. Austria, alarmed at the prospect, despatched Count Leiningen to Constantinople, and instructed him to press for the recall of Omar. The Porte yielded to this demand, and recalled him.†

Nor was Austria the only Power that was demonstrating the ease with which Turkey might be coerced. France had a dispute pending with Turkey, as to the privileges of the Roman Catholic monks in Jerusalem—a dispute into which the French Emperor, when Prince-President in 1850, had entered with vigour, for the purpose of conciliating the French clergy. Mr. Kinglake insinuates that Napoleon III. manufactured this quarrel in order to force on

but, while I inherited immense territorial possessions, I did not inherit those visions—those intentions if you like to call them so." And again on the 22nd of February, "I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians; having said this, I will say that it never shall be held by the English, or French, or any other great nation." Secret Correspondence between Sir G. H. Seymour, British Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, and Her Majesty's Government. Eastern Papers, Part V.

* Secret Correspondence, Eastern Papers, Part V., p. 204.

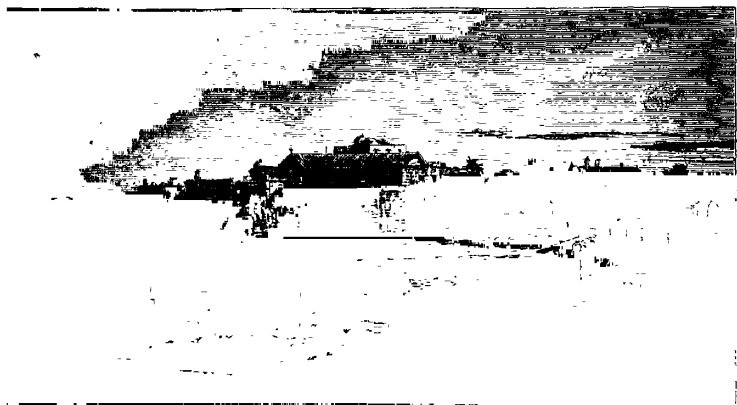
† Diplomatic Study of the Crimean War, from Russian Official Sources, Vol. I., p. 115.

a European war that might strengthen his position. It is but fair to say that the Emperor inherited the controversy from Louis Philippe.* As it led to the assertion of claims on the part of Russia, the rejection of which by Turkey caused the Crimean war, it may be well briefly to set forth its salient points.

In 1740 the Porte, in a treaty with France, granted to the Roman Catholic monks and clergy in Jerusalem the custody of certain places in the Holy Land, associated with the memory of Christ, and to which Greek and Latin Christians were in the habit of making pilgrimages. The Great Church of Bethlehem, the Sanctuary of the Nativity, the Tomb of the Virgin, the Stone of Anointing, and the Seven Arches of the Virgin in the tomb of the Holy Sepulchre, were among the Sacred Places thus ceded.† During the Revolution, French zeal for maintaining the privileges of the Romish clergy in Syria grew cool, and the Holy Places in the custody of the Latin monks were shockingly neglected. The Greek Christians, however, not only visited these consecrated spots as pilgrims, but piously repaired them with the sanction of the Porte, thus acquiring by firmans from the Sultan the privilege of worshipping in them. The policy of the Porte seems to have been to induce Latins and Greeks to share the use of the sacred shrines. But Latins and Greeks, under the protection of France and Russia respectively, each claimed an exclusive right of control and guardianship over them. The dispute had been carried on in a desultory way till, in 1850, it was narrowed down to this point: France, on behalf of the Latin monks, contended that, in order to pass into the grotto of the Holy Manger, they should have exclusive possession of the key of the Church of Bethlehem, and of one of the keys—the other being in Greek custody—of each of the two doors of the Holy Manger; further, that the Sanctuary of the Nativity itself should be ornamented with a silver star, and the arms of France. In February, 1853, the Porte adjudicated on the rival claims in a letter addressed to the French Chargé d'Affaires, and in a firman to the Greek patriarch. The representative of France was told that the Latins were to have the keys they demanded. The Patriarch was told that Greeks, Armenians, and Latins should have keys also, and that the Latins were not to have any of the exclusive rights over the Holy Places that they claimed. When it became known that the Porte had thus spoken with "two voices," France complained that the exclusive rights demanded by her under the Treaty of 1740 were denied in the firman. Russia, on behalf of the Greeks, claimed credit for moderation in accepting the firman as a compromise,

* Consult on this subject Mr. Nassau Senior's article in *North British Quarterly Review* for February, 1851, on "The State of the Continent."

† Louis Philippe, it must be stated in justice to Napoleon III., also claimed for the Latin Church the right of repairing the dome of the Holy Sepulchre in the Latin instead of the Byzantine form, a claim which was indescribably offensive to the Greek priests.—*North British Quarterly Review*, February, 1851.

and insisted on its being publicly proclaimed at Jerusalem as a charter of Greek privileges. The Porte, in deference to the opposition of France, refused to make public proclamation of the firman.* The Russian Consul-General left Jerusalem in high dudgeon. "The Latins," says Mr. Walpole, "on hearing the decision of the Porte, that they should be allowed to celebrate mass once a year in the Church of the Virgin, near Gethsemane, but that they should *not be allowed to disturb* the altar and its ornaments, declared that it was impossible to celebrate mass on a schismatic slab of marble, and before a crucifix whose feet were separated." † In this quarrel of a few ignorant monks over the mummeries of their rival rituals lay the

CONVENT OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM

germ of that great war in which England sacrificed the lives of 28,000 brave men, and spent £30,000,000 of sterling treasure!

The Porte endeavoured, by contradictory concessions, such as by publicly reading the firman, and by permitting the Latins to put a star over the altar of the Nativity, to please both parties—but in vain. Russia, towards the end of 1852, had moved a *corps d'armée* on the frontier of Moldavia. France threatened to send her fleet to Syria, and in the end of February, 1853, the Czar sent Prince Menschikoff on a special mission to Constantinople, for the purpose of enforcing the Russian demands.

The turn in affairs that placed Lord Aberdeen at the head of the Queen's Government did not tend to moderate these demands, or induce the Czar to treat the Porte with any delicacy. The Czar, in fact, was honestly convinced that his views as to the future of Turkey were, in the main, shared by Lord Aberdeen, and therefore by the British Cabinet. It was

* Dip. Stud. Crimean War, Vol. I, p. 134.

† Spencer Walpole's History of England, Vol. V., p. 79.

well known that when the Czar visited England, in 1844, he had discussed the Eastern Question with the Queen and her principal advisers, and that he and Lord Aberdeen had become personal friends. His Majesty had propounded to Peel and Aberdeen his fixed idea that it would be well, in view of the impending dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, that England and Russia should agree as to the disposal of its European provinces. As Austria would follow Russia, an Anglo-Russian coalition would necessarily dictate terms to France, who, by her support of Mehemet Ali, had shown that her interests were as

INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM.

hostile to those of England in Egypt, as they were to those of Russia in Syria. In fact, the Czar's conversations with the Tory Ministers in 1844 were almost identical with those which he subsequently held with Sir Hamilton Seymour in 1853. Sir Theodore Martin asserts that Peel rejected these overtures, saying that England did not regard the dissolution of Turkey as imminent, that she wanted no Turkish territory for herself, that she merely desired to prevent any government in Egypt from closing the road to India, and that she must decline to pledge herself to accept Russian plans for disposing of the Turkish territory, till events rendered its disposal a pressing question.* Sir Theodore Martin, however, admits that there was "a general concurrence in the principle expressed" by the Czar, that no Great Power—least of all France—should be permitted to aggrandise itself at the expense

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XI.

of Turkey. Now, it seems certain that up to the very moment when war was declared, the Emperor Nicholas was convinced that Lord Aberdeen's Government would never take sides with France against him, in any quarrel about Turkey. He was convinced, despite the despatches of the British Ministry, that the ideas of the British Government and his own in regard to the future of Turkey, were in principle the same—and this conviction he evidently carried away with him from England in 1844. He must have been, therefore, too stupid to correctly understand what Peel said to him, or Peel must have said more to him than Sir Theodore Martin felt himself at liberty to record, in his masterly but discreet biography of Prince Albert. The manifest reluctance of Lord Aberdeen to thwart the Russian Emperor, and his obvious embarrassment when his duty forced him to comment publicly on Russian diplomacy in 1853, indicate that something more *was* said. What it was has been revealed by Lord Malmesbury in an entry in his Diary under date the 3rd of June, 1853. "There is," says Lord Malmesbury, who speaks with the authority of one who had held the seals of the Foreign Office, "a circumstance which I think must strongly influence Lord Aberdeen at this moment; which is, that when the Emperor Nicholas came to England in 1844, he, Sir Robert Peel (then Prime Minister), the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Aberdeen (then Foreign Secretary) drew up and signed a memorandum, the spirit and scope of which was to support Russia in her legitimate protectorship of the Greek religion and the Holy Shrines, and to do so without consulting France. When Lord Derby's government came in, at first, I was unable to understand the mysterious allusions which Brunnow* made now and then, and which he retracted when he saw that either I knew nothing of this paper, or that I desired to ignore it. Since it was composed and written, the position of affairs in Europe is totally changed, and is even reversed. In 1840 the events in the East had then estranged England and France from one another, and Louis Napoleon did not exist as a factor in European policy. Now he is Emperor of the French, and the Duke and Peel are dead, yet it is not unnatural to believe that Nicholas, finding Lord Aberdeen Prime Minister, and the sole survivor of these three English statesmen, should feel that the moment had arrived, so long wished for by Russia, to fall upon Turkey . . . . He believes that Lord Aberdeen never will join France against him, and probably thinks Palmerston stultified by the drudgery of the Home Office." † This passage in Lord Malmesbury's Diary explains why Lord Beaconsfield used to say that he knew as a fact within his own knowledge, that had Lord Aberdeen not come to power in 1852, the Crimean war would never have broken out. ‡ Perhaps it explains why Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright declared that if the Tories had not been driven from Office in 1852, the

* Russian Ambassador in London.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., pp. 402, 403.

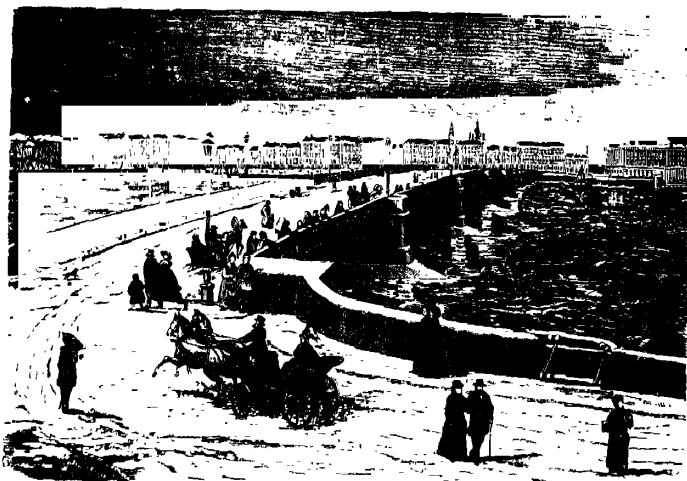
‡ Mr. Disraeli's Speech at Manchester, April 3, 1872.

Crimean war would have been avoided. It is now only too easy to understand that, if he had this Secret Memorandum in his possession, the Czar Nicholas naturally believed that the British Government were not serious in their antagonism. It is also easy to understand why Lord Aberdeen always shrank from speaking the firm word of warning, which would have induced Russia to pause ere her troops crossed the Pruth, and draw back whilst it was possible to draw back with honour.

The existence of an informal understanding between the Czar and the old Tory Government of 1844 shows us why his Majesty, in conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour, on the 9th and 14th of January, 1853, reopened the question which he believed he had virtually arranged with that Government. The last living representative of it—Lord Aberdeen—was Prime Minister of England; Turkey was in a more decrepit condition than ever; France seemed bent on reviving the Napoleonic legend—of evil omen to England in Egypt; nay, she was challenging the claim of Russia to secure protection for the Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire—a claim which the Tory leaders in 1844 were disposed to favour.* The Czar therefore thought it most opportune to say to Sir Hamilton Seymour, as he had said to Wellington and Peel, that Turkey, "the Sick Man," was dying on their hands, that England and Russia should either agree what should or should not be done with his heritage when he died, and, further, to suggest that the Christian provinces of Turkey should be organised as independent States under Russian protection, whilst England occupied Egypt and Candia.† Lord John Russell's reply to these conversations must have also misled the Czar, preoccupied as he was with the fact that, in terms of the Secret Memorandum of 1844, England and Russia had agreed on a common policy in Turkey. Lord John, in effect, said that, as the British Government did not think that the Turk was quite moribund, it was premature to discuss any project, negative or positive, for disposing of his territory, and that England had no desire for territorial aggrandisement. But he went on to add that he thought the Sultan should be "advised" to treat his Christian subjects justly and humanely, because, if he did so, the Czar would not find it "necessary to apply that exceptional protection which his Imperial Majesty has found so burdensome and inconvenient, though no doubt *prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty.*" The words here italicised were not altogether in accord with the facts, for no treaty sanctioned in plain, definite terms this "exceptional protection;" moreover, they admitted the whole Russian case; for, as will be seen, it was precisely because the Czar was supposed to be bent on extorting from Turkey an extension of the

* See Count Nesselrode's Memorandum embodying the views which, according to the Czar, were agreed on in the conversations he held with the Tory Ministers in 1844.—Eastern Papers, 1854, Part VI. This document, probably the one referred to by Lord Malmesbury, was transmitted to England on the Czar's return to St. Petersburg, and deposited unchallenged in the secret archives of the Foreign Office.

† Eastern Papers, 1852, Part VI. pp. 10, 11.

sanction given by existing treaties to the Russian Protectorate over her oppressed Christian subjects, that Turkey and England went to war with Russia. Whether that war was right or wrong, this is certain: it was waged by the English Government to rebut a claim, which that Government at the outset admitted. The Czar, through Count Nesselrode, expressed himself satisfied with the self-denying pledges which had passed between the Russian and English Governments, and, as England had promised not to entertain any project for the protection of Turkey without a previous understanding with Russia, so Russia, he said, gave a similar undertaking to England.

THE NICOLAI BRIDGE ACROSS THE NEVA, ST. PETERSBURG

But he observed that the surest way to prevent the fall of Turkey would be to induce the Porte to treat the Greek Christians with *equity and humanity*. The English Government, delighted with this friendly communication, advised the Porte to compose the dispute between France and Russia, by offering to accept any arrangement which these two Powers would take as satisfactory. It remonstrated with France for having been the first, not only to raise the quarrel about the Holy Places, but also to support her demands by a threat of war. This was a second admission on the part of England that in this controversy Russia was in the right. Napoleon III. recalled M. de Lavalelle, his hectoring Envoy at Constantinople, and sent M. de La Cour in his place. Russia ceased her warlike preparations on the Moldavian frontier, and the war-cloud on the horizon began to melt away.

Unfortunately for the prospects of peace, Lord Aberdeen ordered Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to resume his duties as Ambassador at Constantinople.

Stratford de Redcliffe was a man of indomitable strength of character, restless energy, and invincible tenacity of purpose. His fitness for the office of a mediator between Turkey, Russia, and France, charged specially to avert war, may be estimated by the following entry in Lord Malmesbury's Diary, under

LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Bonney and Small.)

date February 25th, 1854:—"Lord Bath," writes Lord Malmesbury, "has come back from Constantinople, and says that Lord Stratford openly boasts having got his personal revenge against the Czar by fomenting the war. He told Lord Bath so." According to Lord Malmesbury, his hatred to the Czar dated from the time when his Majesty refused to receive him as Ambassador at St. Petersburg. It is now beyond doubt that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe,

from the beginning to the end of the negotiations between the Powers, acted the part of a Marplot. As Prince Albert, in a letter to Baron Stockmar on the 27th of November, said, "The prospects of a peaceful settlement in the East do not improve. Lord Stratford fulfils his instructions to the letter, but he so contrives that we are getting constantly deeper and deeper into a war policy." It is impossible to describe in truer words the malign and baneful influence of the diplomatist who, to gratify his personal rancour, inflicted the torture of war upon his country.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe reached Constantinople on the 5th of April, 1853. There he found that Prince Menschikoff, at the head of a menacing mission, had arrived before him on the 28th of February. Menschikoff began operations by refusing to treat with Fuad Effendi, the Foreign Minister. Fuad resigned in favour of Rifaat Pasha. The tone of the Russian envoy then alarmed the Grand Vizier, who sought advice from Colonel Rose,* British Chargé d'Affaires. Colonel Rose immediately begged Admiral Dundas to bring the Mediterranean squadron to the mouth of the Dardanelles, but the Admiral refused to sail without instructions from the Cabinet, and the Cabinet disapproved of Rose's action. France, however, thought that this act indicated an intention on the part of England to forestall her, and despatched the Toulon squadron to Salamis, without waiting to hear whether Colonel Rose's action had been sanctioned by his Government.† The presence of the French fleet so near the scene of an acrid controversy between France and Russia, would have tended to neutralise the conciliatory diplomacy of England, even if Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had honestly meant to work in the interests of peace.

Lord Stratford, when he arrived at Constantinople, found the Sublime Porte in a panic. Though Russia had assured the English Government that no question then remained open between her, France, and Turkey, except that of the Holy Places, Menschikoff had demanded from the Porte a treaty, the negotiation of which, he said, must be kept secret from the Powers, acknowledging the right of Russia to a protectorate over all Greek Christians in Turkey. Ultimately he offered to accept a Note; but the objection to the concession in any such shape, was that it virtually transferred to the Russian Czar the allegiance of 12,000,000 of the Sultan's subjects. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe advised the Porte to begin by settling the question of the Holy Places, which was the *fons et origo* of the dispute. That question was quickly settled, and then Menschikoff promptly and peremptorily pressed the new claim of Russia to a protectorate over the Greek Church in Turkey. On the 5th of May he

* Afterwards Lord Strathnairn.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., pp. 387-389. It is right to state the fact as communicated to Lord Malmesbury by the French Emperor in conversation, because Mr. Walpole rather unfairly asserts that the Emperor of the French saw in Rose's fear "a fresh excuse for embroiling France."—Walpole's History of England, Vol. V., p. 84.

sent an ultimatum to the Porte demanding its surrender on this point with five days. On Lord Stratford's advice the Porte refused to surrender, a Prince Menschikoff and his suite left Constantinople in wrath.* At this cri the voice of Nicholas was for war; but that of Nesselrode, his able and tranq Minister, was for peace. As a compromise the Czar therefore determined th the Danubian Principalities should be occupied by his troops, and held till Turk guaranteed to Russia "the rights and privileges of all kinds which have be granted by the Sultan to his Greek subjects."† On the 31st of May Ness rode wrote to Reschid Pasha that Russian troops would cross the Pruth, a on the 2nd of June Admiral Dundas was ordered to proceed with the Medit ranean squadron to Besika Bay. The French fleet was ordered to go th also, and the allied squadrons made their appearance in Turkish waters ab the same time.‡ The quarrel up till now had been one between Fran and Russia. It was thus suddenly transformed into one between Fran and England on the one side and Russia on the other. On the 2nd July Prince Gortschakoff entered the Principalities; and then Austria, wh had selfishly held aloof, became nervous as to the control of the Danube, a manifested a desire to act with the Western Powers. Turkey was advised n to treat Russian aggression on the Principalities as a *casus belli*, and t Porte met it with a protest, though it was very nearly forced by its fanati Moslem subjects to declare war. In England the Government was condemn for its extreme reticence in Parliament as to the turn affairs were takin and up to this point the Cabinet certainly committed three blunders. the first place, they permitted Lord Stratford to encourage the Porte to res Russia, without having come to a clear and definite determination to supp that resistance by force, if Russia proved unbending. Secondly, they rel too much on Count Nesselrode's smooth, pacific assurances after they kn or ought to have known, from Prince Menschikoff's proposal of a secret trea to the Porte, and from the warlike demonstration on the Moldavian frontie that these assurances were illusory. Thirdly, they did not meet the propo for a secret treaty and the demonstration on the frontier by ordering Dun to Besika Bay, and they met the occupation of the Principalities by sendi Dundas, not to the Black Sea, but only to Besika Bay. Lord Aberdee

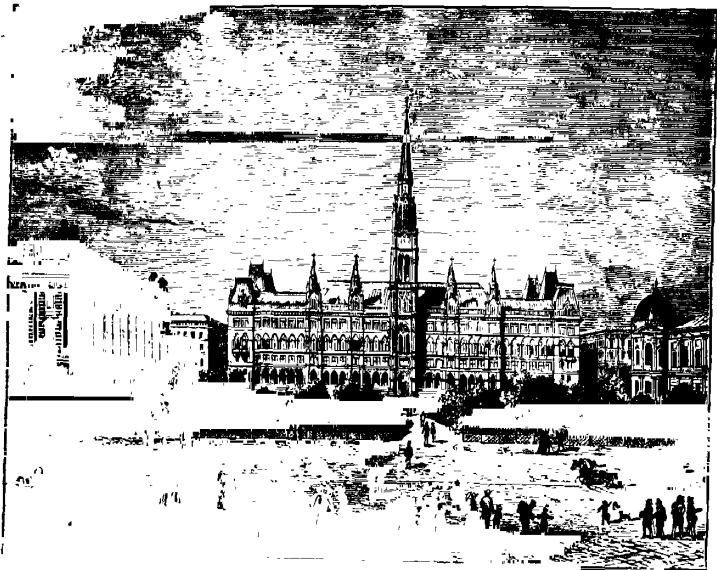
* Russia argued that she might fairly exercise the same kind of protectorate that France always asserted over Roman Catholics and England over Protestants in Turkey. Against this it urged that there was a difference in degree between the two cases which amounted to a differenc kind, for, whereas the Catholic and Protestant subjects of the Sultan were only a few thousands, Greek subjects were 12,000,000.

† Official Note of the Porte to the Powers, 28th of May.

‡ On the 1st of June Menschikoff's Note of the 18th of May, intimating his withdrawal from C stantinople and threatening Turkey with coercion, arrived in London.

§ It would have been also more candid at this juncture to have warned Russia that England w object to any actual invasion of the Principalities, before the resources of European diplomacy exhausted.

apologists allege that the latter step would have caused Russia to occupy Constantinople. That is a feeble defence, for subsequent events showed that Russia could not even mobilise enough troops to hold the Principalities against the Turks. The English Government did enough to irritate the Czar, and though they did not do enough to check him, they did too much to enable them to extricate themselves with honour from the quarrel.

Something, however, had to be done for the Porte, after it had, at the

TOWN HALL, VIENNA.

bidding of England and France, refrained from defending the Principalities, which were in its dominions. A Conference of the Powers was therefore assembled at Vienna, on the 24th of June, to arrive at a pacific solution of the difficulty, and on the 31st they adopted the Vienna Note, which has become famous in European history. It was sent to Russia and Turkey for acceptance as a settlement which, in the opinion of Europe, would be equally honourable and fair to both. The Czar accepted it promptly on the 10th of August. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in his official capacity, advised Turkey to accept it; but he played his Government false, by plainly indicating his personal objections to it. The Porte acted on his private advice, and refused to accept the Note unless it were modified. Turkey thus dashed all hopes of peace by repudiating the advice of the Powers, and, by thus putting herself in the wrong, she put Russia in the right.

Here Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues committed another blunder. On balancing the gain against the loss to Turkey which was likely to accrue from concessions that would prevent war, they might fairly enough have told the Porte that, if it rejected the Vienna Note, it would be left to struggle with Russia single-handed. Austria, however, followed by France, England,

PRINCE MENSCHIKOFF.

and Prussia, asked the Czar to accept the modifications of Turkey. The Czar refused to do this, and instructed Count Nesselrode to give his reasons for refusing, whereupon Austria and Prussia veered round, and again recommended the Porte to accept the original Note. England and France, on the contrary, alleging that Count Nesselrode's despatches proved that the Czar attached a different meaning to the Note from that which they attributed to it, declined to join Austria and Prussia in pressing Turkey to accept it. The European concert was destroyed, and it was the European concert which alone rendered war

impossible.* Unfortunately, on this occasion, the Queen, wary and ingenious as she has shown herself during other crises in checking the "drift" of Cabinets towards war, fell too easily under the influence of Lord Aberdeen, for whom personally she ever entertained the warmest regard. He sent Nesselrode's despatch to her, but he prepossessed her mind by pointing out to her first, that Nesselrode's reasons for refusing to accept the Turkish modifications of the Vienna Note, showed that Russia put a different interpretation on it from that which its framers meant it to bear; and secondly, that it would be dishonourable to ask the Porte to accept it in the face of this fact. Her Majesty, easily touched by such an appeal, wrote from Balmoral a strong letter to Lord Aberdeen supporting his view with much ability. "It is evident," she said, "that Russia has hitherto attempted to deceive us, in pretending that she did not aim at the acquisition of any *new* right, but required only a satisfaction of honour, and an acknowledgment of the rights she already possessed by treaty—and that she does intend, and for the first time lays bare that intention, to acquire new rights of interference." The Queen then made a suggestion which was carried out. It was that England should lay the whole case before Europe, declaring that the Russian demands were inadmissible, and "that the continuance of the occupation of the Principalities, in order to extort these demands, constitutes an unwarrantable aggression upon Turkey, and infraction of the public law of Europe." † As matters stood, such an intimation to the fiery Czar was virtually a challenge to mortal combat.

Those who hold the destinies of great nations in their hands are now chary of committing themselves to war for the sake of honour or the public law of Europe. The subterfuges by which Russia disorganised Bulgaria in 1886, and got rid of Prince Alexander, whose anti-Russian proclivities had been encouraged by England, touched British honour more closely than the "explicative Note" of Count Nesselrode. Yet England, guided solely by her interests, did not make Russian interference with Bulgaria in 1886, a *casus belli*. A greater statesman than Aberdeen in 1853, also eliminated all considerations of "honour" from his policy, and looked solely to the material interest of his country. Prussia was scoffed at by Prince Albert as "a reed shaken by the wind." But Prussia not only refused to join the Western Powers against Russia, but deterred Austria from joining them. And why? Because Herr von Bismarck had enough influence with the King to convince him that the interest of Prussia did not lie in strengthening the Western Powers, or in offending Russia, whose benevolent neutrality might one day be valuable to his country. Why, he argued, should Prussia waste her strength

* When these events had passed into history, Earl Russell, in his Recollections and Suggestions, said that, if he had been Premier in 1853, he would have insisted on Turkey accepting the Vienna Note. He was not Premier, but he was one of the leaders of the War Party in the Cabinet which supported Turkey in rejecting it. Lord Russell was, in fact, not the only statesman of the period who grew "wise after the event."

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLVIII.

in helping France and Austria to weaken Russia, without the prospect of winning for Prussia "a prize worthy of us"? He was "appalled" by the notion that "we may plunge into a sea of trouble and danger on behalf of Austria, for whose sins the King displays as much tolerance as I only hope God in Heaven will one day show to mine." The "interest of Prussia," he said, after the Crimean war was over, "is my only rule of action, and had there ever been any prospect of our promoting this interest by taking part in the war, I should certainly never have been one of its opponents."* Lord Salisbury, on the 9th of November, 1886, speaking at the Guildhall, has in our time said that England has no interest to resist Russian aggression in European Turkey, where Austria has none. Tested by that principle the policy of the Cabinet and the Crown in 1853 was chivalrous, but indefensible. Yet if the Sovereign and her Ministers erred, what is to be said of the Nation? It was simply mad for war with Russia, and the section of the Cabinet headed by Palmerston and Russell vied with the Tories in inflaming the war-fever of the hour. Aberdeen was vilified as a Russian agent—because he was desirous of maintaining peace. Prince Albert was attacked with equal scurrility as a tool of the Czar, because he was not a Russophobe, and because he did not conceal his opinion that the Turkish Government was brutal, fanatical, and ignorant.

Had Turkey accepted the Vienna Note, had the Powers not asked Russia to accept the Turkish amendments to it, had Nesselrode in refusing to accept these refrained from giving reasons for his refusal, peace would have been preserved. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the points that were at issue when the Vienna Note was rejected by Turkey. This is to be done by comparing together Menschikoff's original Note with the Vienna Note, and the Turkish modification of it. Menschikoff started by assuming that Russia and Turkey "being mutually desirous of maintaining the stability of the orthodox Greco-Russian religion, professed by the majority of their Christian subjects, and of guaranteeing that religion against all molestation for the future," should agree (1) that "no change shall be made as regards the rights, privileges, and immunities which have been enjoyed or are possessed *ab antiquo* by the Orthodox Greek Churches, pious institutions, and clergy, in the dominions of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, which is pleased to secure the same to them in perpetuity on the strict basis of the *status quo* now existing. (2) The rights and advantages conceded by the Ottoman Government, or which shall hereafter be conceded, to the other Christian rites by treaties, conventions, or special arrangements, shall be considered as belonging also to the Orthodox Church." † The Vienna Note differed but slightly from this—and it may be well to put it side by side with the Turkish modifications—reproducing only the controversial passages.

* Prince Bismarck: an Historical Biography by Charles Lowe, M.A., Vol. I., p. 205.

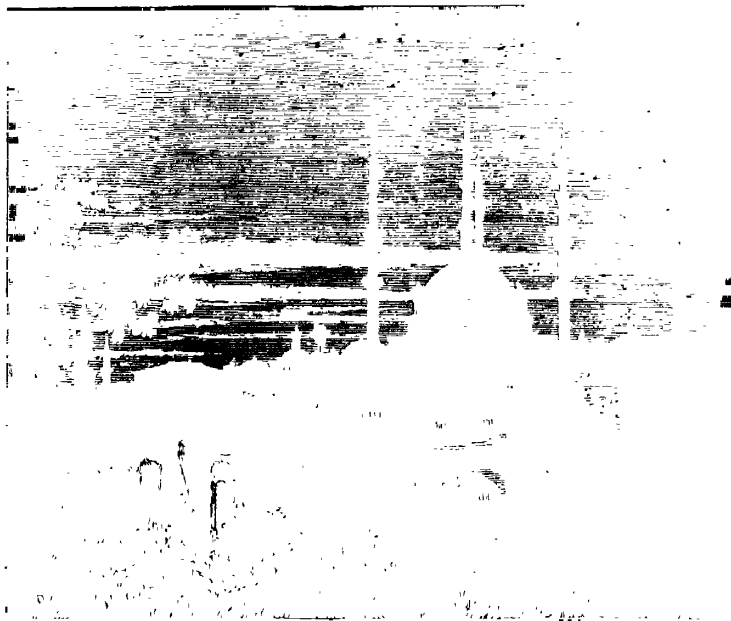
† Eastern Papers, Part I., p. 169.

VIENNA NOTE.	TURKISH MODIFICATIONS.
"If the Emperors of Russia have at all times evinced their active solicitude for the [*maintenance of the immunities and privileges of the Orthodox Greek Church in the Ottoman Empire, the Sultans have never refused to confirm them*] by solemn acts testifying their ancient and constant benevolence towards their Christian subjects.	orthodox Greek worship and Church (le culte et l'Église orthodoxe Grecque), the Sultans have never ceased to provide for the maintenance of the privileges and immunities which at different times they have spontaneously granted to that religion and to that Church in the Ottoman Empire, and to confirm them
* * * * * *	
The undersigned has, in consequence, received orders to declare by the present Note that the Government of his Majesty the Sultan will remain faithful to [*the letter and to the spirit of the Treaties of Kainardji and Adrianople relative to the protection of the Christian religion, and*] that his Majesty considers himself bound in honour to cause to be observed for ever, and to preserve from all prejudice either now or hereafter, the enjoyment of the spiritual privileges which have been granted by his Majesty's august ancestors to the orthodox Greek Eastern Church, which are maintained and confirmed by him; and, moreover, in a spirit of exalted equity, to cause the Greek rite to share in the advantages granted [*to the other Christian rites by convention or special arrangement*]"	the stipulations of the Treaty of Kainardji, confirmed by that of Adrianople, relative to the protection by the Sublime Porte of the Christian religion, and he is, moreover, charged to make known ... or which might be granted to the other Christian communities, Ottoman subjects.

Were the points of difference between the Vienna Note and that Note as modified by the Porte worth fighting for?

It is inconceivable that any English Minister or diplomatist having even a cursory acquaintance with Turkish history could agree with the Porte in affirming that the Ottoman Sultans had "never ceased to provide for" the maintenance of the privileges of their Christian subjects. "Never honestly attempted to provide for" would have been the truer statement of the fact. So the *first* modification of the Porte may be summarily dismissed. As to the *second*, the Turks averred that it was necessary (1) because the Vienna Note extended the scope of the Treaties of Kainardji and Adrianople, and (2) because it gave the Czar new powers of interfering between the Sultan and his subjects. The 7th and 14th Articles of these Treaties, when studied, show that the Porte*

* In the 7th Article of the Treaty of Kainardji it is provided that "*The Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its Churches*, and also it allows the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia to make on all occasions representations as well in favour of the new Church at Constantinople, of which mention will be made in the 14th Article, as in favour of those who officiate therein." The 14th Article provides that "it is permitted to the High Court of Russia, in addition to the chapel built in the house of the Minister, to construct in the Galata quarter, in the street called Bey Oglu, a public church of the Greek rite, which shall be always under the protection of the Ministers of that Empire, and shielded from all obstruction and all damage." The first words in italics appear to give Russia the same general kind of pledge to protect the Greek Christians in Turkey, the insertion of which in the Vienna Note was supposed to vitiate it. The issue, however, was so close that diplomacy ought to have prevented the disputants from coming to blows.

was clearly wrong on one point. The Sultan, said the Porte, will in futur recognise the stipulations relative to protection given *by the Porte* alone; bu the Treaty had also stipulations relative to protection which was to be give by Russia. The Czar was therefore not unreasonable in suspecting that th Turks were trying, by their amendment of the Vienna Note, to cancel som of his rights under the Treaty of Kainardji. The other point at issue mus

THE MOSQUE OF SELIM II AT ADRIANOPLE.

be decided with reference to history. It is plain that Menschikoff's Note, fror its terms and from the tone of the Envoy who presented it as an ultimatun might fairly be considered offensive to Turkey, and that she, therefore, ha plausible reasons for rejecting it. It might be so construed as to extend t the whole Empire the Russian right of special protection, which the Treat of Kainardji limited to a single Christian temple, and that of Adrianopl restricted to two Principalities. On the other hand, the Porte, by saying tha the Sultan would in future "remain faithful to the stipulations of the Treat of Kainardji, confirmed by that of Adrianople," was justly suspected of wrigglin out of other stipulations in the latter Treaty, which were not in the former, an which made the Czar the special guardian of Christian rights in the Princi palities. But holding in view the history of Turkish misrule and oppressio

together with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's denunciations of the bad faith of the Turkish Government in keeping its promises of reform, it is impossible to blame the Czar for rejecting the Turkish amendment. That amendment consisted simply in cutting out of the Vienna Note the all-important words, "letter and spirit." The Czar denied that Turkey had been faithful to the letter of existing treaties guaranteeing Christian privileges. All Europe admitted that she had not been faithful to the spirit of them, and that if, under Russian pressure, she ever kept the word of promise to the ear, she usually broke it to the hope. Turkey, when asked to pledge herself to be true to the spirit as well as the letter of her obligations, was, therefore, trifling with Europe in refusing to commit herself to a pledge that would have bound her by both the letter and spirit of her engagements. Here again, it seems, judgment must go against Turkey. The object of her third amendment was quite clear. The stipulation of the Vienna Note that privileges given to any Christian Church should be also enjoyed by all Greek Christians in Turkey, was a sort of "most favoured nation clause." It made the contract keep all sects automatically on the same level. The Porte, however, by its amendment, promised Russia to give Greek Christians, not the privileges it gave to all other Christians, but only to other Christians who were Turkish subjects. No doubt the Vienna Note would have given Russia a right of complaint against Turkey in the case of Greek Christians, who were refused privileges granted to (1) Greek Christians, (2) Roman Catholics, (3) Protestants, and (4) Armenians who were not Turkish subjects. But these were few in number, and the affair of the Holy Places showed that this right of complaint could be pressed by Russia to some purpose, whether conferred by treaty or not. It almost seemed as if the third amendment of the Porte were designed to bar Russia from similar acts of intervention; in other words, to put her in a worse position than that which she held without any fresh compact whatever. Strangely enough, the one strong objection which Turkey had a right to make to the Vienna Note—namely, that it did not make the evacuation of the Principalities a condition precedent of the settlement—was not strongly pressed by Europe.

One argument, and one only, was urged with even the shadow of plausibility by England. It was that the Czar might claim, under the Vienna Note, a protectorate over the Greek Christians in Turkey, which would transfer to him the allegiance of nearly all the Sultan's European subjects. As the Vienna Note gave the Czar nothing but what he could claim according to "the letter and to the spirit" of two existing treaties, it is difficult to understand how the English Government could advance such an argument, unless, indeed, they meant to affirm that it was futile to ask Turkey to abide by "the spirit" of any of her pledges. But if the contention of the English Cabinet is to be taken as true, what must we say of the wisdom with which the world is governed? The four Ambassadors, the four Cabinets, and the four

Sovereigns of the European Powers who had the clearest interest in preserving the independence of Turkey drew up, studied, debated, and revised again and again every word and phrase of a Joint Note which they declared could be honourably and justly accepted by the Sublime Porte. When Turkey rejected it, these very same Ambassadors, Cabinets, and Sovereigns suddenly turned round and said that they had unwittingly so worded their Note that it threatened with ruin the empire which they meant it to save! And of these Powers two—England and France—entered on a profitless and calamitous war, because their Ambassadors, Ministers of State, and Sovereigns did not understand the meaning of their own words in a solemn diplomatic instrument! It is upon this hypothesis—at once so grotesque and incredible—that Lord Aberdeen's Government justified itself in advising Turkey to reject the Vienna Note, and in making war on Russia because the Czar adhered to it after he had accepted it at the request of Europe.

England, it has been said, following the lead of Austria, encouraged the Porte to resist, and pressed Russia to accept the Turkish modification of the Note. It has been shown how, when Russia refused to do this, Austria, with whom Prussia acted, suddenly wheeled round and pressed the original Note on Turkey. England, however, had made herself sufficiently ridiculous in first recommending Turkey to accept the Note, and in then supporting her in rejecting it. Lord Aberdeen's Government accordingly refused to recommend the Note again to Turkey, and the Government of France took the same course. The concert of the Powers which thus alone rendered peace possible was broken, and neither England nor France seemed to have made any serious effort to repair it. On the contrary, they not only approved of Lord Stratford's conduct in summoning two ships of war from Besika Bay to Constantinople, but in September, yielding to Palmerston,* they put the whole fleet at his disposal. It was contrary to the Treaty of 1841 for the Porte to admit war-ships to the Bosphorus in time of peace. To send the English fleet to Constantinople was therefore a declaration on the part of England that Turkey was at war with Russia. Turkey formally declared war on Russia on the 5th, and the British Fleet entered the Bosphorus on the 30th of October. To order our Fleet to defend the Turks in the Euxine if they were attacked by Russia was a perilous step to take. Yet it is curious to observe that the Queen was the only high personage engaged in this transaction who, in the midst of the popular war frenzy, foresaw the peril of it. Even her habit of deference to Lord Aberdeen, which unfortunately led her to sanction without demur the blunders which have now been recorded, could not induce her to approve of this last and, as will be seen, most fatal error. Her trenchant criticism of it, unanswered and unanswerable to this day, is to be found in a letter which she wrote to the Prime Minister, in which she said:—"It appears to the Queen that we have taken on ourselves, in conjunction with

* Ashley's Life of Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 276.

France, all the risks of an European war, without having bound Turkey to any conditions with respect to provoking it. The 120 fanatical Turks constituting the Divan at Constantinople are left sole judges of the line of policy to be pursued, and made cognisant at the same time of the fact that England and France have bound themselves to defend the Turkish territory. This is

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

entrusting them with a power which Parliament would be jealous of confiding even to the hands of the British Crown. It may be a question whether England ought to go to war for the so-called Turkish independence, but there can be none that, if she does so, she ought to be the sole judge of what constitutes a breach of that independence, and have the fullest power to prevent by negotiation the breaking out of the war."* Had the Queen subjected

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLIX. Compare this with Lord Salisbury's statement at the Guildhall banquet on the 9th of November, 1886, that England's Eastern policy is to pledge

every act of the Cabinet from the day on which Menschikoff arrived at Constantinople, to the same kind of pitiless logical analysis, even the Coalition Cabinet would have found it difficult to blunder into war. There was also another calm but acute observer of events who could not be diverted from his devotion to tangible British interests by passionate outbursts of popular *chauvinism*, and who saw at a glance the risks the Government were running. In a letter to Baron Stockmar, dated the 27th of November, Prince Albert says:—

"Six weeks ago Palmerston and Lord John carried a resolution that we should give notice that an attack on the Turkish fleet by that of Russia would be met by the fleets of England and France. Now the Turkish steamships are to cross over from the Asiatic coast to the Crimea, and to pass before Sebastopol! This can only be meant to insult the Russian fleet and entice it to come out, in order to make it possible for Lord Stratford to bring our fleet into collision with that of Russia, according to his former instructions, and so make an European war certain."*

Just before the allied fleets were sent to defend Turkey in the Black Sea the Porte ordered Omar Pasha to demand the evacuation of Moldavia within fifteen days, and, failing compliance, to attack the Russians at once. The Russians held their ground, standing on the defensive, and the Turks crossed the Danube, inflicting on them defeats that, of course, deeply wounded the pride of the Czar. He therefore ordered the Russian squadron at Sebastopol to retaliate in the Euxine. On the 30th of November it discovered a Turkish fleet at Sinope, which, the Turks declared, was bound for Batoum. The Russian admiral, however, believed it was on its way to the Circassian coast, for the purpose of stirring up an insurrection against Russia in the Caucasus. Instead of watching it or blockading it, as he might have done, he attacked and destroyed it.

This catastrophe, of course, brought England nearer to war. A fierce cry of wrath went up from the English people. Their fleet had been sent to defend Turkey against Russia, yet it had tamely allowed Russia to perpetrate "the massacre of Sinope." Russia knew that England stood pledged to protect Turkey from attack in the Euxine. Sinope was, therefore, a direct challenge to England, and it must be promptly taken up. The foresight of Prince Albert was thus amply justified. The Government had stupidly sent to the Black Sea a fleet strong enough to provoke Russia, but not strong enough to protect Turkey, and insinuations of treason were freely made. "The defeat of Sinope," wrote the Prince, "upon our own element —the sea—has made the people furious; it is ascribed to Aberdeen having

herself to fight on the side of Austria, when Austria thinks fit to go to war. By substituting "Austria" for "Turkey" in the first two sentences of this important State Paper of the Queen's, very interesting deductions might be drawn by students of Constitutional history.

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLIX.

been bought over by Russia." Nor was Aberdeen the only one who suffered. Prince Albert was scurrilously attacked by Tories and Radicals of the baser sort, and, almost in as many words, accused of being a Russian spy, whose influence with the Queen was paralysing her Government. But if the English Government blundered foolishly in sending the British fleet to the Black Sea with orders to protect Turkey, without first making sure that Turkey would not provoke attack, or that our fleet was strong enough to defend her, Russia blundered, not foolishly, but criminally, in attacking the Turks at Sinope. Mr. Spencer Walpole says:—"Though the attack on Sinope may be justified, its imprudence cannot be excused." * But surely if it cannot be excused it is idle to "justify" it. The Czar was warned that England and France would defend Turkey if the latter was assailed in the Euxine. An attack on Turkey at Sinope, in spite of that warning, he must have known would be taken by the English and French people as a defiance, which would so madden them, that the war party in France and England must forthwith control the situation. Therefore, to say it was an "imprudence" is to say that, in the circumstances, it was a crime against civilisation. As will be seen later on, it provoked France and England to order their fleets to patrol the Black Sea, and require every Russian ship they met to put back into Sebastopol, so that a second Sinope might be prevented.

During most of this anxious time it is hardly necessary to say that the domestic life of the Queen was one of wearing excitement. At the outset of the diplomatic disputes in which her Government entangled the country it seems that she paid rather less attention than usual to foreign affairs. Palmerston was no longer at the Foreign Office, and in Lord Aberdeen, who was at the head of the Government, the Queen put the most implicit confidence. She had formed a habit of regarding him as the *beau idéal* of a "safe" Minister, and thus, when she sat down every morning to read her official correspondence, her Majesty approached all the projects of her Government, if not with a decided bias in favour of them, at any rate without that wholesome prepossession of suspicion, that rendered her a keen and searching critic of the Foreign Policy of the country when it was under the direction of Lord Palmerston. It was not till late in the autumn that the Queen's correspondence, so far as it has been made public, shows a disposition on her part to resume the tone of independent, outspoken, but confidential criticism, that so often checked the vagaries of Lord John Russell's Cabinet. The Queen, in fact, put too much confidence in the sagacity of the Coalition Government. The Coalition Government, conscious that, so long as Aberdeen could be persuaded to endorse their doings, they would not be very jealously scrutinised by the Crown, entered with a light heart on the most dangerous course of diplomacy. The Queen, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the Czar all set out with the most sincere and unbounded confidence in each

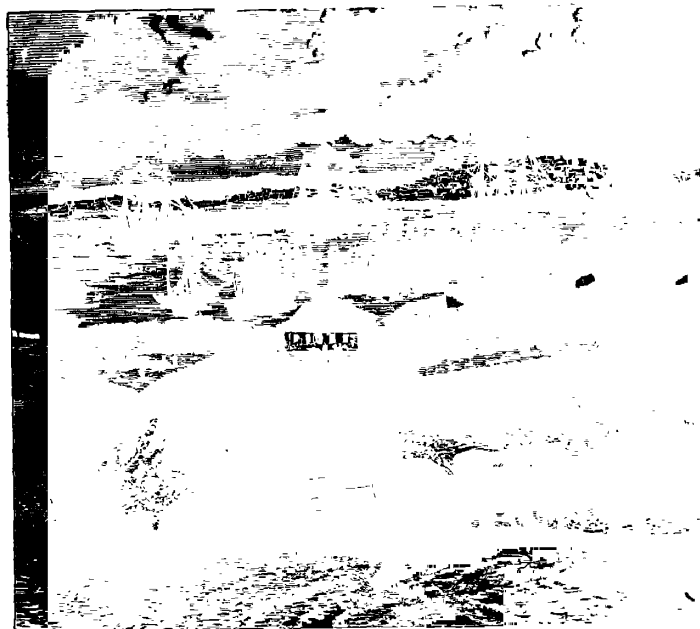
* Walpole's History of England, Vol. V., p. 99.

other. In little more than twelve months they were accordingly in almost irreconcilable controversy.

After the Coalition Ministry was formed, what the Queen dreaded most was that it might break up over the question of Parliamentary Reform, or over some dispute as to the Premiership, in the event of Lord Aberdeen resigning office. Aberdeen was old and somewhat infirm, and there can be

THE THRONE ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE.

little doubt that he would have resigned soon after the Coalition was organised had not the Eastern Question risen to tie him to his post. Lord John Russell had some notion that he would be Aberdeen's successor, and it was his fixed idea that his scheme for reforming Parliament would not have a fair chance, unless it were launched by him with all the prestige of the Premier's advocacy in its favour. Some members of the Cabinet did not desire that this scheme should be launched at all; others, like Palmerston, were determined that it should not be launched, and that Lord John should not be Premier. A few weeks after the Ministry was constituted Lord John resigned the seals of the Foreign Office to Lord Clarendon, becoming a Minister without an office, but retaining the leadership of the House of Commons. The Queen warned him that he would grow discontented with

this position, but her warning was unheeded; and yet Lord John soon had reason to regret that he did not lay it to heart. After the Session ended he began to give Aberdeen broad hints that it would be well for him to retire, and to indicate that he himself might have to secede, if these hints were not acted on. His secession would have broken up the Coalition, which, Aberdeen knew, the Sovereign had set her heart on keeping together. Hence, every effort

SEBASTOPOL.

was made to conciliate Lord John Russell, and, as he soon became, next to Palmerston, the most zealous member of the War Party in the Cabinet, he was therefore able to exert a baneful influence on the Foreign Policy of the Ministry. This was, indeed, one reason why that policy perpetually alternated between energy and apathy. Still, the Cabinet kept together till Russell's Reform scheme was thrust upon it. Then, on the 15th of December, the world was startled to find that Palmerston had resigned. This event, occurring as it did immediately after the massacre of Sinope, created a dreadful sensation in the country. The Press declared that Palmerston had been turned out because of the Eastern Question. He was the victim of a Court intrigue. It was whispered that Prince Albert, as a spy of Russia, had persuaded the Queen to get rid of a high-spirited Minister because he was eager to

avenge against Russia the insult offered to England at Sinope. The Prince, it was said, had been detected betraying the secrets of the Government to foreign Courts. One day it was actually reported that he had been committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, and a gaping crowd collected to see him locked up as a traitor. This clamour was raised by the Palmerstonian clique, and it gave infinite pain to the Queen. She knew as well as Lord Palmerston and his friends that these attacks were based on a tissue of falsehoods, for, as a matter of fact, Lord Palmerston had resigned simply on the question of Reform. His idea was that Lord Lansdowne, who also disliked Reform, would resign along with him, and that the public outcry would be so great that the Ministry must be shattered. The outcry *was* great, but it was too obviously that of a personal *claque*; and Palmerston, astounded to find that the nation did not regard his retirement as an irreparable calamity, immediately begged the Cabinet to let him come back again. This they did, having, however, forced him to swallow ignominiously his objections to Lord John Russell's Reform Bill. Then the Palmerstonian newspapers suddenly dropped their attacks on the Queen and Prince Albert, though the Tory organs kept them up in the true old crusted Protectionist style. "The best of the joke," writes the Prince to Stockmar, "is that because he [Palmerston] went out the Opposition journals extolled him to the skies in order to damage the Ministry, and now the Ministerial journals have to do so in order to justify the reconciliation." According to Prince Albert, it was the Duke of Newcastle and the Peelites who induced the Cabinet to let the black sheep that had gone astray, return to the fold of the Coalition.*

Till the Eastern Question assumed a grave aspect towards the end of the year, the Court seems to have busied itself chiefly about non-political affairs.

* Lord Malmesbury says that it was Mr. Gladstone and Lord Aberdeen who begged Palmerston to come back.—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 418. But Prince Albert's statement is the truer one, though it is not so palatable to those writers who have for a quarter of a century devoted themselves to the heroic idealisation of Palmerston's character and career, and who at one time tried to persuade themselves that, as a condition of his return, he forced the Ministry to send a fleet to avenge Sinope. In the middle of September, however, Palmerston and Russell had already persuaded the Cabinet to warn Russia that any attack on the Turkish fleet would be met by the fleets of England and France. Palmerston resigned, however, on the 15th of December. Moreover, it has not been noticed by Palmerstonian partisans that Prince Albert's statement is curiously confirmed by Sir George Cornewall Lewis. Writing to Sir E. Head on the 4th of January, 1854, he says:—"Since I last wrote to you there has been the strange escapade of Palmerston. He disliked the Reform Bill, partly as being too extensive to suit his taste. He therefore resigned solely upon this measure; but he probably expected that a threat of resignation would bring his colleagues to terms, and was surprised at being taken at his word. When he went out he found that the country took his resignation very coolly, and that he was so much courted by the Derbyites that he could not avoid becoming their leader in the House of Commons in the next Session. He could not hope to occupy a neutral place, and so, finding that his position was a bad one—that it was too late in life for him to set about forming a new party—he changed his mind, and intimated to the Government that he wished to return."—Letters of the Right Hon. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., p. 275.

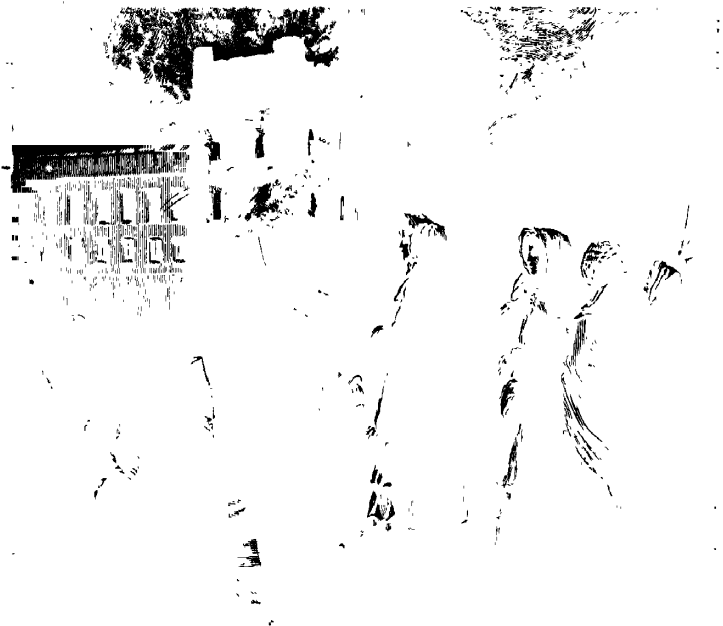
The Queen, who shared her husband's artistic tastes, encouraged him in each spring to form a splendid collection of copies of all Raphael's known works, fine series of original drawings by that master in Windsor being the nucleu of this interesting collection. It was alas! left to her Majesty to complete it after the death of her husband made her the sole sad heir of that and man other cherished projects which they had planned together.

Curiously enough, about this time the art treasures of Windsor were ver nearly destroyed. A disastrous fire broke out in the Castle on the 19th o March in one of the apartments on the floor over the dining-room on its nortl side. It burnt outwards, but limited itself to the upper portions of the Princ of Wales's Tower. It would have destroyed the plate-rooms and the price less collection known as the Jewelled Armoury, which contained, by the way the jewelled peacock of Tippoo Sahib among its trophies, adjoining the Octagon room. The Queen and Prince Albert were not in the Castle when the fir was discovered, but they, with the officials of the household, were soon o the spot. The scene was one of excitement, without confusion. The fire men worked with a will, but the bustle was greatest among the servants an others, who undertook to dismantle the rooms whose costly treasures were i danger. The fire began at ten on Saturday night, and was put out at fou o'clock on Sunday morning. The Queen, it seems, was much agitated at first but she and her ladies soon regained their composure, and watched the con flagration from the drawing-room all through the night.*

On the 7th of April another Prince was born to the Royal pair, and o the 18th the Queen was able to write to her uncle, the King of the Belgians informing him of the event, and of her intention of naming her child afte him. "It" [Leopold], she says, "is a name which is the dearest to m after Albert, and one which recalls the almost only happy days of my sa childhood." The Prince's other names were to be George, Duncan, and Alber —George after the King of Hanover, and Duncan, so the Queen said, a "a compliment to dear Scotland." The compliment paid to that countr in subsequently conferring on this Prince the title of Duke of Albany wa a fateful one for him. It is an unlucky title, and Prince Leopold was no exempt from the evil fortune of most of those who have worn it. On th 23rd of April the Court removed to Osborne, and on the 27th of May th Queen reluctantly returned to London for the season, greatly reinvigorated b her holiday.

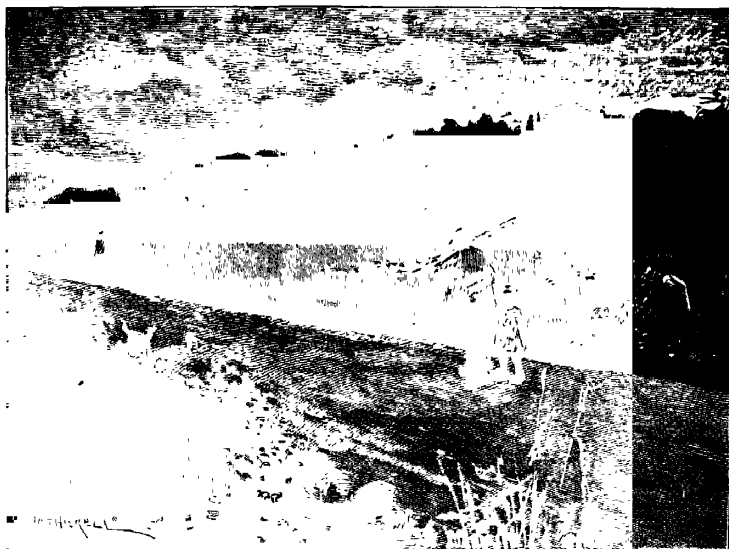
One of the events of the London season of 1853 was the establishment of a experimental military camp at Chobham for the purpose of practising sham fighting. The camp took the place in the season of '53, that had been hel by the Great Exhibition in '51, and young men of rank who were braving th perils of mimic warfare on the Sussex ridges were the idols of the hour. O

* Letter of Prince Albert to the Dowager-Duchess of Coburg, in Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLVII.

the 21st of June serious operations began in the presence of the Queen. She rode to the ground on a superb black charger, accompanied by Prince Albert, the King of Hanover, and the Duke of Coburg, the scene as she passed along the lines being most impressive. The moving incidents of the field, the noise of the firing, the shifting panorama of colour, delighted the fashionable crowds who followed her Majesty to what Mr. Disraeli would have called an arena "bright with flashing valour." On the 14th of July the camp was

FIRE IN THE PRINCE OF WALES'S TOWER, WINDSOR CASTLE. (See p. 567.)

broken up, and other contingents took the places of the regiments which had formed it. They, however, attempted a movement of real difficulty in endeavouring to effect the passage of the Thames at Runnymede, where the river is deep and the current rapid. Artillery on Cooper's Hill played on the pontoon bridge murderously, in spite of which, however, it is stated in newspaper records of the day, that several regiments contrived to pass over safely. But the horses that dragged the second gun taken across, took fright, and one of them pulled the rest, with gun and gunners, into the water. The men were saved. The four leading horses, however, met with a strange death. They rose to the surface, and, with eyes and nostrils dilated with terror, beat the water in vain, for the gun, of course, held them

with the wheelers in the river. Yet such was the strength which terror imparted to them, that they dragged not only the gun but the wheelers also, close to the bank before they succumbed.

On the 28th of June Prince Albert, who had been "roughing it" with the Guards in camp, returned to town complaining of a slight cold. The Prince of Wales had measles at the time, and, to the surprise of everybody, Prince Albert, the Queen, all the Royal children except the two youngest, the Crown Prince of Hanover, the Duke and Duchess of Coburg,

RUNNYMEDE

were smitten,* Prince Albert suffering more severely than any of the others. This illness prevented the Queen and her husband from visiting the camp till the 6th of August. On the 28th it broke up.

Two of the Czar's daughters had come over on a visit to the Queen, with an autograph letter from their father recommending them to her Majesty's protection. Care was of course taken to make them acquainted with the intense anti-Russian feeling which pervaded England, and they seem to have been utterly amazed to find that hardly any body put the slightest faith in their father's word. They were invited to accompany the Queen to see the great naval review at Spithead, which took place on the 11th of August—a

* Medical men may be interested to know that the Duke and Duchess transmitted it unconsciously "to the Duke of Brabant and Count of Flanders, whom they met on their way back to Coburg, and before they were aware they had taken the seeds of the illness from England with them."—Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

superb demonstration of the strength of England on the high seas. Twenty-five stately ships of war—six steam-ships of the line, three sailing-ships, and sixteen steam-frigates and sloops—composed the squadron that took part in this magnificent spectacle. The fleet carried 1,076 guns, 10,000 men, and was moved by steam equivalent to the power nominally of 9,680 horses, but really of double that amount—in other words, by more horse-power than the cavalry of the British army could muster at the time. The smallest of its guns was as large as the largest carried by Nelson's ships at Trafalgar, whilst the largest threw a solid shot of 104 lbs. The review was an event that stirred to its inmost depths the pride of England, because, for the first time, a mighty fleet propelled by steam was manœuvred under the eye of the Sovereign, as if it were engaged in actual battle. The occasion was rendered unique by the presence at the review of the House of Commons—in fact, the House, on the day of the review, could not form a quorum till half-past eleven o'clock at night.*

About 10 o'clock in the morning, the Queen, her husband, her family, and her Russian and German guests, bore down in the Royal yacht on Admiral Cochrane's flagship, the *Duke of Wellington*. Having remained on board her for some little time, they returned to the yacht, and then, led by the Queen in the *Victoria and Albert*, this invincible Armada put out to sea in two divisions. The weather was exceptionally fine, and most majestic was the progress of the fleet as it steamed, at the rate of eleven miles an hour, down to the Nab, where it formed line with an ease and precision of movement that astonished all beholders. Then "the enemy," under Admiral Fanshawe, were sighted, and a memorable sham fight began amidst cyclopean thunders of artillery. When it was over, each ship made for port at racing speed, the winner being the *Agamemnon*. The effect of it all, not only on the Queen's guests but on the country, was duly reported by Prince Albert to Stockmar, who replied, "I am well pleased that the ladies (the Russian princesses) should have been present at the manœuvres of the fleet. For what the eyes see that does the heart believe, and with what that is full of the mouth will overflow in letters to St. Petersburg."† At this time the political barometer at Court was pointing to "fair," and the Queen and Prince Albert were congratulating each other that the acceptance of the Vienna Note by Russia, would settle honourably the Russo-Turkish dispute. Though the evacuation of the Principalities was not insisted on in that Note as it ought to have been, the Queen and her husband alike regarded it as a *sine quâ non*, and never doubted that Russia would withdraw her army of occupation.‡

* Contrast this with the habits of the House in the time of Charles I., when it met at eight in the morning and rose at noon, and in Sir Robert Walpole's time, when the mere suggestion of a Member that "candles be brought in" was regarded as phenomenal.

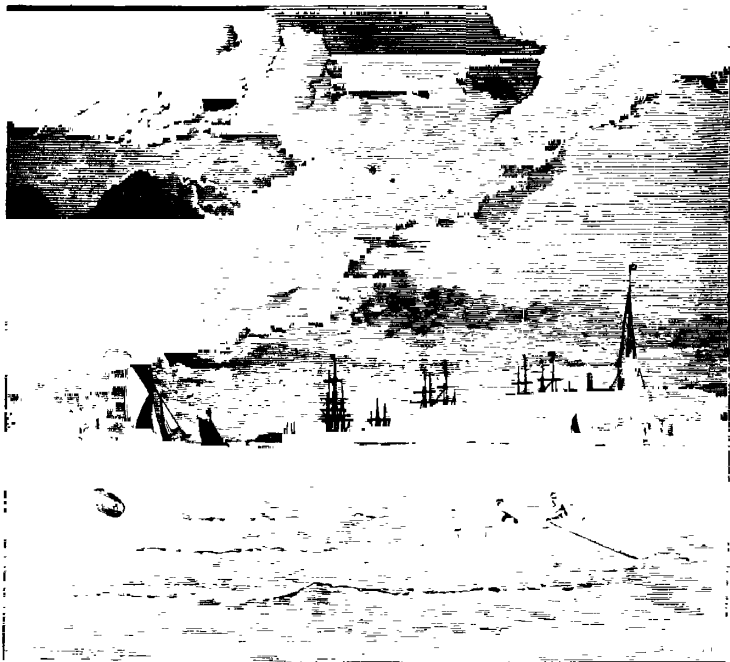
† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort. See also a reference to the Grand Duchess Olga's "Mission" in Lord Malmesbury's Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., p. 404.

‡ Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLVIII.

At the end of August the Queen determined to visit Dublin on her way to Balmoral; and on the 29th she and her family landed at Kingstown Harbour.* Thence they proceeded to the Irish capital, where in their progress to the Viceregal Lodge they met with an enthusiastic reception that recalled pleasant memories of their last tour. In the evening the city was illuminated in honour of its Royal guests. On the 30th they visited the Exhibition of Irish Industry, which had been organised at the sole expense of Mr. Dargan, a public-spirited citizen, whose simple, manly bearing so charmed the Queen that she says in one of her letters, "I would have made him a baronet but he was anxious it should not be done." Nor was she less delighted with the products of native industry, which she inspected most carefully, and which she says convinced her that the display would be of vast use in encouraging the spirit of the people, by showing them what excellent work they could turn out by their own efforts. Though the Queen met with wretched weather, yet she records her delight with her visit—"a pleasant, gay, interesting time" she calls it—and speaks gratefully of the extreme kindness shown to her by all classes of the people. On the 3rd of September she left Kingstown, and on the 6th was enjoying the bracing air of Balmoral once more.

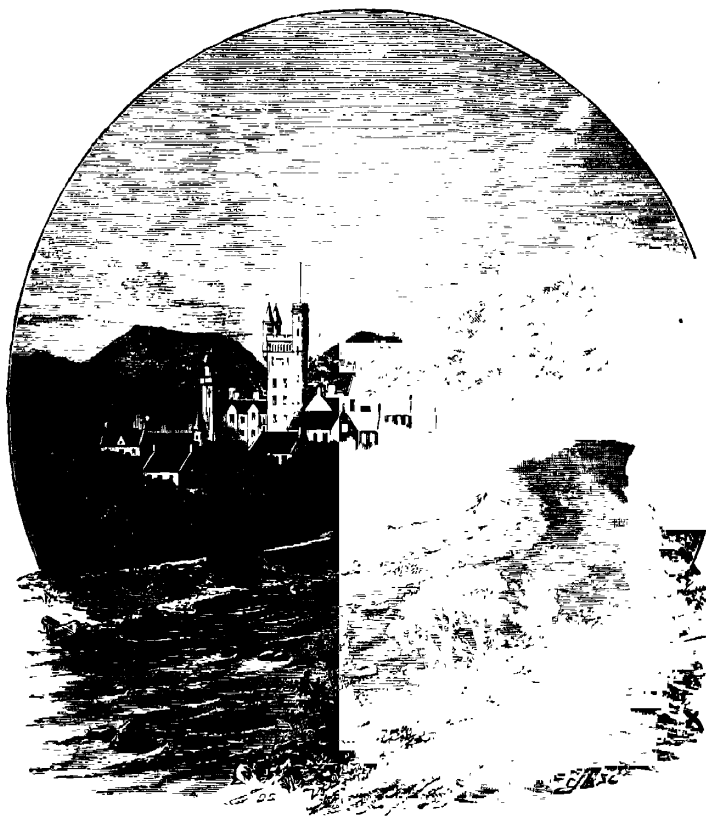
It was here, on the evening of the 12th, that she heard that the Vienna Note was rejected by the Turks, and that the Eastern question was again simmering in the fatal cauldron of diplomatic incapacity. From that day her Majesty's great aim was to work, like Lord Aberdeen, for peace; but there was an end to holiday repose at Balmoral. Foreign affairs became more and more unsettled, and on the 6th of October Stockmar was implored to come over and give the Queen and her husband the benefit of his advice. Sir James Graham was staying with them at the time, and his depressed spirits reacted on the Royal family. To refuse to protect the Sultan the Queen saw would so rouse public opinion that the Coalition Ministry, which she was so anxious to support, must fall. To declare war on Russia, Prince Albert assured her, would with equal certainty ultimately destroy that Ministry. One thing only was clear to them. Aberdeen must abandon all idea of resigning in favour of Lord John Russell, and, despite age and infirmity, must remain at the head of affairs till the war-cloud passed away. On the 14th of October the Queen accordingly returned to Osborne, painfully anxious lest the concessions which Lord Aberdeen had made to Palmerston and Russell as leaders of the War Party, and on which she commented caustically in her letter of the 11th of October to the Prime Minister, would bring the country still nearer to war. What were we to go to war for? That was the question which troubled the Queen. She could understand that in some dire extremity it might be right to exact the most terrible of sacrifices from her people, to keep the Russians out of Constantinople, and prevent the balance of power from being upset to the detriment of England. That was an intelligible war

* *Annual Register* for 1853.

for the tangible interest of England and the civilised Powers. But such a war was a very different affair from the kind of war for which Palmerston clamoured—a war for the maintenance of the complete integrity of the Ottoman Empire. If waged, it must surely not be so waged that it would end by putting the oppressed Christians in Turkey once again in the absolute power of such a cruel dominion as that of the Porte. To this conclusion her Majesty had

SPITHEAD.

been forced by her close study of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's own despatches, describing the brutal treatment to which the Christians in Turkey were even at that time subjected. But then, of what use was it to suggest these ideas to the Cabinet, even though Lord Aberdeen supported them? When Prince Albert, at the Queen's request, put them into the form of a Memorandum, Palmerston wrote a flippant reply to it only too closely in harmony with the popular frenzy of the time, the gist of the answer being that it was the duty of England to make war for Turkey and for Turkey alone, quite irrespective of any considerations affecting her treatment of her Christian subjects. To ask Turkey for concessions to civilisation, he argued, somewhat inconclusively, meant that we must connive at her expulsion from Europe.

As for all the stories of Turkish fanaticism that had frightened the Queen, Lord Palmerston scoffingly described them as "fables invented at Vienna and St. Petersburg." *

The Czar's Manifesto of the 1st of November still further excited the

BALMORAL CASTLE FROM THE ROAD.

War Party, and it was followed by a letter to the Queen, written by his own hand, begging her Majesty to decide between him and her Government in the dispute which had arisen from his attempt to apply the principles of the Treaty of Kainardji to the new situation which French pretensions in Syria had created in Turkey. To this the Queen replied with dignified courtesy, saying that, after repeatedly reading and studying the 7th Article of that

* Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 13. For Lord Aberdeen's answer to Palmerston's bellicose special pleading, see Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLVIII.

Treaty, she could not fairly say that the Czar's interpretation of it was correct, and adding that the continued occupation of the Principalities must lead to events "which I should deplore, in common with your Majesty."* The year closed with the ferocious attacks of a certain portion of the Press on Prince Albert, and as for the future, it was dark with the signs and omens of impending war.

CHAPTER XXX.

WAR.

The War Fever in 1854—Attacks on Prince Albert—Aberdeen's Correspondence with the Queen—The Queen's Opinion of the Country "Loyal, but a little mad"—Stockmar on the Constitution—Prince Albert's Position at Court—The Privileges of a Reigning Queen's Husband—Debates on the Prince's Position—The Peace and War Parties—Mr. Cobden's Influence—A new Vienna Note—A Challenge to Russia—The Russian Ambassador leaves London—Recall of Sir H. Seymour from St Petersburg—Russian Intrigues with the German Powers—The Czar's Counter-Propositions—His Sarcastic Letter to Napoleon III.—An Austrian Compromise—Lord Clarendon's *Ultimatum* to Russia—The Czar's Reply—Declaration of War—Omar Pasha's Victories in the Principalities—The Siege of Silistria—Evacuation of the Principalities—The Rising in Greece—The Allies at the Piræus—The Allies occupy Gallipoli—Another English Blunder—Invasion of the Crimea—The Duke of Newcastle and a Sleepy Cabinet—Lord Raglan's Opinion on the War—The Landing of the Allies at Eupatoria—Battle of the Alma—Death of Marshal St Arnaud—Russian Fleet Sunk at Sebastopol—At Balaclava—The Siege of Sebastopol—Battles of Balaclava and Inkermann—Mismanagement of the War—Public Indignation against the Government—Mr. Roebuck's Motion—Fall of the Coalition Ministry

No writer has described more effectively than Mr. Cobden the sudden change that hurried the country into the military alliance with France against Russia which was made operative in 1854. Suppose, he said, an invalid had been ordered in the spring of 1853 to go to Australia and back for the benefit of his health. When he left home he must have noted that "the Militia was preparing for duty; the coasts and dockyards were being fortified; the Navy, Army, and Artillery were all in course of augmentation; inspectors of artillery and cavalry were reported to be busy on the Southern coast; deputations from railway companies, it was said, had been waiting on the Admiralty and Ordnance to explain how rapidly the commissariat and military stores could be transported from the Tower to Dover or Portsmouth; and the latest paragraph of news from the Continent was that our neighbours on the other side of the Channel were practising the embarkation and disembarkation of troops by night. He left home amidst all these alarms and preparations for a French invasion. But he returns, and, supposing he has not been hearing

* This letter, dated the 14th of November, was not sent till it had been submitted to Lord Aberdeen and Lord Clarendon for their approval. The precedent should be noted, because, as Sir Hamilton Seymour told Count Nesselrode at the time, "these correspondences between sovereigns are not regular, according to our Constitutional notions." At the same time, when personally addressed by a foreign sovereign, the Crown cannot, as a matter of courtesy, reply through a Minister of State. The course taken by the Queen in this instance is obviously the prudent one.

or giving heed to tidings from Europe, in what condition does he find his country? He steps on shore at Liverpool, and the first newspaper he sees informs him that the English and French fleets are lying side by side in Besika Bay. An impending naval engagement between the two Powers is naturally the idea that first occurs to him; but, glancing at the leading article of the journal, he learns that England and France have entered on an alliance, and that they are on the eve of commencing a sanguinary struggle against Russia."* He would have also found the Tory organs of public opinion vieing with the demagogic Press in denouncing the Queen's husband as a traitor to his wife and as a servile spy of Russia; from which, if he had been a shrewd man, he would have inferred that the Queen had been again guilty of the atrocious crime of differing from Lord Palmerston, and that Prince Albert had been criticising rather too plainly his bellicose Foreign Policy.

During the first few weeks of 1854 society, indeed, could talk of little else than the "treason" of Prince Albert. The Queen's vexation found frequent expression in letters to Lord Aberdeen, and that amiable Minister did what he could to comfort her. The Prince, however, treated his slanderers with well-simulated contempt, but, in spite of that, their injustice stung him to the quick, and he suffered much both in health and spirits. Yet nothing could be done in his defence till Parliament met, and the Queen was, therefore, fain to believe that the country, as she says in a letter to Stockmar, was "as *loyal* as ever, only a little mad." Long and ponderous essays from Stockmar on the Constitutional prerogatives of the Crown, and the political functions of Prince Albert, as her Majesty's private secretary, did little to dispel the gloom that settled over the Court. The fact is that Stockmar slightly erred in imagining that the hostility to the Prince was really due to wrong ideas on these interesting points. As Prince Albert bluntly put it, one main element in the agitation against him was the hatred of the old High Tory Party towards him, in the first place, because of his friendship with Peel, and, secondly, because of his success with the Great Exhibition.† The grumblers of the military clubs, too, joined in the cry against his Royal Highness because, when Adjutant-General Browne resigned, after quarrelling with Lord Hardinge, the Commander-in-Chief, about the weight of the soldier's knapsack, the Prince was supposed to have taken Lord Hardinge's side. The masses, too, had never seriously thought out the question of the position which an able man who was husband of a reigning Queen was certain, through the mere dictates of nature, to take in the counsels of the Sovereign. It struck them like a galvanic shock when they discovered that for fourteen years the Prince had been actively helping to govern them, whilst the omniscient flunkeys of the Press were almost daily smothering him with adulation

* Cobden's Collected Writings, Vol. II., p. 269.

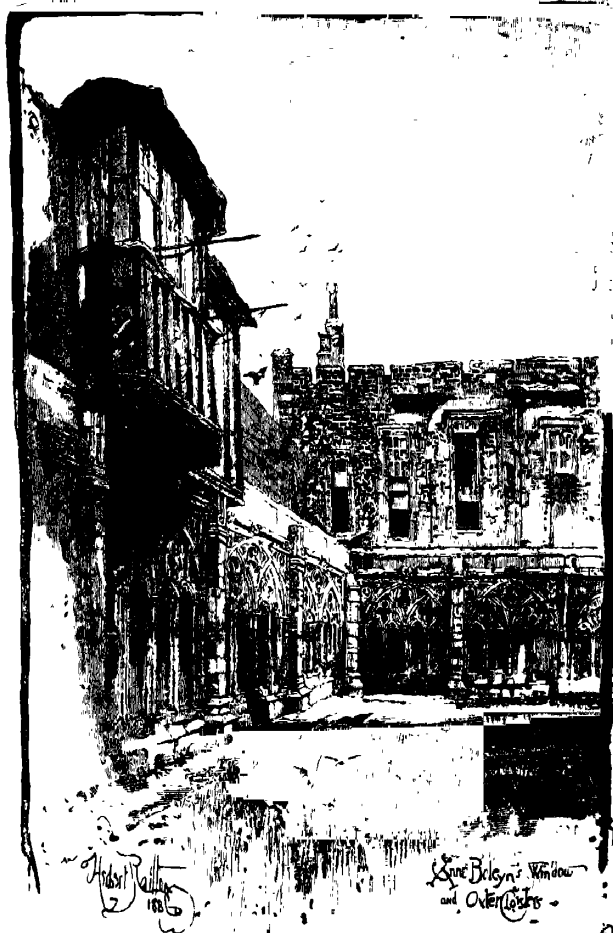
† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. L.

for his "wise abstinence from politics." Having stupidly deceived themselves as to the precise influence which the Prince wielded, they were in the right state of mind to be deceived by the Prince's enemies as to the influence which he did not wield, and which he never sought to wield. These reasons, and not the dubiety of the British Constitution as to the political rights of the husband of an English Queen, gave rise to much of the foolish clamour of the hour.

It need hardly be said that when Parliament met on the 31st of January, the leaders of both parties in both Houses summarily disposed of the falsehoods which had been uttered to the discredit of the Court. The Debates on the Address on this occasion are of high historical and Constitutional importance, because they defined with great precision the position of the consort of a queen regnant in the British Constitution, establishing beyond doubt his right to assist the Sovereign with advice in all matters of State. The address of Lord Campbell may be usefully referred to as giving the legal view of the question; but the speeches which delighted the Queen most were those of Lord John Russell, who, she says, in a letter to Stockmar, "did it admirably," and "dear, excellent Lord Aberdeen, who has taken it *terribly to heart.*" It was, however, Lord Campbell's address which gave most satisfaction to Prince Albert. The common-sense view of the question obviously was, that if the husband of a queen regnant in England embarrassed her Majesty's responsible Ministers by unconstitutional interference, the fault must be theirs and not his. The Constitution places in their hands the formidable weapon of resignation, and resignation in such circumstances simply means that government is rendered impossible till the unconstitutional interference which is objected to is stopped.

Nobody has stated with greater correctness the political situation of the country at the beginning of 1854 than Sir George Cornewall Lewis. "If," said he, in a letter to Sir Edmund Head, "war is averted, there will be a Reform Bill, which is likely to lead to an early Dissolution. If war arrives, the Reform Bill and all other similar measures likely to produce party struggles and divisions must be postponed."* The Tories had, therefore, one strong temptation to encourage the War Party. Those Whigs who, like Lord Palmerston, dreaded Reform, were in like case, except Lord John Russell, who, with a Reform Bill on the anvil, was foolish enough to share with Palmerston the leadership of the War Party in the Cabinet. As the war would be one against Russia, the mainstay of despotism in Europe, the Radicals, mindful of how the revolution was stamped out in Hungary, were for once on the side of war. Nobody, in fact, had any genuine desire for peace save the Queen, Prince Albert, and the Peelites, who desired "peace with honour," and the Cobdenites, who seemed to desire "peace at any price." The Peace Party was strong in brains and common-sense, but weak in numbers. The strength

* Letters of Sir G. C. Lewis, p. 276.

of the War Party lay in its numbers, and it would be absurd to [illegible] that, with leaders like Derby, Disraeli, Palmerston, and Russell, it lacked intellectual ability. As usual, numbers wou the day, and an abnormal alliance

THE OUTER CLOISTERS AND ANNE BOLEYN'S WINDOW, WINDSOR CASTLE.

of "the classes and masses" rendered the Peace Party—sadly weakened [illegible] moral authority by the Moravian fanaticism of the Cobdenites—utterly impotent. Mr. Cobden cherished the illusion that his influence had strengthened the Peace Party. Yet, with the exception of Lord Palmerston, Lord [illegible]

[illegible], Lord Derby, and Lord Lyndhurst, no public men did more to [illegible] peace impossible than Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, the tone of whose pacific speeches acted on the pugnacious temper of the country as soothingly as a sting on an open and irritable wound.*

As might be expected, the Eastern policy of Ministers was fiercely attacked in both Houses of Parliament. But to understand the point of these attacks and the relation of the Queen to them, one must explain what was done after Sinope drove England into a frenzy of anger only comparable with that of the Danes when Nelson destroyed their fleet at Copenhagen.

To rightly appraise the criminal blunder of Russia at Sinope, it is necessary to remember that when that "massacre" occurred, the European Powers had agreed on a new Note embodying what they considered an honourable settlement of the dispute between Russia and Turkey. That was the Note of the 5th of December, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, under orders from Lord Clarendon, persuaded the Porte to accept it. This was a great step towards peace, for all that remained was to induce the Czar to be equally reasonable. But on the very day (the 13th of January, 1854) when the Powers, in concert at Vienna, decided to press this settlement on Russia, Sir Hamilton Seymour was instructed by Lord Clarendon to intimate to Count Nesselrode at St. Petersburg that England and France had lifted the gage of battle flung to them at Sinope. Russia was informed that the English and French fleets had sailed for the Black Sea, charged to "require" every Russian ship they met to put back to port. This irritated the Czar, who professed to regard it as "a flagrant act of hostility."† Yet the Czar, or rather Nesselrode—who, like Lord Aberdeen, was braving infinite obloquy on account of his pacific proclivities—was willing to condone the act, if England would only state formally that she would impose on Turkish ships the same restrictions she imposed on those of Russia. Lord Clarendon, in his despatch, dated the 31st of January, did not make this statement, and accordingly, on the 4th of February, the Russian Ambassador in London announced that he and his retinue must return at once to St. Petersburg. On the 7th of February Lord Clarendon ordered the British Ambassador at the Court of the Czar to return to England;

* It is only just to the memory of Mr Cobden to state that towards the end of his career some suspicion of the truth crept into his mind. Speaking on the American Civil War, he said:—"From the moment the first shot is fired or the first blow struck in a dispute, then farewell to all reason and argument; you might as well reason with mad dogs as with men when they have begun to spill each other's blood in mortal combat. I was so convinced of the fact during the Crimean War; I was so convinced of the utter uselessness of raising one's voice in opposition to War when it has once begun, that I made up my mind that so long as I was in political life, should a war again break out between England and a great Power, I would never open my mouth upon the subject from the time the first gun was fired till the peace was made."—Cobden's Speeches, Vol. II., p. 314. See also Mr. John [illegible] masterly defence of the Cobdenites in 1854, in his Life of Cobden, Chap. XXII.

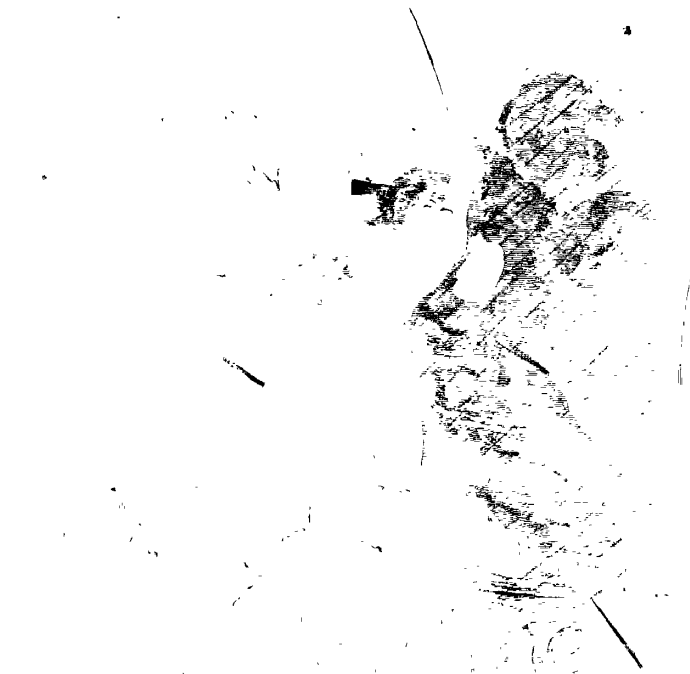
† [illegible] Nesselrode's Despatch to the Russian Ambassador in England, dated the 16th of January, [illegible]

the French Government took the same course, and thus the rupture between Russia and the Western Powers became complete. It was in such circumstances hopeless to expect that the Note of the 5th of December, which had been accepted by the Porte, and which the Four Powers agreed to recommend to Russia on the very day that the despatch of the allied fleets to the Euxine was notified to Count Nesselrode (the 13th of January), would be accepted by the Czar. Indeed, but for Nesselrode, it would have been ignored with contempt.* Russia, however, temporised. Taking advantage of the false step of England and France in sending their fleets to the Euxine without consulting Austria and Prussia, Russia artfully attempted to detach the German States from the European Concert. Having failed in this, the Russian Government sent two replies to the Protocol of the 13th of January, transmitting the settlement which the Powers had agreed upon, and which the Porte had accepted.

The proposal of the Powers provided, amongst other things, for (1) the evacuation of the Principalities as soon as possible; (2) the renewal of the ancient treaties; (3) a formal guarantee by Turkey to all her non-Mussulman subjects of their spiritual privileges, which should likewise be communicated to all the Powers, including Russia, "accompanied with suitable assurances" to each of them; (4) a pledge from the Porte to reform its system of administration; and (5) the customary promise on the part of the Sultan to uphold the old rights and immunities granted to his Christian subjects by existing treaties. Russia rejected these proposals, and committed the blunder of extending her demands in her first series of counter-propositions.† But subsequently she submitted a second series of propositions, in which she withdrew the stipulations as to political refugees, and her ungenerous demand that the Porte should negotiate terms of peace at St. Petersburg, or at the Russian headquarters in Moldavia. The Powers decided that the Russian settlement could not be recommended to Turkey, their main objection being, that while their terms embodied a recognition of the principle that the Turkish concessions and guarantees were given to Europe as well as to Russia, the Russian terms proceeded on the assumption that they were given to Russia alone. The Czar here was in the wrong. In the war on the Danube the Turks had been victorious. He insisted, however, that they should sue for peace, as if they were prostrate in defeat. On the other hand, the Four Powers proposed terms which did not imply that victory or defeat rested with either belligerent. The only defence that can be made for the obstinacy of the Emperor Nicholas in thus refusing to cross the golden bridge of

* See Sir H. Seymour's Despatch to Lord Clarendon, dated the 30th of January, 1854.

† Amongst other things, she demanded that some fresh arrangement should be made as to the right of asylum granted to political refugees in Turkey. This obviously pointed at Turkey's refusal to surrender the Hungarian patriots after the Revolution of 1848 was suppressed; and, knowing the opinion of England on the subject, it was absurd to add such stipulations to new preliminaries of peace.

honourable retreat built for him by the Powers is, that the War Party in Russia was as rabid as the War Party in England. "The Emperor," wrote Sir H. Seymour to Lord Clarendon on the 2nd of January, "is infinitely more moderate than the immense bulk of his subjects," who denounced Nesselrode "as an alien, a traitor, and a man bought by English

RUSSIAN REPULSE AT SILISTRIA. (See p. 583.)

gold"—precisely the language which the same kind of people in England applied to Lord Aberdeen. In fact, the Czar himself was rapidly losing his popularity and authority because of the deference he was showing to the Powers, and it is probable that if he had made further concessions he would have been assassinated. But inasmuch as Nicholas himself, in spite of the advice of his three ablest servants,* had roused the fanaticism and fury of his subjects by his policy, even this defence, though it explains, does not justify his conduct.

* Nesselrode, Orloff, and Kisseleff.

Yet, by a strange stroke of fortune, war between Russia and the Western Powers was still avoided. War with Russia was hateful to the French people — almost as hateful as a military alliance with Turkey. But the Emperor Napoleon III., for dynastic reasons, was committed to such a war,

LORD RAGLAN.

and on the 29th of January he accordingly wrote a pacific letter to the Czar couched in language certain to provoke his wrath. Nicholas answered it with infinite *hauteur*, two contemptuous sentences in his reply stinging the Bonapartists into rage.* France now had her War Party rampant, and this did not improve the outlook. Still, one last effort was made in the cause of peace. On the 22nd of February the Austrian Minister, Count Buol, told the

* "Russia, as I can guarantee, will prove herself in 1854 *what she was in* 1812. . . . . My conditions are known at Vienna."

[illegible] Ambassador at Vienna that if England and France would only fix "a [illegible]"* for the evacuation of the Principalities, and agree to keep the peace till that term ran out, Austria would join them in sending Russia a summons to retire across the Pruth. It was tolerably certain that what Austria did, Prussia would do, and here again the European Concert was united in putting irresistible diplomatic pressure on Russia. Lord Clarendon, hearing of this, very naturally asked the German Powers how they would act if the joint summons were ignored by the Czar. Clarendon seems to have taken it for granted that they would in that case join England in going to war, for, without waiting for their reply, he sent to St. Petersburg on the 27th of February an ultimatum to Russia, demanding the evacuation of the Principalities under threat of war. When the replies from the German Powers arrived on the 28th of February, Lord Clarendon found that Austria merely promised to support England in sending the summons, but not to support her in any action she might take in the event of its being ignored; whereas Prussia, though she thought the summons a good thing to send, was not quite sure if she would join the other Powers in sending it. Thus the English Government, by Lord Clarendon's impetuous indiscretion, again broke up the European Concert; but now under circumstances of supreme peril, for he had positively committed England to enforce alone against Russia, a proposal which not only originated with Austria, but in the enforcement of which the interest of Austria, menaced by a Russian occupation of Moldavia, was obviously greater than that of either England or France. France joined England in this foolish step, and the German States, well pleased to see the Western Powers fighting their battles, and relieved from responsibility by Lord Clarendon's precipitate action on the 27th of February, astutely kept out of the fray. The Czar instructed Nesselrode to inform Consul Michele at St. Petersburg on the 18th of March that he did not think fit to reply to Lord Clarendon's ultimatum,† and thus, with France as an ally, England went into the war—for the evacuation of the Principalities.

The case of the Tory Opposition in Parliament against the Government was now unanswerable. Their leaders had systematically blamed the Government for not warning Russia at the outset that the invasion of the Principalities would be a *casus belli*. Had that been done, Russia might have held her hand, whereas it was not done till retreat for Russia meant humiliation.

But, strange as it may seem, the English Government had still one more blunder open to them. The Turks, under Omar Pasha, had not only held the line of the Danube against Russia, but they had won important victories. In May, 1854, the Russians, under Paskiewitch, attacked Silistria; but the

* Observe *not* "a day," as Kinglake has it.

† "L'Empereur ne juge pas convenable de donner aucune réponse à la lettre de Lord Clarendon."—Eastern Papers. Consul Michele's Despatch to Lord Clarendon, dated St. Petersburg, 19th March, 1854.

Turks, animated by the heroism and admirably served by the skill of some English officers, beat off the enemy, and on the 22nd of June the Russians raised the siege. Two weeks afterwards Gortschakoff was repulsed at Giurgevo, and the Russians were soon driven back across the Pruth.

The evacuation of the Principalities, to bring about which England had gone to war, was thus achieved. The one blunder which was now left for England to commit was to ignore this fact and refrain from taking advantage of it. And this was precisely what England did. Yielding to the popular passion of the hour,* the Government found a new object to fight for, namely, the destruction of Russia as an enemy to Mankind. And yet, with this amazing fact on record, there are still people on the Continent who aver that England is a practical nation, which never fights for an idea!

War was declared by England against Russia on the 28th of March, and by France on the 27th, the military alliance between the two Powers being signed on the 12th. Lord Raglan had been appointed to command the British army, whilst Marshal St. Arnaud headed that of France, and the British troops had departed for the seat of war on the 20th of February, amidst scenes of great excitement and popular enthusiasm, which naturally inflamed the bellicose feeling of the metropolis. On the 30th of March the French occupied Gallipoli, in European Turkey, a little above the point where the Dardanelles expand into the Propontis or Sea of Marmora. The English detachments began to arrive on the 5th of April. The allies threw fortified lines across the peninsula, so that if Russia had driven back the Turks from the Danube and, crossing the Balkans to Adrianople, had made a dash for Constantinople, as in 1829, the Turks would have been paralysed by the allied forces on their right flank. But the pride of England as a maritime Power had to be gratified, and, as the ice was breaking in the Baltic, it was decided to order a great fleet to reduce Cronstadt and let the Czar hear the voice of England thundering from her cannon at the very gates of his capital. Sir Charles Napier, the Admiral appointed to command the magnificent Armada at Spithead, was entertained at an absurd Reform Club banquet on the 7th of March. There he, Lord Palmerston, and Sir James Graham, delivered themselves of flippant, vaunting orations, which Mr. Bright, in the House of Commons, denounced as "discreditable to the grave and responsible statesmen of a Christian nation." † Very different was the feeling of the

* Mr. Kinglake blames the London Press, especially the *Times*, for manufacturing this passion. Mr. Cobden took much the same view. Educated people who were rich, but ignorant of geography and military history, however, all clamoured for war. "I have had the satisfaction of seeing the rascally Czar defeated by the unassisted Turks, and obliged to cross the Pruth. Now for Sebastopol!" Thus wrote Lord Campbell in his Journal on the 14th of August.—See Mrs. Hardcastle's Life of John, Lord Campbell, Vol. II., p. 326.

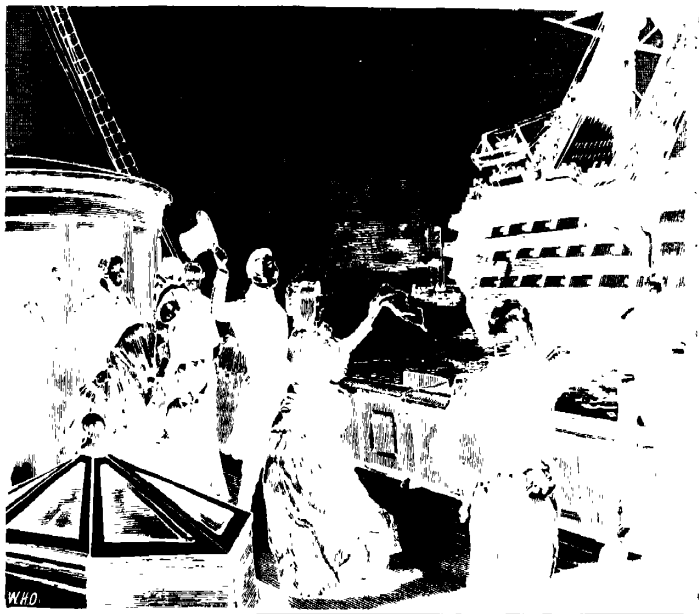
† "In proposing success to the guest of the evening, he (Palmerston) made a speech in that vein of forced jocularity with which elderly gentlemen give the toast of the bridegroom at a wedding breakfast."—Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXII.

Queen when, on the 11th of March, she reviewed the stately procession of war-ships at Spithead, as they steamed past her yacht, while she waved her handkerchief to the Admiral and crew of the colossal *Duke of Wellington*, which brought up the rear. Before leaving town she wrote to Lord Aberdeen, "We are just starting to see the fleet, which is to sail at once for its important destination. It will be a solemn moment.* Many a heart will be very heavy, and many a prayer, including our own, will be offered up for its safety and glory."† On the 12th of April Napier sailed from Kiöge Bay and completely blockaded the Gulf of Finland. Russia was thus paralysed when she evacuated the Principalities. Omar Pasha kept her at bay on the other side of the Pruth. Napier locked up her fleet and shipping in the Baltic. The allied armies covered Constantinople. The allied fleets swept the Euxine. The "material guarantees" which she had seized for the purpose of forcing her terms on Turkey were wrested from her hands, and as war abrogates all treaties, she had even lost the shadow of a claim to exercise her old rights of protection over the Sultan's Christian subjects. Russia was now at the mercy of the Western Powers, and had they simply remained passive, she would soon have been compelled to sue for peace on their terms. But the War Party in England, disappointed that this supreme advantage had been gained without gilding British arms with glory, scoffed at the idea of settling the original dispute between Russia and Turkey on these terms. The British Government accordingly resolved, not merely to bring Russia to reason, but to humiliate her and punish her in such a manner that her power in South-Eastern Europe would be utterly broken. As it was this determination which led to the calamitous invasion of the Crimea, it may be well to trace the diplomatic history of such an astounding blunder.

On the 9th of April, after war had been declared, the four Powers—England, France, Austria, and Prussia—signed a Protocol at Vienna which bound them (1) to remain united in maintaining the integrity of Turkey, and in safeguarding, under the guarantee of Europe, the liberties of her Christian inhabitants by every means compatible with the independence of the Sultan; (2) to enter into no arrangement with Russia or any other Power which might be inconsistent with this object without first of all discussing it in concert. On the 20th of April Austria and Prussia concluded an offensive and defensive alliance. In separate Notes they summoned Russia to evacuate the Principalities. On the 29th of July, when Omar Pasha was just about to drive the Russians back to their territory, Count Nesselrode replied to Austria stating that the Czar accepted the principles of the Protocol of the 9th of April. But before evacuating the Principalities, he requested the Cabinet of Vienna to give

* Compare this with almost the identical expression in Mr. Bright's speech in the House of Commons of the 13th of March, for delivering which Lord Palmerston jeered at him as "the honourable and reverend gentleman."

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LII.

him some guarantee that hostilities would cease.* Austria was willing to persuade England and France to agree to the condition which the Czar thus made a condition *sine quâ non* of evacuation, but Count Buol Schauenstein instructed the Austrian ambassador at St. Petersburg to warn Nesselrode that if the Maritime Powers remained obdurate, Austria must still insist on the withdrawal of Russia from Moldavia and Wallachia. Prussia, however, refused to take part in a Conference which Austria suggested might advantageously be held

THE QUEEN WAVING FAREWELL TO THE "DUKE OF WELLINGTON" FLAG-SHIP (See p. 584.)

to consider the Russian terms. King Frederick William and Manteuffel thought that in offering to evacuate the Principalities, Russia had made a sufficient concession to the interests of Germany. But Lord Clarendon was of a different opinion.† England, he saw, would no longer be content with the mere evacuation of the Principalities, which was the sole object of the war. Imitating the initial

* "For if the hostilities continue, if the Powers, released from all apprehension in Turkey, should be free either to pursue us on the evacuated territory, or to employ all their disposable forces in invading our European or Asiatic dominions, with a view to impose on us conditions which could not be accepted, it is evident that the demand made by Austria was that we should weaken ourselves morally and materially by a sacrifice wholly useless."—Count Nesselrode's Despatch to Count Buol Schauenstein of 29th of July, 1854.

† See Lord Clarendon's Despatch to the Earl of Westmoreland, dated the 22nd of July, 1854.

blunder of the Czar, he insisted on getting a "material guarantee" against any future molestation of Turkey. The exclusive right of Russia to protect Moldavia and Wallachia must, he said, be abolished, and instead of it a European Protectorate established. Russia must also cease to control the chief mouth of the Danube. The ill-defined relations of Russia to the Christian subjects of the Porte, embodied in the Treaty of 1841, must be defined in the interests of the balance of power in Europe, and the independence of Turkey. Russia must finally renounce her claim to exercise any individual or official right of protecting Turkish subjects, no matter what their religion might be. The position of Russia as a naval Power in the Black Sea must also be modified.* The Czar rejected these terms†—indeed, if he had accepted them when as yet he had not suffered any crushing defeat from the Western Powers, his life would not have been worth many days' purchase. Austria and Turkey concluded a Treaty on the 14th of June, in virtue of which Austria was to occupy the Principalities on behalf of the Sultan. On the 23rd of August the Austrian army entered Wallachia, thus setting the Turks free to co-operate with the Allies for the defence of Constantinople. But at this point the war passed from the defensive to the offensive stage, and it will therefore be convenient to trace the movement of opinion in England which powerfully influenced the change in our plans.

The attacks on Prince Albert created an unusual interest in the opening of Parliament on the 30th of January, 1854. When the Queen passed in her State procession from her palace to the House of Lords, the route was lined by a seething crowd of enthusiasts, who cheered her wildly as she went by. She was evidently more popular than even the Turkish Ambassador, who was the idol of West-End mobs in these mad, foolish, and to us, the rising generation, far-off days. The Speech from the Throne referred somewhat hopefully to the diplomatic negotiations which were then going on between the Powers. But it contained an ominous intimation that her Majesty thought it necessary to increase the strength of the army and navy, "with the view of supporting her representations, and of more effectually contributing to the restoration of peace." She announced a comprehensive programme of domestic legislation, comprising a Reform Bill, with Bills to remodel Parliamentary Oaths, to reform the methods of selection for the Civil Service, to change the law of removal and settlement, and to renovate the tribunal for trying disputed Parliamentary Elections. If Ministers imagined that they would thus divert attention from the Eastern Question they were mistaken. In both Houses the Opposition attacked the Speech bitterly. They denied that the Government had used its best efforts to preserve peace, because its policy was a tangle of vacillation and inconsistency. They complained that the part

* France explained this by demanding in the official *Moniteur* that the fleet of Russia in the Black Sea should be reduced in strength.

† Diplomatic Study of the Crimean War, Vol. II., p. 18.

played by England had been shrouded in secrecy and mystery, so that the country had to look to foreign sources for such scraps of information as had come to it. Ministers had shown such lack of energy that the Emperor of Russia had been led to regard them as his instruments, or, if that were not the case, as men who had not the courage to vindicate British honour by British arms. Were we at war with either or both of the belligerent Powers—Russia or Turkey—or were we not? If not, why send our fleet to the Black Sea to enforce against Russia a compulsory armistice? If we were, why was war not waged boldly and with vigour? Was it not foolish to dissipate the energies of the country in Reform controversies when it might any day find itself forced to make war in real earnest? The Vienna Note was denounced as a betrayal of Turkey, and the aggressive policy of Russia was unsparingly condemned. The Ministerial defence was weak and spiritless.

After the Russian Ambassador left London the Government was pressed to divulge what it knew of Count Orloff's suspicious mission to Vienna,* as to which it was wondrously secretive; and various debates sprang up, notably one in the House of Commons on the 17th of February, which was raised by Mr. Layard on the official papers that had been published. To remove the impression produced by adverse criticism, Ministers seemed to think that the more bellicose they made their speeches the better.† "We mean to fight, so do not weaken the hands of the Government unless you are prepared to take its place"—this was the gist of the Ministerial rhetoric. As to their policy of protracted negotiation, Ministers argued, reasonably enough, that forbearance in the circumstances could not be a crime. Mr. Hume and Mr. Roebuck took this view, and, on the whole, the debates, together with the Blue-books, may be said to have won for the Government a favourable verdict from the country. Mr. Cobden, however, had the audacity to challenge this verdict and to oppose, on what to the present generation seem sensible grounds, the whole policy of the war. His long speeches and pamphlets on this subject can be summed up in three sentences. Either we were going to fight Russia for the sake of Turkey, or for the sake of protecting the liberties of Europe from the encroachment of the Russian autocrat. If we were fighting for the sake of Turkey, we were fighting in a cause that we ought to be ashamed of. If we

* Orloff was sent by the Czar to extract from Austria a pledge of absolute neutrality. The Austrian Emperor asked if the Czar would promise not to cross the Danube or seize territory, and if he would evacuate the Principalities when war was over Orloff said "No." The Emperor then replied that Austria would preserve perfect freedom of action Baron de Bulberg failed at Berlin to extract a similar pledge from Prussia.—Despatch of Lord Westmoreland to Lord Clarendon, dated 8th February, 1854. Eastern Papers.

† "Ministers are preparing for war; the quarrel has now become an European quarrel and must have an European settlement. We ask for 20,000 more men for the army and navy; we propose to add £21,000,000 to our expenditure, and is *this* an occasion on which you should potter over Blue-books?"—Sir James Graham's speech, in reply to Mr. Layard, in the House of Commons on the 17th of February, 1854.

were fighting to protect European civilisation from Russia, we ought to let the Powers nearest to the source of danger—Austria and Germany—begin first. This argument was indeed the only one that had the least effect on the House. Members were, however, so completely frightened by the clamour of London Society and the London Press, that even those who agreed with Cobden did

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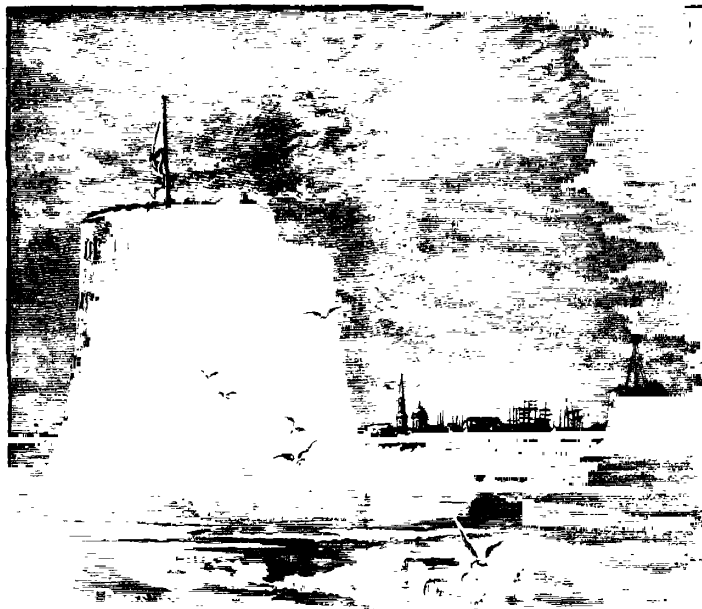
not dare to say so.* His simple but lucid exposition of the Turkish system of Government which we were asked to maintain, had unexpectedly disturbed the minds, not only of the Nonconformists, but of many good Churchmen

* Writing to Mrs. Cobden about this speech, Cobden says, "No enthusiasm of course; that I did not expect; but there was a feeling of interest throughout the House which is not bumptious or warlike to the extent I expected, and not disposed to be insolent to the 'peace party.' In fact, I find many men in the Tory Party agreeing with me. After I spoke, Molesworth took me aside and said he and Gladstone thought I never spoke better."—Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXII. If the men who agreed with him privately had been bold enough to say so in public, there would have been no invasion of the Crimea.

also. It was, perhaps, slightly emphasised by the taunt of the Czar in his Manifesto of the 9th of February to the effect that England and France were fighting for Islam against Russia, who was striving to protect Christianity. The War Party feared that there might be a reaction against them, and accordingly they very cleverly induced Lord Shaftesbury, on the 10th of March, to answer this portion of the Manifesto, and not only to prove that the

FORTS ALEXANDER AND PETER THE GREAT, CRONSTADT

Grand Turk did more than the Czar to advance the progress of Christianity, but also to defend the righteousness of making an alliance with any Power, heathen though it might be, to maintain "the cause of right, justice, and order, against the aggressions even of professing Christians." Of this speech Lord Shaftesbury says in his Diary that nothing pleased him more than the statement of Lord Clarendon that the debate which he originated "was most opportune."* From a Ministerial point of view it *was* opportune. Mr. Morley complains that the Nonconformists, who "have so seldom been found fighting on the wrong side," were now so seriously divided that they did

* Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., by Edwin Hodder, Vol. II., p. 464. Cassell and Co. (Limited). Palmerston was chief of the War Party in the Cabinet. Lady Palmerston was Lord Shaftesbury's mother-in-law.

nothing to help Mr. Cobden to resist the warlike policy of the Government.* Their neutrality explains why Clarendon was so effusive in his congratulation to the Peer whose influence over this section of the community was supreme.

But the whole question soon passed out of the region of debate. On the 27th of March, the Queen's message proclaiming war—though oddly enough the word war is not mentioned in it—was read to both Houses of Parliament; and on the 31st a loyal address agreeing to it was duly moved and carried, after a debate which was worthier of such an occasion than many others that had preceded it. The Opposition leaders seem to have been sobered by the solemnity of the moment, and all parties practically supported the Government with the helpless unanimity of despair. In the Upper House, Lord Grey alone uttered a strong protest against the war. In the House of Commons, Mr. Bright and the Marquis of Granby were the only speakers who were for peace. The violent Russophobists found in Mr. Layard an energetic champion. He condemned the Government, first, because it had not coerced Russia immediately after the massacre of Sinope, and secondly, because even now Ministers did not specifically declare that the object of the war was to lock up Russia within well-defined limits, so as to cripple her for ever. The Tory leaders were more cautious. They naturally made capital out of the Secret Correspondence,† already referred to (pp. 546-7). They had little difficulty in convicting the Government of misleading the Czar as to their rooted objection to his Turkish policy. Lord John Russell had not rejected the Russian proposals with the sternness of one who had serious hostility to them. He had, indeed, admitted the very claim which he and his colleagues were now about to rebut by war.‡ A "hybrid policy of credulity and connivance,"

* Morley's *Life of Cobden*, Chap. XXII.

† The history of its publication is as follows. On the 13th of March Lord Derby drew the attention of the Peers (1) to "An Official Answer of the Emperor of Russia to a speech of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons," published in the *St. Petersburg Journal*, wherein it was alleged that the English Cabinet had been frankly told at the outset what course the Czar desired to pursue in Turkey, (2) to statements in the *Times* to the effect that though an indignant refusal had been Lord John's answer, yet the Czar had in 1844 attempted to gain over the Government of the day to his designs. Lord Derby called for the production of this Secret Correspondence, and as Russia, by her official reference to it, had virtually challenged its publication, it was in due course laid before both Houses of Parliament.

‡ The English case against Russia was that the Czar persisted in asserting an exceptional right of protecting the Greek Christians in Turkey under existing treaties. In Lord John Russell's despatch of 9th of February, 1853, in which he expressed a disapproval of the Czar's overtures to Sir Hamilton Seymour, he counselled forbearance, and then said "To these cautions Her Majesty's Government wish to add that, in their view, it is essential that the Sultan should be advised to treat his Christian subjects in conformity with the principles of equity and religious freedom, which prevail generally among the enlightened nations of Europe. The more the Turkish Government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that *exceptional protection* which His Imperial Majesty has found so burdensome and inconvenient, *though no doubt prescribed by duty and sanctioned by Treaty*."

as Mr. Disraeli once called it, could have no other result than that of tempting the Czar to advance pretensions which he could not withdraw without prejudicing his Imperial position, and it is strange that this aspect of the affair was dealt with somewhat leniently by the critics and enemies of the Ministry. The questions that seemed to be of supreme interest to both Houses were really two—What was the object of the war? Where were our allies? To the one question the answer was vague. To the other the reply was neither frank nor candid. Lord Clarendon said that the object of the war was "to check and repel the unjust aggression of Russia"—which, as things stood, meant to force her out of the Danubian Principalities. But, he added, to ask what was the object of the war was to ask on what terms peace would be made?—a question the answer to which must depend on chances nobody could forecast. As for allies, it was easy to say that France was with us. The difficulty was to say what the German Powers would do. Ministers felt that Cobden had pierced their armour when, in the adjourned debate on Mr. Layard's motion (20th Feb.), he asked whether it would not be sensible to let those Powers who were nearest Russia—and must therefore suffer first from her aggression—begin the fighting. Parliament must therefore be cajoled into a belief that Austria and Prussia would join us. Both Houses knew that though Austria and Prussia had concurred with England and France in recommending Russia to evacuate the Principalities, they had not pledged themselves to co-operate with us in war. Still, said Lord John Russell, when Austria was asked what she would do in the event of war breaking out, "the answer was at the time satisfactory," and if Prussia had only fallen in with her views, he would have had a most satisfactory statement to make to the House. Though Prussian views seemed to Lord John "too narrow, taking in German interests alone," he (Lord John) trusted that a short time would bring Prussia "to the conclusion that the disturbance of the balance of Power and the aggrandisement of Russia were matters of concern to Prussia as well as to other Powers."

Lord John Russell unscrupulously deceived the House of Commons and the country on both points. The whole course of the negotiations had shown first, that Prussia considered the Czar's final concessions sufficient, and, secondly, that Austria, though regretting that Russia did not do more to mollify Lord Clarendon, refused to admit that a declaration of war was necessary for that purpose. Lord John Russell's statement as to Prussia was not only untrue, but the dates of the official despatches prove that he and his colleagues must have known it to be untrue.* When it was made in the House of Commons by him, and virtually in the same form in the House of Lords by Lord Clarendon, neither Austria nor Prussia had given any direct answer whatever to the question as to what they would do if war broke out. The Prussian Minister, indeed, said he did not think that Prussia would join the Powers in such a

* See *ante*, p. 582.

war.* But a still grosser deception was the delusive assurance that Prussia would yet come to our assistance. The Government knew too well that the views of Prussia were such as to absolutely destroy this hope. The King of Prussia looked upon war against Russia on the issue raised as a crime, and he had written an autograph letter to the Queen, a fact which was concealed

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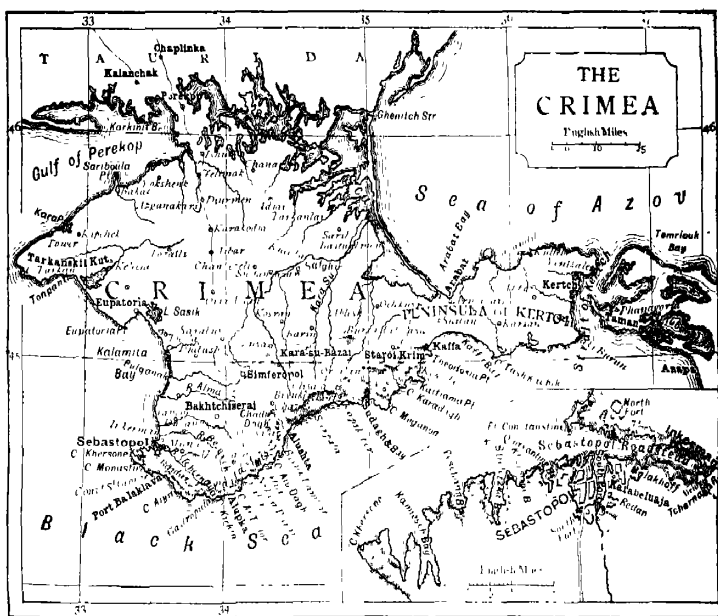
from Parliament, saying so in the plainest words. He reminded her of what it is to be feared the Queen, like most of her countrymen, did not then sufficiently realise—the agonies of a great war such as that of 1813-15—agonies that he had seen, but which, alas! her Majesty and the new generation had only read about. Yet that was a war worth the horrors of its sacrifices. Was this one now impending worth similar sacrifices?

* Eastern Papers, Part VII., contain proofs of the deception perpetrated by the Coalition Government on Parliament as to the extent to which England might depend on the German States for support.

Hardly, argued the King, for even England had at last become ashamed of the cause she had taken up—that of the Turk, and her endeavour now was to persuade herself and the world that it was for another cause—the equilibrium of Europe, menaced by the preponderance of Russia—that she was about to draw the sword. "The preponderance of Russia," he writes in this letter, "is to be broken down! Well! I, her neighbour, have never felt this preponderance, and have never yielded to it." It was war for an idea, and,

MAP OF THE CRIMEA

adds the King with intense earnestness, "Suffer me to ask, 'Does God's law justify war for an idea?'" He implores the Queen to reconsider the Russian proposals in a friendly spirit, sifting what is really objectionable from them, and pledges himself that if a golden bridge is built to save the Czar's honour, the Czar will cross it. But one word the King craves leave to speak plainly to the Queen: "For Prussia and myself," he writes, "*I am resolved to maintain a position of complete neutrality*; and to this I add, with proud elation, *my people* and myself are of one mind. They *require* absolute neutrality from me. They say (and I say), 'What have we to do with the Turk?' Whether he stand or fall in no way concerns the industrious Rhinelanders and the husbandmen of the Riesengeberg and Bernstein." Russia, he admits, might have perhaps pressed hard on the Turk. However, "it was the Turk, not we, who

suffered, and the Turk has plenty of good friends, but the Emperor is a noble gentleman, and has done us no harm. Your Majesty will allow that this North German sound practical sense is difficult to gainsay." Yet it was with such a letter in their possession that the Government led the country to believe, first, that Austria, who could not possibly move without Prussia, would join us in the war; and, second, that Prussia would also draw her sword for a cause which she declared we ourselves were even then ashamed of!

On the 17th of March, 1854, the Queen, nettled by the rough practical "North German sense" in this letter from the King of Prussia, endeavoured to answer it—her draft being submitted to Lord Clarendon and Lord Aberdeen for approval. Her answer, according to Sir Theodore Martin, indicates a "firm hand" and "admirable tact."* To the political student of the present day it indicates neither the one nor the other. There was no tact in scoffing at the King's "North German sound practical sense" by saying, "Had such language fallen from the King of Hanover or of Saxony, I would have understood it," and there was more weakness and sentimentality than firmness and statecraft in the hand that added, "But up to the present hour I have regarded Prussia as one of the five great Powers which, since the Peace of 1815, have been the guarantors of treaties, the guardians of civilisation, the champions of right, and ultimate arbitrators of the nations; and I have for my part felt the holy duty to which they were thus divinely called, being at the same time perfectly alive to the obligations, serious as they are, and fraught with danger, which it imposes. Renounce these obligations, my dear brother, and in doing so you renounce for Prussia the *status* she has hitherto held."† If the example thus set by Prussia—that of making the interests of the Prussian people the supreme object of her policy—should find imitators, the Queen contended, "European civilisation is abandoned as a plaything to the winds; right will no longer find a champion, nor the oppressed an umpire to appeal to."

Such was the reply which the Queen made to what Sir Theodore Martin calls "the amiable but most mischievous weakness" that pervaded the letter from the King of Prussia. Such was the appeal which she made to what Sir Theodore calls "a sentiment higher than the short-sighted and selfish policy which it announced." The King's letter was perhaps amiable—but it was not weak. Its policy was perhaps selfish—a Sovereign who draws or sheathes the sword, save from motives of national selfishness, is guilty of a crime against his people—but it was not shortsighted. As Mr. Lowe, in his biography of Prince Bismarck, says, "Every one is now agreed, in the words of Leopold von

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LIII.

† An appeal to fear rarely influences German statesmen. In 1868, during the debate in the Customs Parliament at Berlin, the Separatist Party objected to the discussion of national politics, lest, as one of them said, they might provoke an attack from France. Bismarck's retort was that "an appeal to fear had never yet found an echo in German hearts"—Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 458.

Ranke, that his (the King of Prussia's) neutrality during the Crimean War was the condition precedent of the great achievements which afterwards made Germany one."* Prussia, in fact, was at this moment master of the situation; and it is amazing that the Queen, through her German connections, did not know it. Herr von Bismarck had been sent on a secret mission to the minor German States. His intrigues had rendered it certain that if Austria joined the Western Powers in war, Prussia would step into her place as the dominant power in Germany.† In fact, but one excuse is given for the grave error of the English Court in not seizing the opportunity offered by the letter of the King of Prussia for building the "golden bridge" over which his Majesty pledged his word the Czar would even then have gladly retreated. The Queen's reason in her reply was that the resources of diplomacy—its Protocols, Notes, Conventions, &c., &c.—had been exhausted, and that "the ink that has gone to the penning of them might well be called a second Black Sea." ‡ A sanguine and proud young Princess must not be too harshly judged by History for a light jest, even on such a momentous issue. In a few brief months it was wiped out with her tears and her people's blood. Moreover, her Majesty, as will be seen later, did not forget the hard stern lesson read to her by this "war for an idea," when she saved England from a similar calamity in the dispute between Germany and Denmark over the Duchies.

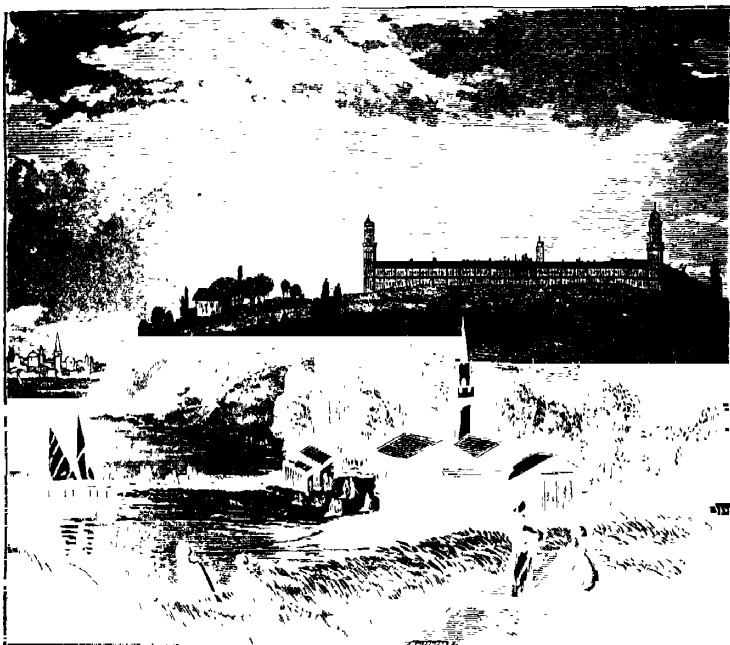
Only one thing now vexed the hearts of the War Party. The Address in answer to the Queen's Message announcing war was carried. But the debate did not definitely commit the Government to a war for the purpose of breaking the power of Russia.

There was, however, an insurrection in the Greek provinces of Turkey, which gave promise of bloodshed, for early in March Nesselrode had authorised the agents of Russia to support the insurgents. King Otho of Greece gave them unofficial support. The atrocious cruelty of the Turkish Bashi-bazouks, according to one party, had caused the rising, whilst another party held that it was due to Russian intrigue. Doubtless it was due to both causes, more especially as it was the hope of getting rid of the torture of Turkish misrule, that led the Greeks to listen eagerly to the Russian intriguers. The insurrection was easily strangled by the Allies who occupied the Piræus on the 25th of May; but one of its incidents was the expulsion of the Greeks from Constantinople. Now, as the Greeks in those days carried on nearly all the trade of Turkey, dealing with

* Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 206 (Cassell and Co.).

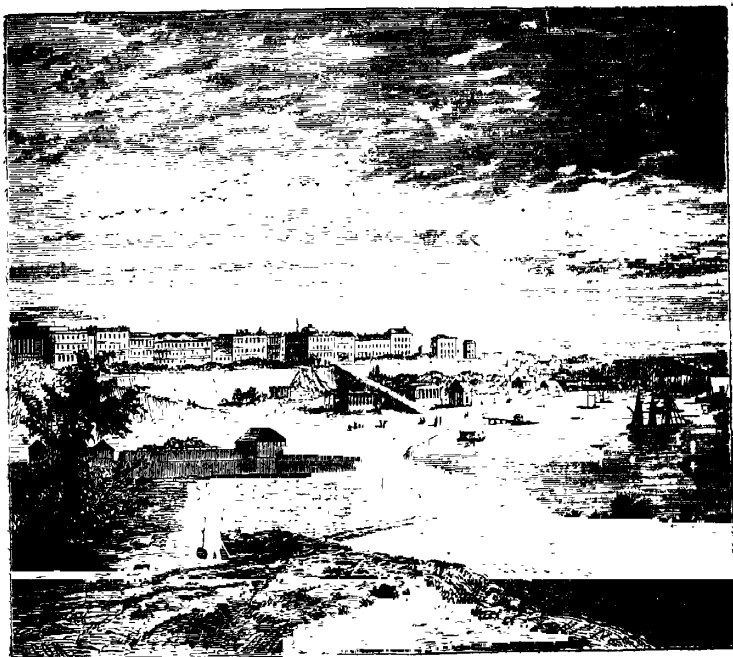
† It is due to Lord Clarendon to say that in a letter to Prince Albert (26th March) he expresses a shrewd suspicion of this danger. But the Prince, whose authority on the secret diplomacy of Germany no Cabinet Minister, except, perhaps, Palmerston, ever dared to question, promptly silenced his suspicions. On the 27th the Prince wrote to Clarendon, saying, "I don't think that Austria has anything to fear from Prussia or Germany if she were to take an active part in the war against us." That the Queen and her husband were mistaken or misinformed is proved by Mr. Lowe in his Life of Prince Bismarck, Vol. I., pp. 200, 202, and 203.

‡ Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap LIII.

Manchester and Glasgow to the extent of £3,000,000 a year, a strong attack might have been made against the Ministry. They could have been taunted with going to war for British interests in support of the Turks, who were destroying our trading agencies in Turkey. Mr. Cobden saw this point clearly, and though he put it before the House of Commons, he spoilt it by foolishly arguing, on sentimental grounds, that we ought not to support an act as

THE BARRACKS HOSPITAL, SCUTARI.

barbarous as the Edict of Nantes. Lord John Russell won an easy victory over him by virtually ignoring the question of English commercial interests, and showing that there was no parallel between the expulsion of Frenchmen from France on account of their religious opinions, and the expulsion from Turkey of the subjects of a foreign Prince who was fomenting rebellion. As for the atrocities of the Turks, the House of Commons was, of course, told that they were the natural results of Russian ambition, "for which there was scarcely one apologist but Mr. Cobden!"

In the meantime the war had to be financed, and the country reconciled to increased taxation. Mr. Gladstone's ordinary, as distinguished from his War Budget, was introduced on the 6th of March, when his position was this.

He had collected £54,025,000 of revenue, or £1,035,000 in excess of what he had counted on. He had spent £51,171,000, which, in spite of military operations, was less by £1,012,000 than he had estimated. His balance in hand from the past year was £2,854,000. For the coming year his estimates must necessarily be increased by additional military outlay,* which would bring up his estimated expenditure to £56,189,000. As the revenue

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he could depend upon from existing taxes was only £53,349,000, he had therefore a deficit of £2,840,000. Had there been no need to increase his estimates,† he might have had a surplus of £1,166,000 for the remission of taxation. As things stood, how was the deficit to be met? Not by a loan, answered Mr. Gladstone, because no nation had mortgaged its industry to such a frightful extent as England, whose National Debt of £750,000,000

* He allowed for a force of 25,000 men at £50 a head, or a total of £1,250,000.

† Other estimates besides those for 25,000 men had to be provided for, *e.g.*, extraordinary expenditure on the Navy, Ordnance, and Commissariat Departments. In fact, the mere prospect of war had thus added, not £1,250,000, but £4,307,000 to the estimates of the coming year in the ordinary Budget *before* war was declared.

exceeded that of all countries in the world put together. Without pledging themselves to pay all future war charges out of the revenue of each year, Mr. Gladstone said it was as yet possible for the House of Commons "to put a stout heart upon the matter, and to determine that so long as these burdens are bearable, and so long as the supplies necessary for the service of the year can be raised within the year, so long we will not resort to the system of loans." The expenses of a war, he observed, "are the moral check which it has pleased the Almighty to impose upon the ambition and the lust of conquest that are inherent in nations." He therefore proposed to increase the Income Tax by one-half, but to collect the whole of the increase in the first six months of 1854; in other words, he doubled the tax in the first half year. He was assailed on two grounds. The Tories protested against the doctrine of meeting war expenditure out of current revenue, and they taunted him with the failure of his scheme for the conversion of the debt,* which, they pretended, had been disastrous. "The next Party conflict," wrote Prince Albert in a letter to Stockmar on the 18th of April, "will be upon finance. Gladstone wants to pay for the war out of the current revenue, so long as he does not require more than ten millions sterling above the ordinary expenditure, and to increase the taxes for the purpose. The Opposition are for borrowing—that is, increasing the debt—and do not wish to impose in the meantime any further burdens on themselves. The former course is manly, statesmanlike, and honest; the latter is convenient, cowardly, perhaps popular. We shall see."† This is a masterly summary of the great financial controversy that raged throughout the Session of 1854. It leaves nothing more to be said save this, that when Mr. Gladstone explained his second or War Budget (8th of May), after war had been declared, his eloquence carried the country in favour of his policy. He obtained his war expenditure by doubling the Income Tax and increasing the duty on spirits and malt, and he pointed to the rapidly-growing trade of the nation as a proof that it ought not to adopt the course which Pitt found ruinous,‡ and which Prince Albert so justly described as "convenient and cowardly."

* Their real objection was that the conversion scheme caused Mr. Gladstone to take £8,000,000 from his Exchequer balances, which, however, had been kept perniciously high. Had this money been in hand, of course there would have been less need to levy a war tax. The conversion scheme had resulted in a small loss from changes in the Money Market, due to rumours of war and a bad harvest.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LIII.

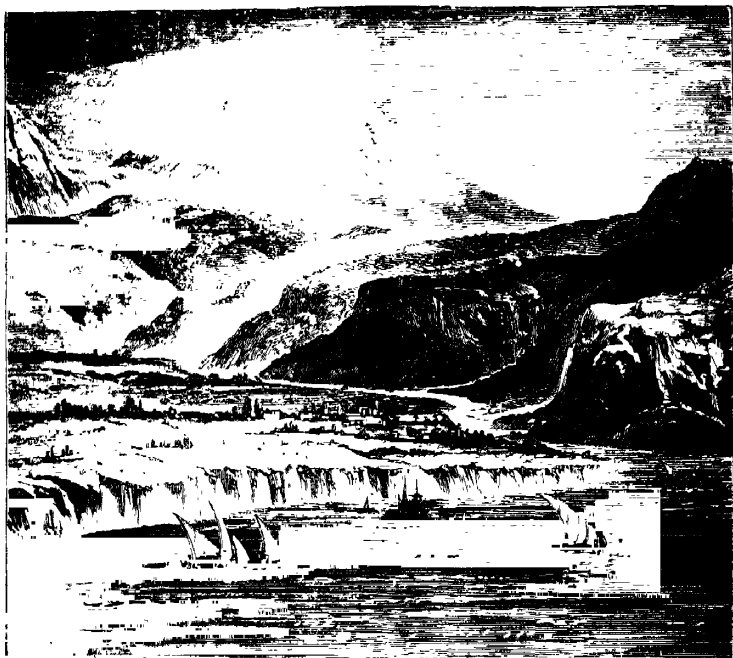
‡ Pitt was first called "the Heaven-born Minister" by the loan-mongers of the City, because he tried to make war on loans instead of taxes. In 1792 he had a war deficit of £4,500,000 to meet. He raised a 4 per cent. loan in the City, for which they made him pay £4 3s. 4d. per cent.; in 1794 he borrowed £11,000,000 at £4 10s. 9d., in 1795, £18,000,000 at £4 15s. 8d.; in 1796, £25,000,000 at £4 13s. 5d.; in 1797, £32,500,000 at £5 14s. 10d., in 1798, £17,000,000 at £6 4s. 9d., and he had to give the usurers bonuses, commissions, and inducements to subscribe, which compelled him to add £34,000,000 of capital to the National Debt to get this £17,000,000. His system added

Perhaps the first Budget in February had slightly sobered the country—at all events, the 26th of April was set apart for a day of Fast, Humiliation, and Prayer. Over this a slight controversy had broken out. The Queen was a little offended that Lord Aberdeen had announced, without consulting her, in the House of Lords, on the 31st of March, that such a Fast would be proclaimed. She thought Fasts of Humiliation were resorted to too often, and that it was hypocritical to publicly confess in the stereotyped form that "the great sinfulness of the nation had brought about this war." Therefore she desired that the Fast should be called a Day of Prayer and Supplication, and urged Lord Aberdeen "to inculcate the Queen's wishes into the Archbishop's mind, that there be no Jewish imprecations against our enemies." Her desire was to adapt the prayer in the Church Service, "To be used before a Fight at Sea," to the occasion.* According to Mr. Greville, bankers in the City pointed out that if the word "Fast" were omitted, Bills would be payable on that day and not on the day before, as Masterman's Act provides in such cases. The Queen was, therefore, persuaded by Lord Aberdeen to proclaim "a Day of Solemn *Fast*, *Humiliation*, and Prayer, to be kept on the 26th." It was observed solemnly in the United Kingdom, India, and the Colonies, by British subjects of all races and creeds.

When it was found that the object for which the war was undertaken—the evacuation of the Principalities—had been effected by the retreat of the Russians across the Pruth on the 28th of July, there was some fear lest the taxpayers, who were painfully digesting Mr. Gladstone's War Budget, might consider enough had been done to bring Russia to reason. Russia, it has been shown, was now in such a position that her surrender, under the passive pressure of the Powers, was inevitable, so as a matter-of-fact enough *had* been done. But the growth of this feeling had to be stopped, for the War Party

£250,000,000 to our National Debt, for which the nation never really got a penny. In 1797 Pitt, however, saw that the country must soon be drained of its resources by the loan-mongers, and he made convulsive efforts to escape from their clutches. He began to raise taxes to meet his war expenditure and pay the principal and interest of his debts. He first tried to raise £7,000,000, and only got £4,000,000 by assessed taxes. In 1798 he returned to the charge, and increased the Income Tax by 40 per cent. That year the revenue was £23,100,000. In 1806, when he died, he had raised it by successive turns of the screw to £50,900,000. In 1807 an addition of 10 per cent. to the Income Tax raised the revenue to £59,300,000. Up to 1816 it fluctuated between £60,000,000 and £70,000,000, but between 1806 and 1816 the war charges and the interest on the Debt were all paid out of current revenue. In fact, after 1797 it is clear Pitt and his successors resolved to exact any sacrifices from the people, rather than float war loans in the City.

* Lord Shaftesbury, in a letter to Lord Aberdeen, dated 22nd of February, says that a conversation he held with the Prime Minister on the subject had "terrified" him. "It implied," writes Lord Shaftesbury, "that the country had entered on a war which you could so little justify to your own conscience as to be unwilling, nay, almost unable, to advise the ordinance of public prayer for success on the undertaking. Why, then, have we begun it? You asked whether 'the English nation would be brought to pray for the Turks?' Surely, if they are brought to fight for them, they would be induced to pray for them in a just quarrel."—*Life and Work of Lord Shaftesbury*, by Edwin Hodder, Vol. II., p. 466 (Cassell and Co.). See also Greville Memoirs—Third Part (Longmans), 1887.

insisted that Russia must be rendered incapable of again disturbing Europe. It was a curious revival of a policy, the practicability of which Napoleon I. had ruined himself to illustrate. Yet on the 19th of June Lord Lyndhurst invited the House of Lords to preside at its resurrection. The long, virulent, and passionate harangue by which he endeavoured to excite the hatred of England against Russia, his indictment of her as an enemy of the human race, his

HEIGHTS OF THE ALMA.

appeals for her destruction in the sacred interests of liberty and civilisation, drew forth cheer after cheer even from that frigid Assembly of patricians. It produced a prodigious effect on the country, and forthwith Englishmen worked themselves up into a belief that unless a mortal blow were dealt at Russia, Europe would be overrun by Cossacks, and every honest man in England would be buried alive in Siberia. Lord Aberdeen ventured to protest against Lyndhurst's extravagant and scurrilous abuse of the Czar, and to remind the Peers that in 1829, when Turkey was at his mercy, he had not seized Turkish territory, but had been content with the Treaty of Adrianople. For this Aberdeen was denounced as a tool of Russia, who desired to patch up a hasty and dishonourable peace.

Mr. Layard, on the 23rd of June, gave notice of motion in the House of Commons, "that, in the opinion of this House, the language held by the First Minister of the Crown was calculated to raise grave doubts in the public mind as to the objects and results of the present war, and to lessen the prospect of a durable peace." Even the Queen wrote to the aged statesman a letter

SIR JOHN BURGOYNE.

scolding him because he had annoyed the public by "an impartial examination of the Emperor of Russia's conduct." She admired Aberdeen's courage and honesty, but expressed a hope—in the circumstances her "hope" was a command—that in any explanation of his unlucky speech "he will not undertake the ungrateful and injurious task of vindicating the Emperor of Russia from any of the exaggerated charges brought against him and his policy, at a time when there is enough in that policy to make us fight with all our might against it."* What Aberdeen said was that he objected to Russian

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LIV.

aggression on Turkey, but as for Russian aggression on Europe, he did not fear it in the least. There was nothing in that to cause offence, except to those who, suddenly finding that Russian aggression on Turkey had been repelled by Omar Pasha, supported by the hostile demonstrations of the Western Powers, were now at a loss to discover another form of Russian encroachment, real or imaginary, to repel. There must therefore, cried Lyndhurst and the War Party, be no talk of peace till the Russian fleet in the Black Sea was destroyed, and the walls of Sebastopol razed to the ground. "For the future," exclaimed Lord Derby, "it was impossible to permit the Black Sea to be a Russian lake, or that the Danube should be a Russian ditch, choked with mud and filth."* A great army had been sent to Turkey; but the fighting and the glory had fallen to Omar Pasha on the Danube. As Lord Hardwicke said, in the debate in the House of Lords on a Vote of Credit (24th of July), "if the present campaign closed without some great deed of arms equal to the power and dignity of this country, Her Majesty's Government would lie under a heavy responsibility."

Lord John Russell, in defending this Vote of Credit in the House of Commons, said that the Government had now three objects in view besides the evacuation of the Principalities: (1) to place Turkey under the protection of the European Powers, to whom, and not to Russia alone, she should be asked for the future to guarantee the privileges of her Christian subjects; (2) to deprive Russia of her special right of protecting the Principalities under the Treaty of Adrianople; (3) to reduce the power of Russia in the Black Sea, so that she should not be able to menace Turkey. In connection with this third aim, Lord John threw out a sinister allusion to the destruction of Sebastopol, which Mr. Disraeli protested he heard with "consternation," and which Lord John vainly endeavoured to explain away. The German Powers objected as much to the occupation of Russian territory by England or Turkey, as to the occupation of Turkish territory by Russia. Lord John Russell had, therefore, emulated Lyndhurst in his eagerness to give Austria and Prussia a pretext for refusing England and France their co-operation.

It was in truth easy to whet the fashionable appetite for adventure and glory. The country sulked over the inaction of the British fleet in the Baltic and the army at Varna. Yet the fleet under Napier, though it failed to make good the foolish vaunting of its commander when he started, did some useful work. It found the frowning fortifications of Cronstadt impregnable,† but at all events it shut up the Russian navy in their harbours, and swept their commerce from the sea. Captain Hall's daring reconnoissance of Hango

* Russia held the Sulina mouth of the Danube by the Treaty of Adrianople, and, though she took toll of passing ships, had neglected the channel, greatly to the hindrance of navigation.

† Dundonald would have been appointed instead of Napier, had it not been that he insisted on destroying Cronstadt by an "infernal" machine which he had invented. Greville Memoirs—Third Part, p. 190 (Longmans), 1887.

Bay in the month of May, elicited a tribute of admiration from the Grand Duke Constantine himself. Admiral Plumridge destroyed Bomarsund, a fortress built to dominate the Gulf of Bothnia. But in the Pacific the Allies were decidedly less successful in August in their attack on Petropaulovski. The English Admiral, Price, had committed suicide, and was succeeded by Sir F. Nicholson. On the 4th of September an attempt was made to take the place in the rear, but owing to the treachery of two guides, our men were misled and repulsed. They were driven over a precipice 70 feet high which lay between them and the shore, many of them being killed, and still more being wounded in taking a headlong leap for their lives.

In the Black Sea the record was more brilliant. The first shot fired in the war was at Odessa, which was bombarded for ten hours on the 22nd of April, in revenge for an outrage committed by the Russians, who fired on a flag of truce. This was followed by a challenge to the Russian fleet in Sebastopol, which was not accepted. On the 12th of May the *Tiger* ran aground off Odessa, and had to strike her flag. Her crew were made prisoners, but treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy by the Russians. The captain (Gifford) died of his wounds on the 19th of June, and the lieutenant (Royer) was sent to St. Petersburg by order of the Czar, who at once set him free. Captain Parker, on the 8th of July, destroyed the Russian works at the Sulina mouth of the Danube.

In May there were 20,000 French on the European and 10,000 British troops on the Asiatic side of the Danube. Gallipoli was fortified, and works thrown up in order to check the Russians had they crossed the Danube. Constantinople was also fortified, and then the Allies concentrated at Varna, ready, if need be, to carry war into the enemy's territory. They were encamped at a spot which was saturated with the germs of malaria, and which was chosen with a reckless disregard of sanitary considerations. During June and July malaria, dysentery, and cholera decimated their ranks. They sat brooding listlessly in the shadow of death all through that fatal summer, chafing, as did their countrymen at home, over their inglorious fortune. Cardigan's reconnoissance of the country up to Trajan's Wall on the confines of the Dobrudscha alone broke the monotony of their existence, and on his return they were cheered by his news of the disastrous retreat of the Russians on Bessarabia. On the 26th of August a Council of War was held at Varna, and the rumour that the army was to be led to the invasion of the Crimea flew through the disheartened camp like tidings of great joy. It has been shown by what steps the English Government was lured on to this fatal decision. Yet it is due to Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet to say, that it was not at first unanimous as to the expediency of widening the area of conflict, and attempting to break the power of Russia, "by razing Sebastopol to the ground." Mr. Kinglake * has stated that this enterprise was sanctioned at a Cabinet meeting held on June 28 in Lord John Russell's

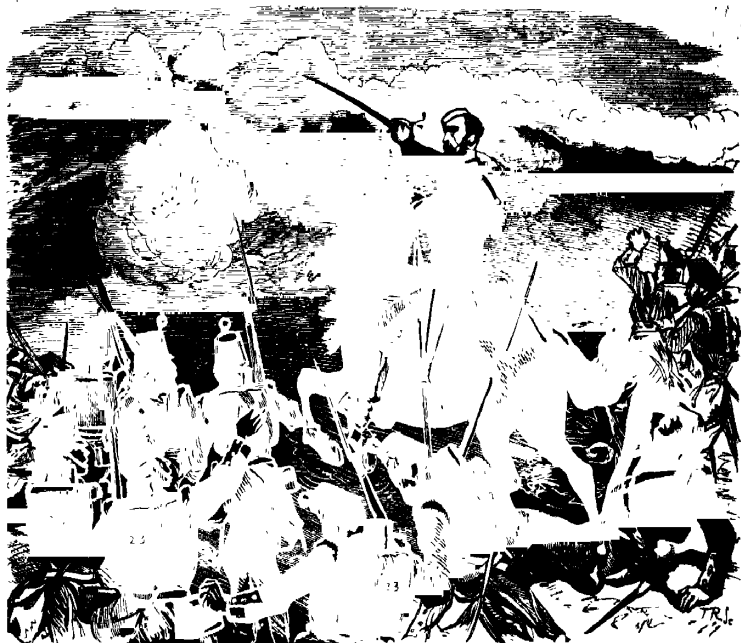
* Kinglake's History of the Invasion of the Crimea, Vol. II., p. 249 and p. 407.

house (Pembroke Lodge). Mr. Kinglake, at a loss to explain to posterity how a number of intelligent men could have approved an act of such stupendous folly, has invented an ingenious theory. The Duke of Newcastle, as Secretary of State for War, subsequently blamed Lord Raglan for mismanaging the campaign. But Mr. Kinglake has constituted himself Lord Raglan's champion, and he accordingly endeavours to lay as much blame as possible on the

PEMBROKE LODGE, RICHMOND.

Duke. The Duke came to the meeting, says Mr. Kinglake, with a ponderous despatch, which he proposed, with the approval of his colleagues, to send to Lord Raglan ordering him to invade the Crimea. As he went on reading it, one Minister after another fell asleep. When he finished, they awoke, and sanctioned the Duke's instructions without knowing what they were. It is unfortunately not possible to save the reputation of the Aberdeen Ministry by making drowsiness an excuse for blundering. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in one of his letters,* gives the flattest contradiction to Mr. Kinglake's amusing fable, and so does Sir Theodore Martin.

* "His (Mr. Kinglake's) attempt to throw all the credit or blame of the expedition to Sebastopol upon the Duke of Newcastle is a complete delusion. His story about the sleepy Cabinet may be partially true, but the plan of the expedition had been discussed by the Cabinet at repeated sittings,

An eccentric Member of the House of Commons, Mr. H. Drummond, in one of the debates on the War, said that there was a division of labour in the operations, for whilst we found the money, the French Emperor found the brains. The project of wounding Russia in a vital point by invading the Crimea, was originated by the French Emperor, who possibly thought his illustrious uncle's experiment at Moscow needed no verification. The French

CODRINGTON'S BRIGADE (23RD ROYAL WELSH FUSILIERS) AT THE ALMA.

Emperor's plan was submitted to the Queen on the 14th of March as one approved of by Lord Raglan, Lord de Ros, Lord Clarendon, and the Duke of Newcastle. It was dropped because some sensible person suggested that it would be hardly safe to leave Constantinople, then covered by the allied troops, at the mercy of the Russians. But after Constantinople was fortified against attack, the mischievous idea was revived. On the 28th of June it was embodied in the draft despatch containing the instructions to Lord Raglan,

and the despatch in question only embodied a foregone conclusion."—Letters of Sir George Cornewall Lewis, p. 426. Sir George Lewis was Lord Clarendon's brother-in-law, and Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. His letters, and the articles in the *Edinburgh* on public affairs at this time, are of high authority. See also a very conclusive answer to Mr. Kinglake by Sir Theodore Martin in a Note in his Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LIV.

which was sanctioned by that fatigued Cabinet, the Members of which, according to Mr. Kinglake, fell asleep. One other fact may be cited against Mr. Kinglake. The plan was opposed by certain Members of the Ministry who, though they thought something should be done to limit Russia's opportunities of interfering with Turkey in future, felt sure that an invasion of the Crimea must end in failure. They complained that nobody knew what could be done with the Crimea even if it were taken, or how the Russians could be stopped from rebuilding Sebastopol, except by another war, after it was destroyed. But why has there ever been any controversy over the point at all? Simply because the project was such a mad one, that everybody who had anything to do with it, has been anxious to blame somebody else for originating it. The Ministry and their apologists declared that they left the whole affair to the discretion of Lord Raglan. He was only instructed to invade the Crimea if as a soldier he thought an invasion practicable. Lord Raglan and his friends declared that he had no discretion in the matter, and that the instructions of the Cabinet amounted to an order from the Secretary of State for War, which he as the General in command had no option but to obey. Lord Aberdeen's account of the matter to the Queen was that, "although the expedition to the Crimea was pressed very warmly" on Lord Raglan, "the final decision was left to the judgment and discretion" of Raglan and St. Arnaud, "after they should have communicated with Omar Pasha." Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in the letter already quoted, says he does not think that the Cabinet could have given Raglan a wider discretion, because they would have probably thought they were throwing too much responsibility on him. But the obvious truth is that, as the Cabinet and the General had approved of the plan in March, they were alike responsible for it, and that if it had not been disastrous to their reputations, they would have each claimed credit for it.* Mr. Kinglake says that St. Arnaud was also opposed to the invasion of the Crimea, but it was his Imperial Master's plan, and he had to adopt it against his better judgment. Possibly, Raglan's doubts, confided to Sir G. Brown at Varna, sprang from conferences with St. Arnaud.†

The order to invade was dated the 28th of June, and two months were spent in preparing for the expedition. At the last moment it was found that

* In a letter to Sir Edmund Head (29th December, 1854), the common-sense view of the case is pithily put by Sir George Cornewall Lewis as follows: "The fact is that the Government were urged into the Sebastopol adventure by popular clamour, that they undertook it with an imperfect knowledge of the difficulties of the enterprise, and that the military men anticipated that if the army could once be landed the place would speedily fall. This delusion was shared by all the world in September, and even October last; but now events have dispelled the illusion, the people forget their own mistake, and visit its consequences on the head of the War Minister."—Sir G. C. Lewis' Letters, p. 288.

† Mr. Kinglake gives an entertaining description of a conversation between General Sir George Brown and Lord Raglan over the Ministerial order. Brown told his chief that they were all so ignorant about the Crimea that it was foolish to invade it; but that he had better obey, for refusal would only lead to his dismissal.

was no means of embarking and disembarking the cavalry and artillery, difficulty was cleverly overcome by Mr. Roberts, a master in the navy. erts did more for us than anybody," said Lord Raglan to Admiral Lyons. et the Turkish caïques in rows, and built great pontoons on them buoyant gh to support the enormous weight of horses and guns.* On the 18th eptember the expedition sighted the shores of the Crimea. The allied s skilfully disembarked without loss or confusion at the Old Fort, a spot y miles south of Eupatoria. Twenty thousand French and twenty and English soldiers, with a powerful artillery, were thus thrown upon tile coast in perfect marching order in one single day. On the 19th of mber they moved southwards, and got touch of the Russians under Prince chikoff. These were 40,000 strong, and they held a fortified position on eights of the Alma, a little river which flowed between them and the . On the morning of the 20th the battle began. St. Arnaud was to k, and if possible turn the Russian left. When that had been done, the ish were to dash at the right wing of the Russians. St. Arnaud was er away from his objective point than our men, and before he completed anœuvre, he seems to have asked Lord Raglan to advance. Abandoning the nal plan of the battle, Raglan moved forward on the swarming masses of ians in front of him, and drove them from their position. In this con- one sees nothing admirable save the rough masculine vigour of the Eng- attack, and the skill with which the battle was planned by St. Arnaud. Raglan's conduct was likened by the Secretary of State to that of the of Wellington. As a matter of fact, at the outset he seems to have ged into the river with his Staff, dashed on into the enemy's lines, till he l himself on the extreme left of the French, without any control over his . It was really led into action by his Generals of Divisions, who, till after risis of the battle was over, seemed scarcely conscious of the existence of Commander-in-Chief.† The French attack was dashing, but somehow it not succeed quickly.‡ As for the Russians, they were clumsily handled. chikoff chose a good position—so good that he staked his field defence

ut for Mr. Roberts the expedition must have been abandoned till the following spring. His s were contemptuously ignored, and he died heart-broken by the bitter ingratitude of the ment. He was an able officer—but without "interest."

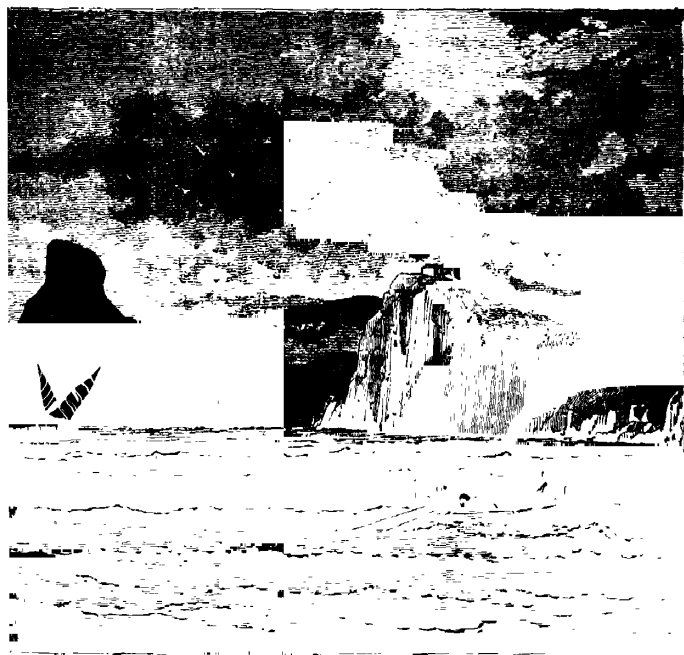
he attack on the central redoubt by Sir G. Brown's Light Division was a confused rush by an mob. It failed because the Duke of Cambridge, who led the First Division, did not bring up pports. But for the remonstrance of Sir Colin Campbell, one of his Brigadiers, he would even made his Guards ignominiously retire and re-form at a critical moment in the advance, which have spread panic, and lost the battle. De Lacy Evans and Campbell were the only com- rs in this fight who seemed capable of handling troops in a workmanlike manner. Colonels of the Grenadiers, and Ainslie of the 93rd Highlanders, also displayed skill.

t is a melancholy satisfaction that the French Prince Napoleon proved himself to be as incapable English Royal Duke. He lost a regiment of his Zouaves who, getting tired of him, went away e fray on their own account. One of Brown's Brigadiers (Buller) also lost himself, and spent most day with his men in hollow square, waiting to receive imaginary cavalry.

of Sebastopol on it. But he manœuvred in massive columns, so that his front did not nearly cover all his ground. He seemed nervously anxious to meet attacks in detail, hurrying regiments from point to point wherever he thought his troops were being hard pressed, to the utter confusion of his formation. His subordinates were so stupid that they did not even think of bringing their strongest arm, the cavalry, into action.

GENERAL CANROBERT

Curiously enough at this point, the expedition, owing to Menschikoff's bungling, had success within its grasp. The defence of Sebastopol was staked upon the army of the Alma. The stronghold lay at the mercy of the Allies after that army was routed, and could have been taken next morning by a *coup de main*. Raglan, to do him justice, was eager to press on, but St. Arnaud held him back. The Allies then spent three days in burying the dead, and by that time the Russians had considerably strengthened their fortifications. Raglan again urged that the city should be attacked, but, as St. Arnaud was unwilling to

in assault, it was agreed that the invaders should march round to the of the citadel, and attack it from that aspect. On the 29th St. Arnaud, health and brain had been long failing him, died, and Canrobert, ually sluggish soldier, succeeded to his command. Whilst the Allies at Raglan's instigation, marching round to the south of Sebastopol, were for a whole day exposed to a flank attack from the enemy, which, t been delivered, would have simply cut them to pieces. Menschikoff's

ENTRANCE TO BALACLAVA HARBOUR.

city saved them from this disaster, and on the 28th of September ussians, who had been looking for an attack from the north, to surprise found their feeble works on the south at the mercy of their s. Some of the divisional commanders, like Cathcart and Campbell, eager for storming the place at once, and, had they done so, they have captured it with hardly any appreciable loss. Sir John Burgoyne— upposed to be infallible as a military engineer—and General Canrobert t the risks too great, and said that the army must wait till the siege- vas brought up. Raglan yielded to Canrobert's hesitancy and Burgoyne's ice.

The Russians, who expected every moment to see the enemy swarming [o]ver their walls, must have looked on the unintelligible paralysis of the Allies [a]s an intervention of Providence on their behalf. Oddly enough, when Raglan [w]as making his flank march from north to south, Menschikoff, instead of [s]pringing on him and destroying his army, was marching with equal stupidity [fr]om the south to the north.* Here the allied attack was looked for; here [a]ll available troops were hurried. Nachimoff, who remained on the south [b]ank of the harbour, had just 3,000 troops to hold indefensible works against [a]n army of 40,000 men. He behaved with high spirit; he sank his ships [s]o as to block the channel. Admiral Korniloff hastened from the north side [t]o his aid and took command, and filled the troops with his own determi[n]ation to hold out to the last, no matter how heavy were the odds against [t]hem. Colonel Todleben—whose master mind was about to revolutionise the [a]rt of fortification—accompanied him, and these two perfectly dauntless men, [p]rofiting by the blunder of Canrobert and Burgoyne, simply wrecked the [e]xpedition of the Allies. The time spent in waiting for the siege-train was [p]recisely what Todleben prayed for.

Inspirited by Korniloff's enthusiasm, and guided by Todleben's genius, the [R]ussians toiled like galley-slaves to strengthen their fortifications. Korniloff [s]ucceeded in inducing Menschikoff to march 25,000 troops into the town, so [t]hat on the 17th of October, when the siege-train of the Allies had arrived, [S]ebastopol, which had been at their mercy on the 25th of September, was [v]irtually impregnable. On the 17th of October an attempt was made to [d]emolish the earthworks of the enemy by a general bombardment, after which [it] was the intention of the Allies to dash forward and storm the southern half [o]f the town.† The English batteries did not fail, for they seriously damaged [th]e Redan Fort of the enemy. Nachimoff's sacrifice of the sunken fleet, [h]owever, prevented our ships from getting far enough up the harbour to [as]sist our land force, and though the sea batteries were open to attack, shoal [w]ater prevented our ships from getting close enough to them to do them much [h]arm.‡ The failure of the bombardment was followed up by a series of [at]tacks on the position of the Allies, the results of which may now be sum[m]arised. The great flank march from north to south had left every

* It is an amusing fact that Raglan's van actually came on Menschikoff's rear, as the lines of [ma]rch intersected, and that neither General had the faintest idea of what the other was about.

† It may be pointed out that the works on the north side of the town, where the citadel was, commanded [tho]se on the south side. Raglan's vaunted flank march had left the Russian garrison in the North Town [op]en and safe communication with their base, and their army of observation in the field. He had [gi]ven them ample time to make affluent use of this advantage. It was, therefore, a moral certainty [tha]t if we had taken the South Town after the bombardment of the 17th our position would not have [be]en tenable. Though Cathcart and Campbell would have walked into it easily had they been allowed [on] the 25th of September, the failure of the bombardment of the 17th of October was thus probably [a for]tunate occurrence.

‡ The ships were also dreadfully *underhanded*—4,000 of their fighting force being on shore with [the] army.

n Russia open to the enemy. Reinforcements swarmed into the
even from the Russian Army of the Danube, which was liberated
Austrians occupied the Principalities. The English army at the
October numbered 25,000. The French had 40,000 in the field.
000 combatants had rallied to the standards of Prince Menschikoff.
d not a fortress but a great entrenched camp, defended by im-
works on which, says Lord Raglan, plaintively, in one of his
s, "an apparently unlimited number of heavy guns, amply provided
ners and ammunition, are mounted." Now, it is a rule of warfare that
ging force should be five times as strong as the besieged. No general
rain of prudence will attempt to lay siege to a stronghold unless his
hree times as strong as that of the garrison, and unless he has an army
ation besides to protect him from molestation. Before Sebastopol
gers were only half as strong as the besieged, and they had no
force whatever. Like the Athenians at Syracuse, the besiegers had
he besieged. If Lord Raglan did not complete the parallel by
his army to an eclipse of the moon, he did his best to emulate that
chievement by sacrificing it to the flank march from the Belbeck to
.*

ese circumstances the Russians promptly adopted offensive tactics.
off ordered Liprandi to march round to the rear of the British
and attack Balaclava, from which we drew our supplies, and on the
October the Russians suddenly drove the Turks from the redoubts
ed one of our chief defences. This gave him the northern half of
lava valley. The British cavalry were withdrawn from the southern
twards behind redoubts, which were still in our hands, and the
Balaclava, with all our shipping and our stores, was clear. Yet not
r. Sir Colin Campbell and the 93rd Highlanders were in the way,
consummate skill and their stubborn valour saved our base of opera-
a glance Campbell saw that Liprandi meant to annihilate the Scots,
g against them overwhelming masses of cavalry covered by artillery.
an onset a single regiment in square formation could obviously
effective resistance whatever. In an instant Campbell conceived
and daring project of receiving the Russian cavalry in line.† Such a

* not be quite fair to blame Lord Raglan too much for this ridiculous manœuvre. At one
tizans claimed for him the honour of planning it. But Prince Albert ascribed it to Sir John
nd so did many others. Burgoyne's own correspondence seems to show that the Prince
(Lieutenant-Colonel Wrottesley's "Life and Correspondence of Sir John Burgoyne," Vol. II.,
)

† ring heavy masses of cavalry in this fashion was but a development of another piece of
h Campbell always used "contrary to the regulations." That was advancing in line—
na—firing on dense masses of infantry all the time. This he learnt from Sir J. Cameron,
e 6th Regiment, in the Peninsula. Oddly enough Cameron's son commanded the Black
r Campbell in the Crimea, and he, too, had, "contrary to regulations," taught his father's

manœuvre could be possible only where a commander and his troops had implicit confidence in each other, and where officers and men, instinct with barbaric strength and courage, went forth to battle under the iron discipline of civilised warfare. In grim silence the Scots obeyed the stern, curt orders of their leader, and formed the famous "thin red line tipped with steel," on the solidity of which, for a moment, the fate of the army depended. Their flanks were covered by the Turks who had fled from the redoubts. A hundred sick men, who crawled from the hospital to rally round their chief, were formed under Lieutenant-Colonel Daveney as "supports." The Russian

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.

commander, with great ability, modified his plan of attack and struck swiftly not only at the centre, but strongly at Campbell's right flank, where the Turks were posted. The dense masses of cavalry first reeled and then broke up when they came within the central zone of fire, but the Turks fled, leaving the "thin red line" uncovered on the right. The Russians, feeling that the game was now in their hands, charged again, confident that they could roll up the line at this unprotected spot. Campbell was, however, equally alert. When the Turks ran away he ordered his grenadier company to wheel to the right. It went swiftly and silently round, with automatic precision, like a door on a hinge, and met the

...tics to his men Colonel Hood, of the Grenadiers, had a glimmering of this idea at the Alma. But he did not venture to advance in line firing until the enemy's column was demoralised. The Scottish Regiments used the manœuvre for the purpose of demoralising the enemy. But it should never be used except by troops of coarse nerve-fibre, in perfect training, and whom their leader can hold in hand as in a vice.

squadrons with a scorching storm of fire, that sent them flying in
m from the field. "During the rest of the day," said Sir Colin
ll, with a touch of grim humour in his despatch, "the troops under

BALACLAVA—"THE THIN RED LINE." (See p. 612.)

(After the Painting by Robert Gibb, R.S.A., in the possession of Archibald Ramsden, Esq., Leeds.)

mand received no further molestation from the Russians." A still
midable body of Russian horse, however, had swooped down on our
cavalry (Brigadier-General Scarlett). The Scots Greys and Enniskilling

poons sprang forward to meet them, tore through the first and second lines
ie enemy, and, supported by the Dragoon Guards, broke up their heavy
es in utter rout. At this moment Lord Raglan ordered Lord Lucan, who
in command of the cavalry, to advance his Light Brigade and prevent the
ians from carrying away some of the guns which the Turks had abandoned
ie redoubts. When the order was carried to Lucan by Captain Nolan,
an's aide-de-camp, the Russians had recovered from their reverses and had
letely re-formed on their own ground. Raglan's order, therefore, had come
ean that Lucan was to hurl his slender Light Cavalry Brigade, utterly
d of supports, against a great army holding a strong position, flanked
covered on all sides by murderous artillery. For a moment he hesitated,
lled by the hideous madness of the order. A taunt from Nolan stung
to the quick, and he spoke the word that sent Cardigan into the
ley of death" with the far-famed Six Hundred.

> "Long shall the tale be told,
> Yea, when our babes are old" -

they rode onward—through the smoke and fire that belched forth
the iron throats of the Russian cannon—how they clove their way
igh the Russian masses and cut down the gunners at their guns—how
cut their way back, "stormed at with shot and shell," a broken remnant
ounded and dismounted troopers, who had to report that they had failed
) that which even the demigods of ancient legend would not have been
ess enough to attempt. Nolan was killed at the very first onset—whilst
g far in advance cheering on the Brigade.* "It was magnificent, but it
not war," was the comment of the French General Bosquet, on this
ble sacrifice—a sacrifice so horrible that, when it was over, even the
ians ceased firing and stood motionless and awe-stricken, gazing at the
ning scene. They claim Balaclava as a victory. Certainly they took more
half the field from us; but on the other hand, thanks to the obstinate
ity of the 93rd Highlanders, we repelled their attack on our base of
tions, which was, of course, their objective point.†

he responsibility for this fearful butchery has been cast on Lord Lucan. He certainly lacked
courage in obeying an order which nobody but a maniac would, in the circumstances, have
But Nolan's insinuation that Lucan was afraid to attack forced the general's hand. Nolan
brave man, with a crazy fad as to the capacity of English cavalry to go anywhere and do any-
He had written a book to show that they could—and he was bitterly disappointed because the
gn had not been conducted so as to illustrate by practical experiments the soundness of his views.
k it on himself to ride in advance of the Brigade, with which he had nothing to do, and excite
1 by voice and gesture, as if their own officers, who were personally responsible for their lives,
ot fit to lead them. This would indicate that he was one of those meddlesome *aides-de-camp*,
interference with operations in the field rendered them the pest of British armies.
he success of the Heavy Brigade was due to Scarlett attacking in line, when, to his surprise,
d he was riding with a slender force against enormous masses of Russian cavalry, and to the
s [illegible] the atrocious blunder of halting to receive the fierce onset of the Scottish and

r this fight the Russians concentrated an overwhelming force and an attack on our position at Inkermann. Its weakest point, in spite varnings of Lieutenant-General Sir De Lacy Evans, had been left badly d, and on the 5th of November the Russians surprised our pickets. driven them in they fell on our Second Division, who had barely time d to their arms when they found themselves struggling with overg masses of the enemy. Pennefather was in command, for, unfor-, De Lacy Evans was disabled. Instead of retiring in order and ing to ward off the attack by artillery, Pennefather hurried up little f troops to his outposts, and there waged a dreadful hand to hand gainst an army ten times as strong as his own. It was "a soldiers' that raged through the morning on these misty heights—a confused n which officers lost their men, and men lost their officers—in which, mmunition failed, the English troops fought with bayonets; when these r bent, with stones; and when these failed, with clenched fists. Column olumn of Russians was hurled at our little force—but without avail. could be moved from his position till he was shot or cut down, and omitable courage of the Duke of Cambridge and his Guards—for his Highness, though he lacked skill and knowledge, never lacked pluck— e Russians in check so long, that the French had time to come to cue. Then the enemy beat a retreat. We retook the positions we t, and once again demonstrated that the English infantry were withrival in the world. The Russian plans were so laid, that it was a atical certainty our army must be driven into the sea. Two sons Czar had been invited to witness this catastrophe. And, in spite splendid fighting qualities of our men, the catastrophe must have d, had it not been for two blunders which the Russians committed. first place, Menschikoff, who seems to have been even a stupider person glan or Burgoyne, attacked in massive columns. This so reduced his front that our weak detachments formed in line decimated them with e, and when our artillery came into action every shot and every shell d on them with deadly effect. The Russian sortie from Sebastopol, r, was mismanaged. The commander lost his way in the mist, and of falling on us, he found himself entangled with the French far away left, so that he gave no real aid to the main attack.

Russians lost 12,000 men in this battle, the French lost 1,800, and tish lost 2,600. It was therefore clear that the siege must be raised, the Allies must enter on a winter campaign. Up till now the troops fered very little hardship; but, alas! when winter set in they were to cruel suffering. A terrific storm on the 14th of November blew

smen. Only a third of the Light Brigade were rescued from the "valley of death," and they r lives to a brilliant and impetuous charge which a fiery squadron of French *Chasseurs* made on a Russian battery, that was cutting our troopers to pieces during their retreat.

wn their tents and destroyed twenty-one vessels in Balaclava Bay laden ith supplies. It rendered the valley from Balaclava to the camp—a distance nine miles—almost impassable. Two-thirds of the transport horses died, id there was hardly any forage obtainable for the remainder. Cholera—the rms of which had been carried to the Crimea from Varna—raged in our ies, and those who escaped it fell victims to scurvy, dysentery, or fever. Between the beginning of November," writes Mr. Spencer Walpole, "and

VALLEY OF INKERMANN

ie end of February, 8,898 British troops perished in hospital. At the last these dates 13,608 men were still in hospital."* The state of the hostals was so bad that men died there more quickly than on the field. Part the ghastly tale of mismanagement had been told by Mr. W. H. Russell, e special correspondent of the *Times*, when Parliament met on the 12th of ecember, and empowered the Queen to raise a foreign legion and utilise e Militia *for foreign service—measures forced on the* Ministry by Prince bert. But soon after it separated the cry of distress from the Crimea ew too loud to be stifled. When it rang through England the people rned on the Government in furious anger, and called them to account for eir gross mismanagement of the war. The Duke of Newcastle, being Secrey of State for War, was blamed because he was alleged to be incompetent.

* History of England, Vol. V., p. 125.

een was blamed because it was said he was at heart a Russian. The lous charges against Prince Albert were revived, and he was accused of ing the operations of our army by his treacherous interference. As a r of fact, these charges were all untrue. Prince Albert, Aberdeen, and istle were the three men who alone had courage to face the situation, they suddenly discovered that the military system of England had failed and that the military machine which they inherited from Wellington roken down. They had toiled long and wearily to mend it when the

THE STORM OFF BALACLAVA (See p. 610)

guished persons who afterwards attacked them were away enjoying their ıys. But when Parliament reassembled on the 23rd of January, 1855, athering storm broke on the head of the Government. Mr. Roebuck gave of a motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the ınagement of the war; Lord John Russell deserted his colleagues and ed. The Ministry, who resisted Mr. Roebuck's motion, were beaten, on ision, by 305 votes to 148, and the Coalition Government resigned on 1st of January, 1855. The army was starving, with abundance of supplies ı its reach, through the sheer stupidity of those whose duty it was to it. Its camp was a hospital, and its hospitals were pest-houses. The ı was utterly humiliated. As for the War Party, which was really ısible for the invasion of the Crimea, it naturally destroyed the Ministry had stooped to be the instrument of its braggart passions and its ınt policy.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PARTY GOVERNMENT AND WAR.

Stratford de Redcliffe Cooling Down—Tory Distrust of the French Alliance—The Queen's **Kindness to Lord Aberdeen—The** Emperor Napoleon and Prince Albert—The Prince Visits France—The Queen at **Balmoral—Her Feelings** towards the Prince of Prussia—The Queen holds a Council of War—She Demands **Reinforcements for Lord** Raglan—Napoleon's Alarm—Prince Albert's Plan for an Army of **Reserve—The Queen on the** Austrian Proposals—Her Anxiety about the Troops—Raglan's Meagre Despatches—The **Queen and Miss Nightingale**—At Work for the Soldiers—Extorting Information from **Lord Raglan—Ministerial Changes**—Lord John Russell's Selfishness—A Miserly Whig Duke—The Queen's **Disgust at Russell's Treachery**—Resignation of Russell—Fall of the Coalition—The Queen and the Crisis—**She holds out the Olive Branch** to Palmerston—Palmerston's Cabinet—Quarrel between Mr. Disraeli **and Lord Derby—The Sebastopol** Committee—Mr. Roebuck and Prince Albert—The Vienna Conference **and the Death of Czar** Nicholas—The Austrian Compromise—Parties and the War—Russell's Humiliation—**He Resigns in Disgrace**—The Queen quashes the Peace Negotiations—A Royal Blunder—The Queen **tries to Gag the Peelites**—Aberdeen Browbeaten by the Court—Canrobert's Resignation—Crimean Successes—**Failure of the Attack** on the Redan—Death of Raglan

During the Parliamentary Session of 1854, it was very plainly shown that Government by Party is not the best kind of Government for carrying on diplomacy or warfare. The Opposition in the House of Commons, instead of checking the drift of the Cabinet towards war, seemed ever bent on hounding them on. They hardly ever gave a vote save for the purpose of discrediting and weakening the Ministry. It is, therefore, not unfair to infer that they rejoiced in the prospect of war, because they foresaw that its hazards and its chances might lead to the destruction of the Government. The temper of the Tories at this time was admirably illustrated by Mr. Disraeli. When a motion was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Chambers early in February, 1854, to investigate the claims of an English company at Madeira against Portugal, Lord Malmesbury writes of the Ministerial defeat as follows: "I fear Disraeli voted against the Government, as it is his policy to join with anybody to defeat them."* With such a spirit of faction animating the Opposition, it was hardly possible for the Ministry to steer a steady course in the stormy sea of diplomatic intrigue on which it had embarked. Yet it is but right to say that there were some patriotic Tories who objected very strongly to the tactics and strategy of their Party. John Wilson Croker was so firmly opposed to the policy of the war, and the entangling alliance with the French Emperor,† that he severed his connection with the *Quarterly Review* on this account. Croker's belief was that France was an unsafe ally, that the French had manufactured the quarrel with Russia and inveigled us into it; that our Government knowing, from the Secret Memorandum of 1844, what the Czar's

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. I., p. 424.

† Stratford de Redoliffe was now for peace, because he found the war substituting French for [illegible] influence at Constantinople, and of the two he preferred the latter.—Greville Memoirs. [illegible] Part, (Longmans), 1887.

were, should have urged Turkey to resist the intimidation of France at
itset. We should have warned her of the peril she stood in from Russia,
at the same time we warned Russia that, though we had no objection to
Turkey to do her justice, we could not sanction the partition of the
an Empire. This course, says Mr. Croker, in a remarkable letter to Lord
urst, "would have placed the matter on its real grounds—that is, a
le between France and Russia, in which we should have been spectators,
entually mediators, but not parties, till some pretensions contrary to the
nent balance of power should be raised by any of the belligerents."*
urst himself began towards the end of the year to doubt whether our
e with the French was not as dangerous as Russian pretensions. Very
embers of the House of Commons, however, shared these doubts. The
, in fact, rapidly became unmanageable, and, as Lord Malmesbury says
"Memoirs," would support nothing but the war. Bill after Bill had
withdrawn by Aberdeen's Government, so that its legislative achieve-
can be briefly recorded. During the first Session of the year the
l University Bill was passed. It substituted for an incompetent govern-
garchy a Council of eminent and talented men, and gave the Colleges great
s for self-improvement. Mercantile laws were consolidated into one Act.
laws were abolished. The principle of allowing traders to form Joint
Companies under limited liability of partnership was affirmed by the
of Commons, and the old system of granting such undertakings charters
the Board of Trade, finally condemned. Lord John Russell's Reform Bill
ne of the measures which were introduced, debated, and withdrawn. It
roduced a second crisis in the Cabinet in early spring, which was over-
by Lord Aberdeen's mediation between Lord John and Lord Palmerston.
is episode seriously disturbed the Queen's peace of mind, and in one of
tters she expresses her deep gratitude to the Prime Minister for his
on to her. Nothing, indeed, is more touching than the references to the
statesman with which the Queen's letters are filled at this period. She
nd frequently devising plans for the purpose of lightening the burden of
hat was crushing his spirits. On the 1st of May, Prince Arthur's birth-
he writes as follows:—"Though the Queen cannot send Lord Aberdeen
. for a child's ball, perhaps he may not disdain coming for a short time
a number of happy little people, including some of his grandchildren,
ng themselves." In September, again, she writes to him from Balmoral,
ptorily insisting on his leaving London and proceeding to Scotland at
o recruit his health. At Haddo, she says, he will be near her, and, she
"Lord Aberdeen knows that his health is not his own alone, but that

e Croker Papers, Vol. III., p. 320. Lyndhurst, long after delivering his ferocious speech de-
that Sebastopol should be razed to the ground, had written to Croker for advice. "The
world is in a most complicated state," says Lyndhurst in this letter, "and I feel quite at

(the Queen) and the country have as much interest in it as he and his own family."* In midsummer she gave him her best support and sympathy when the Peelites and the Whigs almost openly quarrelled, and attacks on the Prime Minister were freely indulged in by his own supporters. "Aberdeen," writes Prince Albert in July to Stockmar, "is a standing reproach in their

MR ROEBUCK (1858).

eyes, because he cannot share the enthusiasm while it is his part to lead it. Nevertheless he does his duty and keeps the whole thing together, and is the only guarantee that the war will not degenerate into crack-brained, fruitless absurdities"—such as the re-organisation of Poland, the seizure of Finland, a mad project of certain Tories like Lyndhurst, and the annexation of the Crimea. Before Parliament met in January, 1855, the Queen was indeed so keenly sensible of the injustice of the attacks on Lord Aberdeen, that she insisted on his accepting the Order of the Garter as a public testimony of her

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LVII.

nfidence in his administration, and of "her personal feelings of regard and
endship" for himself. The end of the London season, when the Court came
the capital to prorogue Parliament, was gloomy. Cholera was spreading fast
rough the town, and even the world of fashion had to offer up its tale of
tims.* The Queen was therefore fain to hurry back to Osborne as quickly as
ssible; and, on the 29th of August, she writes to the King of the Belgians

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, FROM ST. JAMES'S PARK.

at she is reconciling herself to the prospect of a long parting from her
sband, who was about to visit Napoleon III.

Prince Albert's visit to France was planned by the Emperor Napoleon for
e purpose of raising his status in the eyes of his people, whose cultured and
istocratic classes looked askance at his upstart court and his mushroom
bility. First of all, he sounded Lord Cowley on the subject. The Queen
ought that such a visit might render the French alliance more trustworthy
an she was disposed to consider it, and the Prince soon let Lord Cowley
ow he would visit France whenever he was invited. Napoleon III. accord-
gly, on the 3rd of July, asked the Prince to come and inspect the superior

* One of the most appalling cases was the death of Lord Jocelyn in Lady Palmerston's drawing-
m.

... 100,000 troops which was to be formed between St. Omer and Boulogne, ... the Prince promised to go. He sailed from Osborne on the 3rd of September, carrying an autograph letter from the Queen to the Emperor, who ... his guest on the quay at Boulogne on the 4th. On the 8th he returned ... Osborne, on the whole well pleased with his visit.

The 15th of September found the Court at Balmoral; indeed, it was there ...t the Queen received most of the stirring news that made English hearts ...t fast during these anxious months when the Crimean struggle was begun. ...e was greatly cheered by the successful landing of the troops near Eupatoria, ...d her pride when the tidings of the victory of the Alma arrived, is ...nkly and ingenuously expressed in her correspondence.

On the 11th of October the Court returned to Windsor, the Queen visit... Edinburgh, Hull, and Grimsby on the way. It was at Edinburgh that ... first heard of the abandonment of the attack on the northern front of ...bastopol, and of Raglan's foolish "flank march" to the south side of the ...vn. Prussian diplomacy had at this time again irritated both the Queen ...d her husband, for when Austria was once more pressed to take the field ...h us, Prussia held her back by threatening to withdraw from the offen...e and defensive alliance which had been signed between the two countries. ...ince Albert remonstrated with the Crown Prince—afterwards German ...iperor—but in vain. The conduct of Prussia was especially provoking to ... Queen, because she even then saw certain signs which indicated that the ... of the Crown Prince would probably be soon a successful suitor for ... eldest daughter's hand. Her Majesty next induced her uncle, King ...opold, to remonstrate with the King of Prussia. Prussia was warned that ...ance would seize the left bank of the Rhine, and that England would ...t her. Herr Von Bismarck, who made it his business to thwart King ...opold's schemes, met this threat by pointing out that whoever held the ...ine was master of Belgium—a trifling circumstance which the Queen and ...nce Albert seem to have overlooked, when they persuaded King Leopold ... press Prussia into the service of the Allies.

When October brought the first hints of bad news from the Crimea, the ...rt of the Queen grew heavy with anxiety. She now knew, by advices from ...glan, that he had not enough troops for the task that was imposed on ... The country was growing restive over the sluggishness of the attack. ... Queen and Prince Albert therefore implored Lord Aberdeen to consider ... reinforcements were to be sent out. On the 11th of November her ...jesty asked the Prime Minister to visit her at Windsor, and, with the ...e of Newcastle, talk over a project of the Prince's for raising the Militia ... ballot and sending them abroad, and for organising a legion of foreign ...cenaries. The Queen desired this step to be taken at once, assuring her ...isters that they would have no difficulty in getting a Bill of Indemnity ... Parliament; but her suggestion was overruled. And yet at this time

glan was begging the Secretary for War to send out 10,000 ... ay! Meanwhile Napoleon III. was alarmed to find that the English army s vanishing before Canrobert's eyes. Hence he offered to send out every nch soldier he could muster, if England would only find the transports. James Graham found them, and they carried, not only French troops to Crimea, but all the lavish stores of food and comforts which never reached se for whom they were supplied. The terrible loss of life at Inkermann ain prompted the Queen to press on the Duke of Newcastle the necessity reinforcing our shattered army. Prince Albert was equally urgent in his portunity, and on the 1st of December he was successful in persuading the binet to adopt his plan for forming an Army of Reserve at Malta.

Meantime, diplomacy was again appealed to for the purpose of ending the r. "If Austria did her duty," writes the Queen when as yet the tidings of nage were fresh in her mind, "she might have prevented much of this odshed. Instead of this, her Generals do nothing but juggle the Turks of Principalities, and the Government shuffles about, making advances and n retreating. We shall see now if she is sincere in her last propositions." * ese were that certain demands should be made by her on Russia. If Russia ected them, then Austria would be willing to join us in the war. But, on other hand, if Russia accepted the Austrian proposals, England and France st agree to make peace. What then, asked Austria, were the terms ich France and England would insist on having? Prince Albert was asked Lord Clarendon to suggest an answer. The Prince replied very sensibly that should not ask for anything beyond the "Four Points" on which Austria s prepared to insist, though it might be well, he said, to define their newhat elastic terms. These points were the substitution of a European a Russian Protectorate over the Principalities; the freedom of navigan on the Danube; the revision of the Treaty of 1841 so as to destroy preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea; a guarantee from the Sultan the Great Powers confirming the liberties and privileges of his Christian jects, instead of a guarantee from the Sultan to Russia alone. The Queen atly approved of the Ministerial Despatch which was drawn up on the lines Prince Albert's advice, and in a letter to Lord Clarendon she gave him nd reasons for her belief that Austria was acting honestly in the transion, and not, as Lord Clarendon suspected, seeking to evade her moral ponsibilities.

But it was the condition of the army itself during the winter of 1854 in the mea, rather than the diplomacy of the struggle that disturbed most grievously mind of the Queen. Official Despatches, especially those of Lord Raglan, re culpably silent on the subject. Private letters, however, from officers l men, teemed with complaints, and officers in the Guards kept the Court l informed about the actual state of things. Early in October, the Times

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LVIII.

generously opened a subscription for the benefit of the army, and sent Macdonald to the Crimea to administer it. The services which this gentle- n rendered to the troops will never be forgotten. He seemed to make his ace go as far as other men's pounds, and to his skilful administration may traced many most important reforms which were adopted by the Govern- nt in their methods of issuing rations to the army. The Queen was now of nion that the time had come for appealing to the generosity of the people behalf of the sufferers from the war. On the 13th of October a Royal mmission was issued, headed by Prince Albert, to establish the Patriotic nd for the relief of the families of those who had perished in the Crimea. staff of hospital nurses was organised under Miss Florence Nightingale— ady whose good deeds and kindly offices to the sick and wounded at Scutari re given her imperishable fame. On the 5th of November she reached the ne of her labours—as the wounded men were being brought in from Balaclava nd the hospital which had been a foul and disorderly pest-house, was soon dered a wholesome and serviceable sanatorium. It was Mr. Sidney Herbert o requested Miss Nightingale to undertake this work, and he was bitterly demned at the time for sanctioning such an innovation as the introduction a volunteer staff of thirty-seven lady nurses into a military hospital.* Nor s the Queen contented merely to help all these good works by her counsel, npathy, and support. With her own hands she, her daughters, and the ladies her Household knitted woollen comforters, socks, and mittens, and plied their edles as busily as the most toilworn seamstresses in the East-end, making der-clothing for the soldiers. Their example was quickly followed by every y of leisure in the three kingdoms. Prince Albert sent fur coats to brother officers in the Guards, and bountiful supplies of tobacco for the n. He devised a series of forms in order to extract, or rather extort, full ormation from Lord Raglan and his subordinates as to the condition of the ops, and it was not till his system of tabulated returns was adopted that Government had the data necessary for devising measures of relief for the eries of the army. On the first day of the year 1855, the Queen, in sending congratulations to Lord Raglan, speaks in touching language of the grief ich a long stream of Crimean reports have caused her. She urges vehem- ly that every effort be made to save her troops from privation. She even s into particulars, and speaks sharply about the blunder which led to green fee beans instead of ground coffee being served out—a blunder that was of the notorious scandals of the time.†

* Mr. Herbert's policy was amply vindicated. The experiment succeeded so well that Miss Stanley, r of the late Dean Stanley, was sent out afterwards with forty-seven nurses to reinforce Miss tingale's staff.

† See a lively correspondence between Sir J. Graham and John Wilson Croker on this subject. m showed that the Admiralty was not to blame, but urged in excuse of "the poor idiot," as cribed him, who blundered at Balaclava, that "this was the first time coffee had ever been d to a British army on foreign service."—Croker Papers, Vol. III., p. 328.

MISS NIGHTINGALE AND THE NURSES IN THE BARRACKS HOSPITAL AT SCUTARI

...change in the organisation of the Ministry took place in ..., which, however, does not seem to have greatly concerned the Court. The Secretaryship of State for War had hitherto been an appendage of the Colonial Office. It was now made a separate Secretaryship, and, in an unfortunate moment for himself, the Duke of Newcastle elected to take the appointment, letting Sir George Grey become Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. Sidney Herbert remained as "Secretary *at* War"—a Parliamentary secretary representing the War Office in the House of Commons,* Lord John Russell becoming President of the Council.† Lord John, however, who seems to have been the fly in the ointment pot of the Coalition, soon began to find fault with the readjustment of offices. In November he told Lord Aberdeen that the War Office ought to be put in stronger hands than those of the Duke of Newcastle. This suggestion, described afterwards by Mr. Disraeli as "a profligate intrigue" worthy of the "Memoirs" of Bubb Doddington, gave offence to the Queen. It seemed to her a treacherous attempt to disintegrate the Cabinet, and she did not conceal her sympathy with the statesman thus attacked. The Duke, however, generously offered to sacrifice himself so that Lord John Russell might not have a pretext for embarrassing the Crown by breaking up the Government at a critical moment; but the Cabinet would not permit the Duke to be sacrificed. Even Palmerston, to do him justice, repudiated the idea, and so Lord John again threatened to resign. Aberdeen met this threat by persuading the Queen to overcome her personal aversion to Palmerston, and obtaining her leave to appoint him Leader of the House of Commons, in the event of Lord John Russell deserting his post.

Lord John, now finding that he had made a mistake, succumbed on the ...th of December: and so the scandal was hushed up. The Queen, however, felt ill at ease, for, by this time, she knew that the Ministry had no stability, and that Lord John would soon again give his colleagues more serious trouble. But he remained in the Cabinet fully cognisant of everything that was done by the War Department, and never expressing the least disapproval of its management till Parliament met in January, 1855. Then, when Mr. Roebuck gave notice of his motion for inquiring into the conduct of the war, Lord John, without the slightest warning, resigned, saying that as he agreed with Mr. Roebuck he did not see how the motion could be resisted. The Duke of Newcastle

* Financial Secretary to the War Office is now the name of this post.

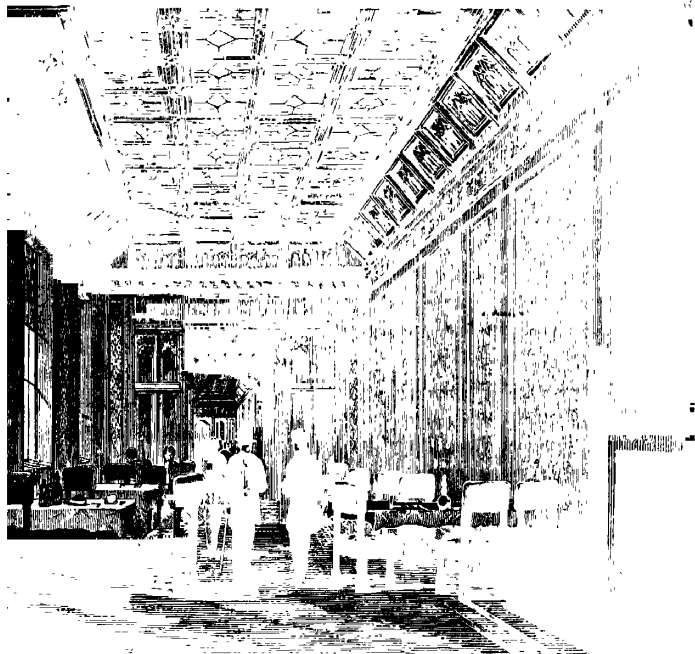
† This change was brought about by Russell rudely turning out Lord Granville to make room for himself, and dismissing Mr Strutt from the Duchy of Lancaster to make room for Lord Granville. ... got a Peerage as Lord Belper. Russell threatened to break up the Ministry if he did not get the Presidency of the Council, although there was no precedent—except a doubtful one in Henry VIII.'s ...—for appointing a commoner to the office. The Duke of Bedford told Mr. Greville that Lord ..., being poor, was now determined to get an office carrying a high salary. The Duke had met his ..., but was growing more miserly every day his colossal fortune was accumulating, and, says Greville, "he falls in very readily with his brother's notion of taking an office for the sake of its emoluments."—Greville Memoirs—Third Part, Vol I, p. 148 (Longmans), 1887.

e offered to retire in favour of Lord Palmerston, if haply Lord John
sell could be thereby induced to withdraw his resignation. But again, his
eagues refused to sacrifice him, and so they all offered to resign. This
a cruel blow to the Queen. She protested that there was no precedent
a Ministry resigning in the midst of a war till they were dismissed. She
lored Lord Aberdeen not to desert her at a moment when the very worst
ible effect would be produced by the spectacle of the nation struggling
ugh war without a Government. The Cabinet accordingly determined to
Mr. Roebuck's motion; but when he carried it against them, as has
ady been recorded, they were compelled to retire from office. Then
Queen had to meet one of the most perplexing and anxious Ministerial
s of her reign. Lord Derby was appealed to. But he found he could
obtain "independent support" from Lord Palmerston, Mr. Sidney Herbert,
Gladstone, and Lord Aberdeen's friends—which, he observed cynically,
"support which could never be depended on." He did not seem to
much faith in his own colleagues, and he consequently declined
orm a Ministry. But he sympathised with the Queen in her vexation at
turn which events had taken—quoting to her a remark of Walewski's—
hat influence can a country like England pretend to have without an
y and without a Government?" Lord Lansdowne was next consulted.
was willing to form a Cabinet, but then he was old and broken in health.
could not possibly serve for more than a few months, and obviously his
rced retirement would again cast everything into confusion. Lord John
sell, of course, had long been under the hallucination that he could form
administration without the aid of the Peelites. His cantankerous treachery
is colleagues, and his unscrupulous pertinacity in disintegrating the Coalition
net in circumstances most damaging to the country, rendered him ob-
onable to the Queen. But still acting on Lansdowne's advice, she deter-
ed to let him try, so that the mortification of failure might perchance
el his delusion that he had still a name to conjure with as a Party leader.
tried, and, of course, failed ignominiously. No man trusted him or cared
erve under or with him. The Queen, however, in her letter to Lord John,
shrewdly and gracefully held out the olive branch to Palmerston by
ng that it would give her great pleasure if he would join the new Govern-
t. Palmerston, feeling that the crisis was one which also called for
ifices on his part, offered to serve even under Lord John as Secretary
War, if he could thereby extricate the Crown from its difficulties. But he
ned it imperative that Lord Clarendon should join the Ministry, and this
l Clarendon stoutly refused to do. His colleagues, he said, had all been
l to him, and he would not serve under a man who, from the time he entered
late Ministry, had persistently embarrassed it, and intrigued for its destruc-
. Lord John found that he had attempted the impossible, and on the 4th
'ebruary the country was still without a Government, to the infinite damage

its prestige in the eyes of foreign nations. The Czar rejoiced grimly at our nbarrassments. The French Emperor began to doubt whether a stable alliance ould be formed with a nation whose organic institutions were so unstable

HENRY VIII.'S GATEWAY, WINDSOR CASTLE.

e Queen accordingly put an end to Russell's intrigues, which had wrought all is mischief, in a very summary manner. Lord Palmerston's public-spirited haviour in the crisis had obliterated all recollection of his faults in the past. r Majesty therefore called on Palmerston to organise a Government. The higs who had served in the Coalition Cabinet agreed to serve under him. The elites would have done so, but they declined because of their deep personal

d for Aberdeen and Newcastle, who, they declared, had been most unjustly spitefully attacked by the majority that had destroyed the Coalition rnment.* Aberdeen and Newcastle, however, remonstrated with them, the result was that Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and the Duke rgyle consented to take office under Palmerston. When Lord Palmerston ned the Queen of this fact she felt that for a time her troubles were over,

REFRESHMENT ROOM, HOUSE OF LORDS.

that again she was indebted to the disinterested devotion of Lord Aberdeen happy release from her difficulties. Palmerston himself also expressed ratitude to Aberdeen in strong and cordial terms.†
he new Cabinet was really the old one. Only Russell, Aberdeen, and astle were out of it, and Lord Panmure—a blustering person who was enough to make the world believe that to be noisy was to be energetic

* Whatever may be the qualities of different Ministers, I am the bond by which they are united r. That once destroyed, the whole fabric falls." — Letter of Lord Aberdeen to John Wilson, explaining why the factions concentrated their hostility on him personally.—The Croker Papers, I., p. 348.

† Evelyn Ashley's Life of Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 80.

was Secretary of State for War. This seemed rather to disconcert the factious place-hunters. "The Whigs at Brooks's," wrote Lady Palmerston to her son-in-law,* "were all up in arms at the Government not being formed on more Liberal principles, or rather with more of the Whig Party. They are disappointed at the Peelites joining, and at under people of that party keeping their places, so that, in a manner, there are hardly any places to fill up. They press, therefore, very much for a Whig in the Duchy of Lancaster, so as to make the Peelite division in a greater minority." But the anger of the Tories could scarcely be kept within bounds. They argued that, as Aberdeen and Newcastle had not been evicted from office till after they had pretty nearly succeeded in setting the War Department in order, their successors would not only have a comparatively easy task, but would also win all the glory and prestige of finishing a victorious war. Lord Derby had missed a golden opportunity by refusing to form a Ministry; nay, he had done something that was still more damaging to them. In his explanation to the House of Lords he admitted that he could not govern without the aid of the Peelites. This implied that, having tried his colleagues in the work of administration, he had so little confidence in their capacity, that he did not dare to trust to them alone. "Disraeli," writes Lord Malmesbury, "is in a state of disgust beyond all control. He told me he had spoken his mind to Lord Derby, and told him some very disagreeable truths."† No sooner had the new Cabinet been formed than it was seen that another effort would be made to break it up. What was to be done with Mr. Roebuck's Committee of Investigation? It was somewhat unconstitutional to vest it with the functions of the Executive, and Palmerston, on the 16th of February, appealed to the House not to appoint the Committee, or at least to suspend its judgment till the new Ministry had time to reform the War Department. Mr. Roebuck denied that the Ministry was really a new one, and insisted on the appointment of the Committee. The Peelites objected to the Committee as a dangerous and unconstitutional precedent. Palmerston agreed with them, but, like the majority of the Cabinet, he felt that to resist was to court another defeat in the House of Commons; and so he decided to yield. Sir James Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Gladstone accordingly tendered their resignations, and in a fortnight after it was formed the new Ministry was wrecked. On the 28th Sir George Cornewall Lewis took Mr. Gladstone's place as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord John Russell re-entered the Cabinet as Colonial Secretary, and Sir C. Wood succeeded Sir J. Graham as First Lord of the Admiralty. "Things have gone mad here, the political world is quite crazy, and the Court is the only institution which does not lose its tranquil bearing"—thus

* Palmerston wanted Lord Shaftesbury to be Chancellor of the Duchy. He had to withdraw his offer of the post, and in this letter Lady Palmerston explains why.—Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., by Edwin Hodder, Vol. II., p. 493 (Cassell and Co.).

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 8.

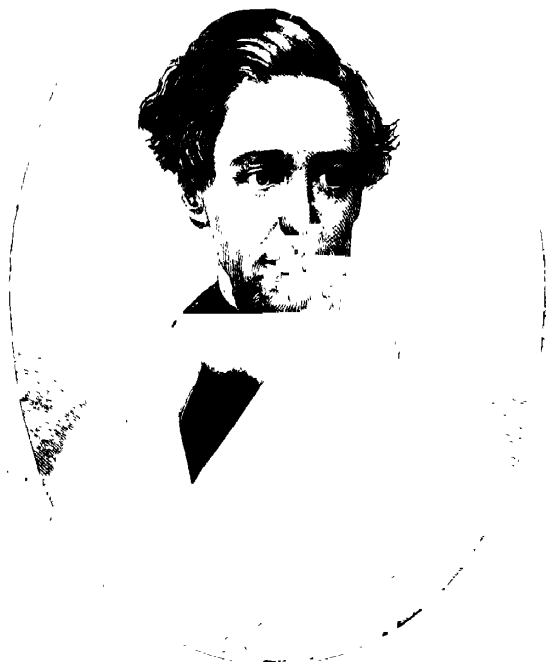
wrote Prince Albert to the Dowager-Duchess of Coburg in the midst of the agitation caused by the second Ministerial crisis of 1855.

Meanwhile much had been done by Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, and Prince Albert, to improve the condition of the army at the seat of war. The railway from Balaclava to the camp was being pushed on rapidly; reinforcements were pouring in steadily. On the 13th of March Sir J. Burgoyne writes that "the men are beginning to look tolerably hearty and cheerful again." A Sanitary Commission, organised by Lord Shaftesbury, had been despatched to aid the medical staff, and there was little for the new Ministers to do but to follow the path which Aberdeen and Newcastle had, by their toil and self-sacrifice during the recess, smoothed for them. The Queen, like the Peelites, was of opinion that the Roebuck Commission could do very little good, and, by diverting the attention of the officials from the work in hand, might do a great deal of harm. It was the expression of an angry desire to punish somebody, and, as Prince Albert said, it could not hope to find the right person, "because he does not exist."* If any one was to blame, it was the Duke of Wellington, who had left the country with a loose aggregate of battalions which was in no true sense an organised army—without leaders trained and practised in the duties of general officers; without a reserve, a general staff, field commissariat, ambulance, or baggage corps; without training in the combined use of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, with their various systems of supply and transport; in fact, without any effective instrument whatever for waging war at a distance from England. In vain did the Committee endeavour to fix the blame for the disasters in the Crimea on somebody. Mr. Roebuck soon found that an examination of the Duke of Newcastle would rather tend to clear than to damage his reputation, and then the inevitable scapegoat was sought in the Queen's husband. When Mr. Roebuck consulted the Duke privately on the subject, his Grace told him that the only really valuable advice he and Lord Aberdeen got was from Prince Albert. He added that the Queen's health had suffered dreadfully from her anxiety about the troops, and that it was therefore absurd to imagine that the Prince had been conspiring to wreck the expedition. The Sebastopol Committee was a failure. It did not succeed in saddling any one with a definite responsibility for the sufferings of the army; nay, the Chairman (Mr. Roebuck), in speaking to a resolution censuring the Aberdeen Ministry for their management of the war, freed the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Sir J. Graham, the heads of the incriminated Departments, from blame.† The only severe censure was that passed on Lord

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap LXI.

† The opposition of the Peelites to the Committee on grounds of high policy and constitutional legality was soon justified. "Lord Stanley," says Lord Malmesbury on the 3rd of March, "writes that Louis Napoleon objects strongly to the Committee of Inquiry into the War, and says if it takes place, though his army will still act on the same side as ours, it can no longer do so along with

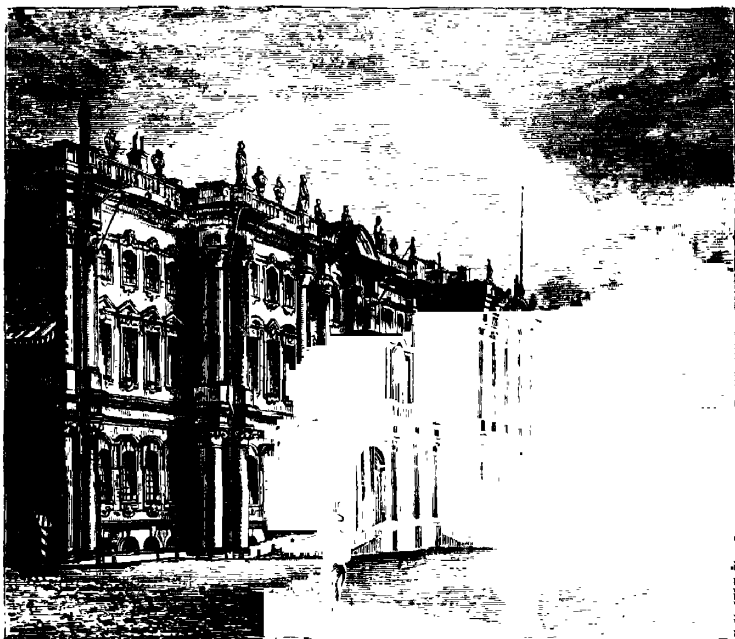
Raglan for continuing Mr. Ward as purveyor for the hospital at Scutari after he had been pronounced unfit for his post.

It had been agreed, partly on the advice of the Queen, to enter a new Conference at Vienna for the purpose of patching up a peace. To get rid of Lord John Russell, he was sent there by Lord Palmerston as the representative

MR. SIDNEY HERBERT (AFTERWARDS LORD HERBERT OF LEA).

of England; and it was whilst he was on his way that he was offered and accepted the Colonial Secretaryship, vacated by the resignation of Mr. Sidney Herbert.* The basis of the Conference was the protocol containing the "Four Points" which had been accepted in principle by Russia on the 16th of

it. He is evidently alarmed at the laches of his own Ministers and generals being shown up to Europe and endangering his position."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 11. Little wonder that the investigation was "incomplete" and "inconclusive."

* Mr. Sidney Herbert succeeded Sir George Grey in this office when Palmerston reorganised the Coalition. Mr. Herbert went out with the Peelites a fortnight after the new Ministry was formed.

November, 1854, though Nesselrode in his despatch of 26th August to Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, had rejected them. On the 2nd of March, the chief figure in the tragic drama of the war passed suddenly from the scene. The failure of his plans in the Crimea had broken the imperious spirit and proud heart of the Czar, and he died with words of thanks to his army on his lips. "Tell my dear Fritz" (the King of Prussia),

THE WINTER PALACE, ST. PETERSBURG.

he said to the Czarina with his last breath, "to continue the friend of Russia, and faithful to the last words of papa"—faithful, that is, to the principles of the Holy Alliance. The old monarchies and the old conservatism of Europe thus lost their most powerful champion, and a seventh part of the globe found a new master. The Emperor Nicholas was succeeded by his son, Alexander II., who immediately proclaimed his intention of following out loyally the policy which his father had inherited with his crown. On the 10th of March, Nesselrode intimated to the Russian Agents abroad that the young Czar would enter the Vienna Conference "in a sincere spirit of concord." And as it was only possible to secure the neutrality of Austria by keeping alive negotiations for peace, Russia had a powerful motive for continuing them. But at the meetings

of the Conference Prince Gortschakoff refused to accept the plan for giving effect to the Third Point. It proposed to destroy Russian preponderance in the Black Sea, by binding her and Turkey never to have there more than "four ships, four frigates, with a proportionate number of light vessels and of unarmoured vessels *exclusively adapted to the transport of troops.*" Russia, as an alternative, suggested that ships of war of all nations might have free access through the Dardanelles or Bosphorus to the Black Sea, or, if it were preferred, that the Sultan might admit the vessels of the Western Powers, or of Russia, in such numbers as he pleased. This would, of course, enable the Western Powers to check Russian preponderance. But it would also involve the right of Russia to send ships to the Mediterranean. To that the Western Powers would not consent, and so the Conference was at an end. At this stage Count Buol suggested a compromise. Why not, he asked, solve the difficulty by applying the principle of counterpoise? One way of doing that obviously would be to establish an actual equilibrium between the Black Sea fleets of Turkey and Russia—the Sultan having the right to open the straits to the ships of his allies if threatened with attack. M. de Drouyn Lhuys and Lord John Russell did not consider that their instructions permitted them to accept this compromise. But they both privately expressed their personal approval of it, and promised to urge the Governments of France and England to assent to it. The French Emperor and the British Cabinet rejected it. M. Drouyn de Lhuys accordingly resigned office—whereas Lord John Russell remained in the Cabinet. But he had the amazing indiscretion after this to advocate the prosecution of the war in an extravagant speech,* whereupon the Austrian Government revealed the fact that at Vienna he had said peace might be honourably made on the basis of Count Buol's compromise. No English Minister in our time has ever placed himself in a more humiliating position. Not a word could be said in his defence. All he himself could say was that he was afraid he might embarrass his colleagues if he retired, or if he let it be known that he thought they were carrying on war, when peace might honourably be concluded. The outcry against his dishonesty was so loud, that he resigned as soon as Sir E. B. Lytton gave notice of a motion in the House of Commons condemning his conduct.

The failure of the Conference gave rise to heated debates in Parliament, in which the Government was attacked by a curious combination of Parties. The House of Lords with singular want of patriotism and dignity encouraged Lyndhurst to vilipend Prussia and sneer at Austria, at the very moment when it was vital to our diplomatic success to conciliate these Powers. His violent speeches prove that, despite his eloquence, he lacked the one quality necessary to justify his interference in any debate on Foreign Affairs. He was utterly incapable of appreciating the difference between the interests of England and France, and those of Austria in the negotiations—the difference between

* Hansard, Vol. CXXXVIII., 1075.

the interests and the prepossessions of actual and contingent belligerents. But all this criticism of the Conference, even from the point of view taken by rhetorical mischief-makers like Lyndhurst, failed to lay bare the one blunder in strategy which the Plenipotentiaries had perpetrated.* The House of Commons, it must be allowed, came out of the debates more creditably than had been expected. The Tories, led by Mr. Disraeli, seemed to keep their heads cool, and scrupulously refrained from clamouring for war because Russia had rejected the Third Point. They refused to support the Radicals, who were for moving an Address to the Crown virtually binding the Government to accept the Austrian proposals. But they condemned the Ministers for the ambiguity of their policy in reference to these proposals, and brought forward a motion assuring the Crown that the House would support the Executive to the utmost in prosecuting war till peace was obtained. The combative Whigs would have committed Parliament to a declaration that the reduction of the naval power of Russia in the Black Sea, was the essential condition of peace. In the end, a motion, which was the Tory proposal with the implied censure on the Ministry cut out, was carried. But all through the debate, Peelites, Tories, and Radicals condemned the suggestion to limit the naval power of Russia by Treaty. And they were right, for, as Mr. Gladstone is reported to have said in conversation, it was a proposal "to slap Russia on the face without tying her hands." It was, in fact, an attempt to inflict on Russia a perpetual indignity without reducing her real power, which was not naval but military. Mr. Disraeli and Lord Robert Cecil—afterwards Lord Salisbury—considered it an impolitic scheme for the humiliation of Russia, and the ablest debaters pointed out that it was one which Russia would ever be tempted to violate, whilst the Powers had now no check on her save that of chronic war. Yet it was for the sake of forcing this indignity on Russia, who had now yielded every demand we made when we invaded the Crimea, that the war was prolonged! From this moment, it is not too much to say, that the war was no longer a hateful but an unavoidable incident of State policy. It was the consummation of a hideous crime against humanity, for which Lord Palmerston and his colleagues were directly reponsible.†

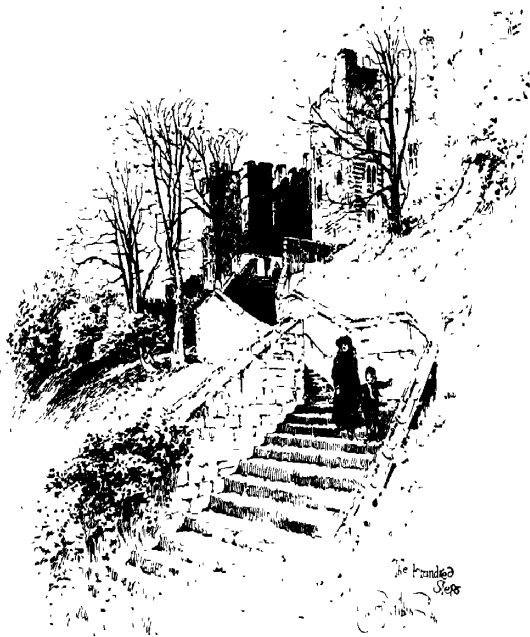
* This was, of course, discussing and coming to a unanimous agreement with Russia at the very outset on the Second Point—the navigation of the Danube. This was the point in which Austria had had a vital interest. If it had been kept open to the last, she might have been more zealous in overcoming the difficulties as to the Third Point which wrecked the Conference.

† The proof of this is as follows: (1) The Turks would have taken the Austrian compromise, which, by the way, was the development of a suggestion made by the French Envoy, as the basis of a feasible plan for giving effect to the Third Point. (2) Lord John Russell—the most violent and bellicose of the anti-Russian Ministers—was in favour of it. (3) The position of Russia in the matter was officially misrepresented to the English people. Russia said her defeats were not such as to justify her as a Great Power in letting the Allies *force* on her a reduction of her Black Sea fleet. But she had no objection to any plan limiting her preponderance if it sprang from mutual negotiation between her and Turkey—acting as principals on an *equal footing*—to establish, by *mutual consent* a naval equilibrium in the Black Sea. (4) She did not absolutely exclude the idea of reducing her fleet as was falsely

When Lord John Russell excused himself for first recommending the Austrian compromise, and then backing out of his opinion and advocating war, he said mysteriously that something had come to his knowledge which altered his views. It was suggested at the time by Mr. Disraeli that Lord John was overawed by the objections of the Emperor of the French to the compromise. Even had that been the case, it would not have justified him in remaining in the Cabinet, seeing that the Emperor's Minister, who was in

GRAND RECEPTION ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE

stated, not only in the English press, but in Parliament. Article 2 of Count Buol's compromise provided that Turkey and Russia should "propose by common agreement to the Conference the effective equality of the naval forces which the two coast Powers will keep up in the Black Sea, and which shall *not exceed the actual number of Russian ships afloat in that Sea*" (See Annual Register, Vol. XCVII., pp. 214—217.) The use of the word "exceed" shows that the Article provided a *maximum* limit—not a minimum. It was simply foolish to argue, as representatives of the Government did, that negotiations for peace had to be abandoned because Russia refused to accept a practical and reasonable plan for preventing her from having more ships than Turkey in the Black Sea. The statement of facts on this subject by Sir T. Martin in Chap. LXIII. of his Life of the Prince Consort is as misleading as Mr. Spencer Walpole's account of the Austrian Compromise (History of England, Vol. V., p. 185). Mr. Walpole says that Count Buol's proposal was one "under which any addition to the Russian Fleet might be followed by the admission of a corresponding number of war vessels of the Allies into the Euxine." This is not a correct summary of Article 2 of the Compromise.

like case, had resigned rather than hold himself responsible for an indefensible war. It is, however, possible to account for Lord John's conduct more easily by attributing it to sycophancy than to treachery, for it is a regrettable fact that when the Austrian project was laid before the Queen by Lord Clarendon, she used all her influence to quash it. She wrote to him a curt note saying:— "How Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn can recommend such proposals to our

THE HUNDRED STEPS, WINDSOR CASTLE

acceptance is beyond her (the Queen's) comprehension." Then she encloses a brief memorandum from Prince Albert, in which he says:—"To limit the Russian naval power to that existing in 1853 would therefore be simply to perpetuate and legalise the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea, a proposal which can neither be made nor accepted as a development of the Third Point."* It is unfortunate that such clear thinkers as the Queen and her husband did not observe that what Austria fixed was merely the maximum and not the minimum limit, that by mutual agreement Russia and Turkey might cut down their ships from six to one if they chose, and that even the

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXIII.

equilibrium could be always counterbalanced by Turkey. Yet Prince Albert would insist that a proposal which automatically established an equilibrium was one to perpetuate a preponderance! It is only fair to the memory of the late Emperor of the French to say that, according to Sir Theodore Martin's admissions, the first strong and contemptuous rejection of the Austrian compromise came from the Queen; that when Napoleon III. first considered the matter he hesitated before endorsing the views which Palmerston and his colleagues meekly accepted from the Court. What renders the policy of the Court—or rather of Baron Stockmar, who inspired it—at this stage unintelligible is, that a month afterwards it actually pressed upon the Cabinet a proposal for *organising* a great League of the Powers to defend Turkey diplomatically against Russia. This proposal was made on the ground that it was impossible to inflict on Russia such losses as would force her to submit to humiliating terms.*

Nor was this the only instance which can be adduced of mistaken interference on the part of the Court. When Palmerston succeeded in forming his Government, he pledged himself to follow out the foreign policy of Lord Aberdeen. Aberdeen's friends had publicly declared that the terms which we sought to impose on Russia were needlessly humiliating, and that in the Austrian compromise there was an ample basis for a fair settlement, and a good reason for continuing negotiations at Vienna. It was a matter of notoriety that Aberdeen himself shared these views, and there were many who complained querulously that if they had not destroyed his Ministry, the Vienna Conference would not have been abortive. In these circumstances Prince Albert, knowing Aberdeen's devotion to the Queen, wrote to him complaining especially about Mr. Gladstone's speech on Mr. Disraeli's motion of the 24th of May. For the rejection of that motion had not ended the controversy. Sir F. Baring's amendment, which was finally carried, was coming up for discussion on the 4th of June, and the Court evidently did not desire a repetition of speeches containing unanswerable arguments against

* "If," writes *Prince Albert in a Memorandum dated 3rd of May, 1855*, "Austria, Prussia, and Germany will give the diplomatic guarantee for the future which I have here detailed, we shall consider this an equivalent for the material guarantee sought for in the limitation of the Russian Fleet."—Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXIII. But the odd thing to note is, that the Prince was one of those responsible, not perhaps for suspending, but for finally breaking up the Conference of Vienna, that had already adopted the principle of his plan. He and the Queen ignored the fact that it was already embodied in the Memorandum agreed to by the Conference, for giving effect to Ali Pasha's project for more completely connecting Turkey with 'the European equilibrium." The Queen first coerced—for her note to Clarendon was a coercive instrument—Palmerston to abandon negotiations in Conference, because Russia would not submit to a humiliating material guarantee. Then Prince Albert suggests as a substitute for, that a diplomatic guarantee, which Russia had already accepted, and which was a far less effective protection to Turkey than the Austrian compromise which the Queen imperiously condemned. The only original point in the Prince's plan is the inclusion of Prussia. She had been excluded from the Conference in deference to the prejudices of those who hated peace negotiations, and who declared that she was a mendacious slave of the Czar.

abandoning negotiations for peace.* Aberdeen, in fact, is summoned in this letter to the Palace to be lectured. He is warned that the conduct of his party has displeased the Queen, and he is warned in a tone only to be justified by the close relations of personal friendship, which bound him to the Court, and the Court to him.

The Queen and Prince Albert, however, utterly failed to gag the Peelites in the debate, or browbeat them into approving of the continuance of a bloody and wasteful war, when an honourable peace could be obtained by patient diplomacy. To his honour it must be stated that Sir James Graham,† Lord Aberdeen's representative in the House of Commons, delivered a speech which was even much more damaging and convincing than Mr. Gladstone's. Nobody attempted to answer it except Mr. Roebuck. His tirade of invective sprang from a delusion that Graham was willing to be satisfied with paltry concessions as the result of a great war. As he afterwards confessed, he was completely misled by the ferocity with which Lord John Russell in this debate condemned as worthless the very settlement which he had vainly urged his colleagues to accept as satisfactory. In truth, there is some reason to suspect that the harassing toil of winter, the prolonged and exhausting anxieties of a sad and pitiless war, had temporarily blunted Prince Albert's keen perceptions. Had this not been the case he would hardly have delivered at the Trinity House banquet in June, the famous speech in which he said that "Constitutional Government is under a heavy trial"—as if the failure of obsolete leaders in the field, or the stupid bigotries and moral cowardice of place-hunters in council, proved that Constitutional Government was a dubious experiment. At a moment when the Queen's personal interference with the Foreign Policy of her Government, usually so wise, prudent, and beneficial, had led to bad results, it was maladroit on the part of Prince Albert to gird at Constitutional Government. Very little reflection should have served to show the Court that it was only under the Muscovite autocracy that blunders in war and statecraft, *more* ghastly even than our own, could possibly be perpetrated.

When the Conference at Vienna closed, Austria, as might have been foreseen, refused to join England in carrying on the war. On the other hand, the King of Sardinia had, on 26th January, entered into a military convention with the Allies, and, in return for their guarantee of his territory, engaged to send an army of 15,000 men to the Crimea.

The war in 1855 was carried on under more favourable conditions than in the previous year. Reinforcements were sent out quickly. The commissariat,

* And yet on the day before the Prince wrote to Aberdeen he says, in a letter to Stockmar:—"The Vienna Conferences, which it would have been better to have left open, must now be closed, if only to *get the Ministry rest in Parliament.* Oh, Oxenstiern! Oh, Oxenstiern!"—Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXIV.

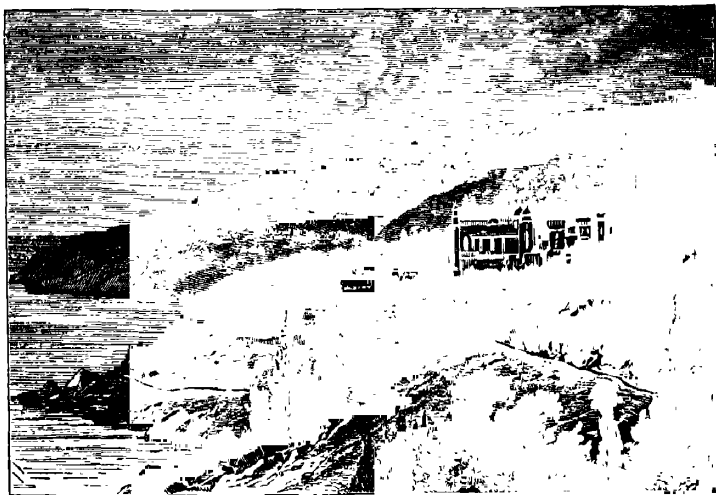
† Mr. Sidney Herbert was another Peelite who resisted Prince Albert's intimidation.

sanitary, and transport services were put into effective working order. On the 17th of February, the Turks under Omar Pasha gallantly repelled a Russian attack on Eupatoria—a feat which revived the drooping spirits of the Allies, and restored confidence in the fighting power of the Osmanli. The news of this defeat was peculiarly humiliating to the Czar, whose contempt for the Turk was unbounded, and his bitter vexation at being beaten by a despised enemy, perhaps had some effect in undermining the vitality of his iron constitution. The bombardment of Sebastopol began again in April—but, though the allied trenches were pushed closer and closer to the fortress, no serious impression was made on it. The English troops were eager for action, but Canrobert's weakness and irresolution held Lord Raglan back.*

On the 19th of May Canrobert resigned in favour of Pélissier—a soldier with a name stained by barbarous atrocities in Africa, but still a man of energy and determination. In a moment of happy inspiration it was determined to intercept the supplies which the enemy was drawing from his Circassian provinces; and on the 22nd of May an expedition of 3,800 English, 7,500 French, and 5,000 Turks, under Sir George Brown and General d'Autemarre, left for Cape Takli at the south-west extremity of the Straits of Kertch. It arrived there on the 24th. The Russians evacuated Kertch on the 25th, destroying before they left vast quantities of food and forage. The troops penetrated as far as Yenikale, and Captain Lyons, with his little fleet of steamers, advancing up the Sea of Azov, destroyed not only many ships but a large amount of stores. This expedition was cleverly planned, and it destroyed supplies sufficient for an army of 100,000 men for four months. It returned on the 12th of June. Writing to Stockmar on the 17th of June Prince Albert says, "At the seat of war everything is going on well. . . . . Pélissier is a *trouvaille*, energetic, and determined. Oddly enough, they are in Paris (I mean Louis Napoleon is) very much dissatisfied since our successes, 'low' about our prospects, anxious, &c. I am at a loss to know why." The fact is, that the war was more unpopular in France than ever, since the rejection of the Austrian compromise at Vienna, and the Emperor's proposal to go out to the Crimea, and command in person alarmed Persigny and the Bonapartists as to the safety of the Imperial *régime*. Failure meant ruin, and failure was on the cards.† Yet, on the 7th of June, the Allies had met with a brilliant success. The French stormed the Mamelon, and the English the Gravel Pits—an outwork in front of the Redan. But the two formidable works—the Malakoff and Redan—were yet to be taken, and in an evil moment Lord Raglan was

* Canrobert's neglect to seize the Mamelon Hill before the Russians crept into it on the 9th of March and fortified it, was one of the fatal blunders that protracted the siege

† Lord Malmesbury records a conversation in his Diary with Persigny on this point. "Persigny strongly for peace, and says France is all for it. . . . . He says, if the Emperor is to go to the Crimea, there must be peace at any price to prevent it. If not, the war ought to go on; but if the French army is lost then there will be a revolution."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 16.

persuaded by Pélissier to sanction a combined attack on these strongholds. The ablest practical soldiers in the British camp declared that the Redan could not be taken by direct assault, though it must fall if the Malakoff were captured. Raglan was of that opinion himself. But he yielded to his French colleague, and the result of the combined attack on both places was a painful failure. French and English were alike repulsed, and the loss of life which this blunder caused was sickening to contemplate. "Cries of 'Murder!'" writes Mr. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, "from the lips of

VIEW IN THE CRIMEA: THE PALACE WORONZOW, ALUPKA.

expiring officers have been echoed through the camp, but they have now died away in silence, or in the noise of active argument and discussion." * Heart-broken by this defeat, Lord Raglan took to his bed and died on the 28th of June.

The shock of Raglan's death silenced at the time all just criticism on his career. The most that can be said for him is said by Lord Malmesbury in his "Memoirs of an Ex-Minister." "I knew him well," he writes, "and cannot recollect a finer character. He was the Duke's right-hand man through the Peninsular war, and was greatly esteemed by him. Handsome and high-bred in person, and charming in society, he was one of the most popular of its members. He was remarkable for his coolness under fire, and St. Arnaud, in his famous despatch after the battle of the Alma, says of him: 'Il avait toujours ce même calme qui ne le quitte jamais.'" It is,

* The War, by W. H. Russell, p. 498. London: Routledge and Co., 1855.

[illegible] not given to every man to wield the Arthurian brand Excalibur, and whatever he may have been in the Peninsula under Wellington, in the Crimea Raglan was almost as incompetent as St. Arnaud, Canrobert, and Menschikoff. His blunders were as follows: (1), According to Sir T. Martin, he approved of the invasion of the Crimea in utter ignorance of the ground, when the campaign was proposed by the French Emperor.* (2), He consented to invade the Crimea *after* he had discovered that it was a mad project, and when the discretionary clause in his instructions from the Duke of Newcastle gave him an opportunity of remonstrating with the Cabinet. (3), He invaded the Crimea without an organised Transport Corps. (4), His blunders at the Alma, Balaclava, and Inkermann have been already noted. (5), Till pressure was put on him by Prince Albert, he concealed the miserable state of the army from the Government. (6), By neglecting to make a road between Balaclava and his camp he brought all the miseries of the winter of '54—'55 on his troops. (7), By attacking the Redan when he knew quite well it was impossible to capture it, he doomed his troops to useless and avoidable slaughter. No defence has been made for him except on the last two counts of the heavy indictment against him. He did not make a road from Balaclava to the camp, says Mr. Kinglake, because he had not enough men at his disposal. This is an explanation rather than a defence. His first duty as a general was to connect his camp with his base. If he was unable to do that, he ought to have abandoned his position. But is not Mr. Kinglake's defence just a little absurd, taken in connection with the Homeric episodes of the war? Had anybody enough men to do anything great or valuable in the Crimea? Campbell had not enough men to turn the tide of battle, in our favour at the Alma. But he did it. He had not enough men to save our base at Balaclava—but he saved it. Scarlett and Cardigan had not enough men to break through the Russian columns in "the Valley of Death"—but they broke through them. The Duke of Cambridge had not enough men to hold his ground at Inkermann—but he and his Guards held it, till it was positively soaked and saturated with their blood. Mr. Kinglake's advocacy, indeed, provokes one to say that scarcity of men never kept Lord Raglan back from any enterprise, when, as at Balaclava and the Redan, the only attainable end was the purposeless butchery of his battalions. The feeble attack on the Redan has been justified on the ground that, as Pélissier was determined to assault the Malakoff, and was certain to be beaten, he was

* Napoleon III. was abjectly ignorant of military geography. At the council of 1854, said Persigny to Lord Malmesbury, his Majesty "announced the attack on Baltic." Persigny asked if he meant Cronstadt. "No, of course not, it would require 100,000 men, *cavalry* included," said the Emperor, [illegible]. "But," replied Persigny, "Cronstadt is an island." "No, it is not," said the Emperor, as he went for a map. Everything, said Persigny, was done with the same ignorance and carelessness. Yet it was a campaign—devised by this charlatan against the opinion of his best officers, that Lord Raglan, according to Sir T. Martin, approved! See Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 15.

equally certain to attribute his defeat to the timidity of the English, unless they co-operated with him. It is, however, the business of an English general to win battles for his country—not to lose them in deference to the childish petulance of a foreign colleague. At the same time, it must be admitted that Raglan was greatly embarrassed from the first by his French coadjutors, and it is because some of his errors sprang from enforced concessions to their views, that these have been omitted from the present catalogue of his blunders. The truth is, that Lord Raglan was really a diplomatist, and his diplomatic ability was essential to the consolidation of our military alliance with France in the field. That was the sole justification for his appointment as Commander-in-Chief. His personal courage—rivalling that of antiquity, said St. Arnaud—was the only soldierly quality he possessed. "He was a very perfect gentle knight," too sweetly graceful for the rude ravishment of war, or the weary travail of a siege. His generosity of heart, his charm of manner, his exquisite tact, his serene temper, his chivalrous sense of honour, his high and courtly bearing, rendered him worthy of

> "The goodliest fellowship of famous knights,
> Whereof this world holds record"—

though not worthy to hold the post to which he was appointed in the Crimea. But if he was not a great general, he was a great gentleman; and so, when he passed away, the hand of censure fell very lightly on his career.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ROYALTY AND THE WAR.

Financing the War—The Queen and War Loans—A Dreadful Winter—Distress in the Country—The "Devil" in Devonshire—Bread Riots—War Loans and a War Budget—The Queen and the Wounded Soldiers—Her Condemnation of "the Hulks"—Presentation of War Medals at the Horse Guards—Visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French—A Plot to Capture the Queen—Councils of War at Windsor—The Grand Chapter of the Order of the Garter—Imperial Compliments—Napoleon III in the City—At the Opera—The Queen's Birthday Gift to the Emperor—Scarlet Fever at Osborne—Prorogation of Parliament—A Court Intrigue with *Dom Pedro of Portugal*—The Queen Visits Paris—Her Reception at St. Cloud—The Ball at the Hôtel de Ville—Staring at the "Koh-i-noor"—At the Tomb of the Great Emperor—Prince Bismarck's Introduction to the Queen—Home again—Lord Clarendon on the Queen's Visit to Paris—How the Prince of Wales Enjoyed himself—At Balmoral—The Bonfire on Craig Gowan—Sebastopol Rejoicings—"A Witches' Dance supported by Whisky"—Courtship of the Princess Royal—Prince Frederick William of Prussia—His Proposal of Marriage—Attacks of the *Times*—Visit of Victor Emmanuel—His Reputation in Paris—Memorial of the Grenadier Guards—Fresh Charges against Prince Albert—His Vindication of the Crimean Officers.

EARLY in 1855 her Majesty became anxious, not to say nervous, as to the plans that were to be adopted for financing the war. Her personal prepossessions were all in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy—which was that of meeting expenditure out of current revenue. But then the cost of the

campaign was now so *enormous* that it was impossible to increase taxation so as to cover it. The winter had been severe. Though the end of December and the first thirteen days of January had been like summer, during the night of the 13th, says Sir F. Hastings Doyle, "the wind shifted suddenly to the N.N.E., and a savage frost came on which lasted at least two months without intermission or abatement." * Outdoor workers found themselves without employment. Gangs of hungry-eyed labouring men began to parade the streets of London, levying black-mail on well-to-do householders. Ultimately mobs of roughs attacked and plundered the bakers' and chandlers' shops in the East End on the 21st and 22nd of February, and in Liverpool, where some 15,000 riverside labourers were out of work, terrible scenes of riot and outrage were enacted. It was a time when the abstraction of capital from the country by raising a war loan would be a slight evil, compared with that which might follow from the imposition of heavy war taxes on a discontented and suffering industrial population. It was therefore *decided that the cost of the war should be met by a loan.*

Sir George Cornewall Lewis brought forward his Budget on the 30th of April. He could estimate for a prospective revenue of £63,000,000. This, however, still left him with a deficit of £23,000,000, which he raised (1), by a Three per Cent. Loan of £16,000,000; (2), by an addition to taxation which brought in £4,000,000; (3), by raising £3,000,000 on Exchequer Bills. "The additional taxes," Sir George Lewis wrote to his friend Sir E. Head, "were, however, assented to without resistance by the House, who feared a larger addition to the Income Tax, and thought that if they objected to my proposition, taxes which they disliked still more would be substituted." As for the loan, the Money Market, he says, "was in a state favourable for such an operation; for at present there is an abundance of money, but a want of profitable investment for the purpose of trade." † The *loan of £2,000,000 to Sardinia was sanctioned* without much demur, but the loan of £5,000,000 to Turkey was violently objected to—especially by the Tories and Cobdenites. It was raised under the joint guarantee of France and England—an arrangement which many people thought might create disputes between the guarantors. Lord Palmerston, in fact, only carried the loan through by a vote of 135 to 132. Lord Aberdeen's followers opposed the transaction, and their opposition was resented by the Queen, who had already concluded and ratified the arrangement with the French Emperor for guaranteeing the loan.

* Reminiscences and opinions of Sir F. H. Doyle (Longmans, 1886), p. 414. There was a terrible snow storm in Devonshire *this year. It was made memorable by the footmarks of some creature which* nobody could identify. These created a sort of panic in the West of England, for the people thought that the devil was abroad among *them.*

† Letters of Sir George Cornewall Lewis, p. 295. His additional taxes were, (1), 3s. per cwt. on sugar; (2), 1d. per pound on coffee, raising the duty from 3d. to 4d.; (3), 3d. per pound on tea, raising the duty from 1s. 6d. to 1s 9d.; (4), equalisation of duty on Scotch and English spirits, bringing the former from 6s. to 7s. 10d. per gallon; (5), increase of duty on Irish spirits from 4s. to [illegible]; (6), increase of 2d. on Income Tax, raising it from 1s. 2d. to 1s. 4d. in the £.

In other respects, however, the relations of the Court to the war were less open to criticism. It has already been stated how her Majesty toiled with her own hands to aid those who were striving to mitigate the sufferings of the army during the Crimean winter. She wrote a letter to the Commander-in-Chief on the subject that touched the heart of every soldier in camp or hospital.

THE WOUNDED SOLDIER'S TOAST—"THE QUEEN!" (See p. 645.)

Mr. Augustus Stafford, in the debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion in the House of Commons (26th of January), thrilled his audience by telling them how he saw a wounded man, after hearing the letter read, propose the Queen's health in a draught of bark and quinine. Mr. Stafford said to him it was a bitter cup for a loyal toast; to which the man replied, with a smile, "Yes, and but for these words of the Queen I could not have got it down." Nor was her Majesty less assiduous in her attention to the wounded, when their haggard and mournful contingents began to return. On the 3rd of March she went down to Chatham

with her husband and her two eldest sons to inspect the Military Hospital at Fort Pitt and Brompton. The wounded men who could crawl from their beds were drawn up on the lawn, each bearing a card with a description of his name, services, and wounds. Along this gaunt array the Queen passed, sad-eyed and thoughtful, speaking a few kind and cheering words to the sufferers whose wounds or services especially attracted her notice. Contemporary reports of course stated that the Sovereign was well pleased with the manner in which those poor men were treated. But two days afterwards she sent a sharp letter to Lord Panmure, which showed that she had been using her eyes to good purpose during her inspection. He must, she says, have some really serviceable military hospitals built for the sick without delay. The poor men at Fort Pitt were well treated; but, she complains, "the buildings are bad—the wards more like prisons than hospitals, with the windows so high that no one can look out of them—and the most of the wards are small, with hardly space to walk between the beds." Her criticisms on the dining arrangements are trenchant; and then she goes on to argue that though Lord Panmure's plan of building hulks may do very well at first, it will not do for any length of time. "A hulk," she contends, "is a very gloomy place, and these poor men require their spirits to be cheered, as much as to have their physical sufferings attended to. The Queen is particularly anxious on this subject, which is, she may truly say, constantly in her thoughts, as, indeed, is everything connected with her beloved troops, who have fought so bravely and borne so heroically all their sufferings and privations."*

"I myself," said Queen Elizabeth to her troops at Tilbury, "will be your general and your judge, and the rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field." If Queen Victoria has never either in statecraft or power attained the position held by that leonine woman, she did not fail to emulate her in her devotion to the gallant men who bled and died for England in the desolate Chersonese The Queen's visit to the hospital at Chatham, and her reception there by the soldiers, prompted her to take the unusual course of suggesting to Lord Clarendon, on the 22nd of March, that she should with her own hands present war medals to the officers and men who were at home disabled or on leave. On the 18th of May a Royal dais was accordingly put up in the centre of the Horse Guards parade ground, with barriers enclosing from the crowd of spectators, a space for the heroes of the ceremony. At eleven o'clock the Queen, Prince Albert, and their family appeared, and at a signal the soldiers who were to be decorated stood before her. They passed along in single file, each handing a card recording his name and services to an officer, who delivered it to the Queen. She then presented each hero with his medal, saying a kindly word to every man as he went by. It was a strange and impressive spectacle. Gaunt, pallid forms, maimed and

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXI. It was this letter that ultimately led to the building of Netley Hospital.

THE QUEEN DISTRIBUTING THE CRIMEAN MEDAL AT THE HORSEGUARDS PARADE GROUND.

mutilated, hobbled along on crutches—or staggered forward, aided by walking sticks—and for officers and men alike the Queen had words of sympathy that drew tears from many an eye. From the highest Prince of the blood—the Duke of Cambridge was the first to step forward for his medal—to the humblest private, writes the Queen to King Leopold, "all received the same distinction for the bravest conduct in the severest actions, and the rough hands of the brave and honest private soldier came for the first time in contact with that of their Sovereign and their Queen. Noble fellows! I feel as if they were my own children; my heart beats for them as for my nearest and dearest."* Captain Currie, of the 14th, was so feeble that he almost failed to reach the dais on his crutches, and his condition profoundly touched the heart of the Queen. Captain Sayer, of the 23rd Fusiliers, could not be lifted out of his chair, so the Queen bent over him gracefully and pinned his medal to his breast, with a few words of comfort and hope. Colonel Sir T. Troubridge, of the 7th Fusiliers, who, when he had both his feet shot away at Inkermann, refused to leave his command till the battle was won, was also unable to leave his chair. When the Queen gave him his medal she whispered in his ear that she would reward his courage by making him one of her own aides-de-camp, whereupon he answered, "I am now amply repaid for everything." It was a scene which moved the hearts of all who took part in it, with the exception, perhaps, of the brusque and churlish Secretary of State for War. Lord Malmesbury says, "After the ceremony, Lady Seymour, whom I met, told me that Mrs. Norton, talking about it to Lord Panmure, asked, 'Was the Queen touched?' 'Bless my soul, no!' was the reply. 'She had a brass railing in front of her, and no one could touch her.' Mrs. Norton then said, 'I mean was she moved?' 'Moved!' answered Lord Panmure, 'she had no occasion to move.' Mrs. Norton then gave it up in despair."†

When the Emperor of the French first hinted at his intention of going to the Crimea, the idea frightened everybody. His own *entourage*, knowing his ignorance of the art of war, and convinced that defeat meant ruin for him and for them, were in despair. The Queen, too, was alarmed, because she foresaw infinite danger from the scheme. The Emperor would naturally desire to take supreme command of both armies, whereas the English people would not permit British troops to serve under a foreign sovereign, whose antecedents were doubtful, and whose friendship was uncertain. The French and English Governments therefore privately suggested to the Queen that she should now invite the Emperor and Empress to pay their promised visit to England, hoping that the Queen's influence might be used for the purpose of preventing him from proceeding to the seat of war.‡ The invitation was

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXIII.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 24.

‡ Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 12. Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXII.

accepted, and the rooms in Windsor which had been occupied by the Czar Nicholas and King Louis Philippe were set apart for the Imperial guests.

At noon on the 16th of April, after some mishaps in the dense fog which shrouded the Channel, the Imperial yacht reached the Admiralty Pier at Dover, where Prince Albert was waiting to receive his guests. The Prince went on board, shook hands with the Emperor, and then going down to the cabin

WINDSOR CASTLE FROM THE BROCAS

reappeared with the Empress on his arm. They landed amidst complimentary salvoes of artillery from the castle, the salutes of the military, and the ringing cheers of the crowd. The Royal party then proceeded to London, and when they arrived at the Bricklayers' Arms Station, they found dense masses of people assembled to welcome them. Their route lay along the line of streets leading to the Great Western station, where they took train for Windsor. Lord Malmesbury writes in his Diary, "Lady Ossulton, Lady Manners, my wife and I went to Lord Carrington's house in Whitehall to see the Emperor of the French pass. The weather was beautiful and bright, the streets were choked with people. The *cortège* made its appearance at 6.15 p.m.; there were but six open carriages, four of them escorted by a squadron of Life Guards, and a good many outriders in scarlet liveries. They passed very slowly at a walk

THE QUEEN INVESTING THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH WITH THE ORDER OF THE GARTER. (See p. 651.)

and were enthusiastically cheered the whole way from the South Eastern to the Great Western terminus. . . . On going up St. James's Street, the Emperor was seen to point out to the Empress the house where he formerly lived in King Street. This was at once understood by the crowd, who cheered louder than ever. On passing the Horse Guards the Emperor stood up in his carriage and saluted the colours, and was of course immensely cheered."* At Windsor the excitement was intense, and the Queen was on tiptoe of expectation. Referring to the arrival of the visitors, she writes, "I cannot say what indescribable emotions filled me—how much all seemed like a wonderful dream. These great meetings of sovereigns, surrounded by very exciting accompaniments, are always very agitating."† Her Majesty advanced and the Emperor kissed her hand. She saluted him once on each cheek, and then, as she says, "embraced the very gentle, very graceful, and evidently very nervous Empress." The Duke of Cambridge and the Prince of Leiningen and the Royal children were presented—"Vicky [afterwards the Empress Frederick] with very alarmed eyes making very low curtesies." In the Throne Room other presentations followed. At dinner, however, the Emperor put the Queen quite at her ease. He assumed the soft, low voice and the melancholy manner of the hero of some romance of mystery. They talked about the war—the Queen gently dissuading him from going to the Crimea, he mournfully expressing his apprehension of disasters unless he went out, and complaining of the blunders of the generals. Next morning (the 17th) the subject was renewed during a long walk after breakfast. This time the Empress was eager in pressing the Emperor to proceed to Sebastopol, where, she said with truth, he was perhaps safer than in Paris. In the afternoon the Royal Family and their Imperial guests reviewed the Household troops, surrounded by gay crowds, full of effusive enthusiasm for our Allies. At dinner they discussed the manifold iniquities of Austria, and mourned over her decadence, because she would not fight to vindicate a plan for reducing the Russian navy in the Black Sea to six ships instead of eight. At night there was a ball in the Waterloo Room—an odd place in which to find the granddaughter of George III. dancing with the nephew of Napoleon I. The sombre memories of the hall, however, did not prevent the Queen's guest from dancing, as she herself records, "with great dignity and spirit." Next morning (the 18th) at breakfast the Emperor received a telegram announcing the death of M. Ducos, the Minister of Marine,‡ and at eleven o'clock a grand Council of War was held in the Emperor's rooms, at which those present were Prince Albert,

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 18. See also *Times*, 17th of April, 1855.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXII.

‡ Ducos was personally hostile to England, though he pretended to be in favour of the alliance. Lord Malmesbury says that he and General Changarnier were the authors of a plan in 1851 for a piratical descent on the Isle of Wight, and for seizing the Queen's person at Osborne. See Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. I., pp. 360 and 396. General Cavaignac also thought at the time such a plan to be feasible in the event of a war with England.

Lords Palmerston, Panmure, Hardinge, and Cowley, Sir Charles Wood, Sir John Burgoyne, Count Walewski, and Marshal Vaillant. "Something should be done somewhere, and by somebody in the Crimea," seems to have been the resolution to which the council came. Though unanimous in urging the Emperor not to go there, it failed to convince him that he ought to stay at home. In the afternoon Prince Albert, when out walking with the Emperor, submitted a plan of his own for reorganising the Allied Forces, which the Emperor approved. It was sent on to Palmerston, Panmure, Hardinge, and Burgoyne, and they resolved to draw up a memorandum on the subject for the next Conference.

The Council of War of the 18th sat on from 11 till 2 p.m., and at 4 p.m. a Grand Chapter of the Order of the Garter was held in the Throne Room —the Emperor being invested with the insignia of the Order—in all the pomp and circumstance of Royal State. The Queen sat at the head of the table with a vacant chair on her right hand; Garter King-at-Arms summoned each Knight in the order of his creation, beginning with the Marquis of Exeter and ending with Lord Aberdeen. The Prelate of the Order read the new statute dispensing with existing statutes in favour of the Emperor of the French, who was then introduced by Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge. The Queen and the assembled Knights stood up to receive the Emperor, who passed on and sat in the chair on the Queen's right hand. Her Majesty having proclaimed the Emperor's election, the King-at-Arms presented the Garter to the Queen, who, assisted by her husband, buckled it on the Emperor's left leg, after which she placed the riband over his Majesty's left shoulder, the Chancellor of the Order pronouncing the admonition. The accolade was then presented to the new Knight, and the ceremony was over. "It is one bond the more," said the Emperor as he walked with the Queen to his apartments—"I have given my oath of fidelity to your Majesty and to your country." But all the world knows, neither bond nor oath was strong enough to prevent him from subsequently intriguing with Russia against England, when the Congress of Paris met to settle the questions raised by the sudden termination of the Crimean War. Yet, the Imperial flatteries served the purpose of the moment, for the Queen wrote, "These words are very valuable from a man like him, who is not profuse in phrases, and who is very steady of purpose." * After dinner her Majesty seems to have been chiefly amused by Marshal Vaillant's confidential conversation with her, in which he manifested great terror lest the Emperor would take command of the Army in the Crimea. In the evening there was an orchestral concert. "The Queen, Emperor, and Empress," writes Lord Malmesbury, "with the Royal Family, their suites, and those invited to the banquet, entered soon after ten, and seated themselves without speaking to any one. As soon as music was over the company passed before the Queen and Emperor. . . . The Queen had arranged everything herself, made out the

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXII.

lists of invitations for both parties at Windsor, and the concert for to-morrow at Buckingham Palace. Very few, except Cabinet Ministers, are asked twice. Even Lady Breadalbane, who is one of the Court, was invited only for the evening party last night, and had to sleep at a pastrycook's, there being no room at the Castle." *

Next day (the 19th) the Emperor and Empress had to visit the City, and

THE WATERLOO ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE

hosts and guests seemed alike sad and nervous when the Royal party set forth. There was just a chance that some sufferer from the crime of December, 1851, might wreak his vengeance on the perpetrator of it. The Lord Mayor and Corporation, however, gave their guests a splendid reception. London decked itself forth with loyal bunting. Crowds cheered the Emperor and Empress on their way, and the town rang with "*Partant pour la Syrie*," which dismal air Cockneydom in those days preferred to the "Marseillaise," as the symbol of the French alliance, and, perhaps, also as being less trying to the nerves of its guest.† The Corporation gave their Imperial visitor a sumptuous banquet. With characteristic delicacy of taste they served him with sherry, which

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p 19.

† It was said to be composed by his mother, Queen Hortense.

they produced proudly, because it was from the famous butt that had been bought for £600 by Napoleon I. in his palmy days. In the evening the Imperial visitors went with the Queen to the opera, where *Fidelio* was played. "We literally drove through a sea of human beings," writes the Queen, "cheering and pressing near the carriage."* When the Royal party appeared after the first act was over, the audience in Her Majesty's Theatre rose and hailed them with

THE ROYAL AND IMPERIAL VISIT TO THE CRYSTAL PALACE: PROCESSION DOWN THE NAVE. (See p. 654.)

deafening cheers, the Queen leading the Emperor and Prince Albert the Empress forward, so as to emphasise the fact that they were especially the objects of this demonstrative greeting.† Next day, the 20th of April, was the Emperor's birthday. When the Queen congratulated him in the morning it seems he looked confused, because for the moment he had forgotten all about the event. He, however, kissed her hand gratefully when she presented him with her gift—a little

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap LXII.

† Vast numbers had been unable to find seats—in fact, as much as £100 was given for a box. When the curtain rose, crowds of ladies and gentlemen in evening dress were seen packed closely together at the back of the stage behind the artists—a curious revival of the old practice, in virtue of which persons of quality and rank frequented this part of the house in preference to any other. Jenny Ney played "Leonora." It was her first performance on the English stage. Tamberlik, Formes, Tagliafico, and Luchesi took the male parts.

pencil-case—and was much touched with the other present he received—"two violets, the flower of the Bonapartes—from Prince Arthur." * Amidst great crowds cheering most enthusiastically the Royal party drove to the Crystal Palace. They went through the building in perfect privacy, and then walked on to the balcony to see the fountains play. But when they returned to luncheon they found that quite a crowd of sightseers had been admitted, and were lining the avenue of the nave. It was a trying moment. The rows of spectators through which the Royal party had to walk were almost touching them, and Emperor and Empress both dreaded assassination. The Queen, nervous as she was, courageously took the Emperor's arm, feeling sure her presence would protect him; and so the day passed without any unpleasantness. In the evening there was another meeting of the Grand Council of War, the Queen being present. Again the Council failed to decide on a plan of operations. But it was admitted that they could come to an agreement as to the stake to be played for in the game of war, and this agreement, under seven heads, was drawn up by Prince Albert, and signed by Marshal Vaillant and Lord Panmure. † Next day (the 21st) the guests left amidst tender farewells on both sides. At Lady Malmesbury's dinner-party that day, Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence told the company that the leave-taking was very affecting. "Everybody cried—even the *suite*. The Queen's children began, as the Empress had been very kind to them, and they were sorry to lose them, and this set off the Maids of Honour." ‡ The Emperor's last words to the Queen were, "I believe that having spent my birthday with your Majesty will bring me good luck, that and the little pencil-case you gave me." § The Queen wrote in her Diary, "I am glad to have known this extraordinary man, whom it is certainly impossible not to like when you live with him, and not even to a considerable extent to admire. . . . . I believe him to be capable of kindness, affection, friendship, and gratitude." Prince Albert's admiration, on the other hand, was not quite so unqualified, and the Queen notes that he preferred the Empress to the Emperor. When the Emperor returned to Paris he found that his reception in England had done much to increase his *prestige*. But he also discovered that he must abandon his intention of going to the Crimea. On the 25th of April he communicated this welcome news to the Queen in a letter abounding with engaging expressions of gratitude, for her kindness and hospitality to him and his Imperial consort.

On the 28th of June Prince Albert writes to Stockmar saying, "Uncle Leopold comes on Tuesday with Philippe and Carlo, and by the end of the week we purpose to get away from the thoroughly used-up air of London.

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXII.

† No account of the Memorandum is given by Sir T. Martin, and probably it was a ceremonial rather than a serious document.

‡ Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 20.

§ Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXII.

The political folly and the levity of parties and the press, amidst the terrible mass of business, makes our head reel."* When these visitors reached Osborne they found the Queen depressed and sorrowful. Scarlet fever had attacked the Princes Arthur and Leopold and the Princess Louise, and her Majesty was naturally afraid lest her young Belgian relatives might be smitten also. Fortunately this peril was avoided, and the Queen, encouraged by the approaching prorogation of Parliament, gradually regained her cheerfulness. She had suffered from intense anxiety during the Session, and it was with a deep sense of relief that she found herself able to prorogue both Houses by Commission on the 14th of August. The Speech from the Throne dwelt on the advantages derived from cementing the French alliance. The Legislature was also congratulated on having passed several useful measures—amongst which those establishing local self-government in the metropolis, sanctioning the formation of Limited Liability Companies, and abolishing the stamp duty on newspapers, may be mentioned.

The allusion to the French alliance was made with skill and tact. "You will come to Paris this summer," said the Emperor to the Queen when he was bidding her farewell at Windsor. "Yes," she replied, "if my public duties do not prevent me." These duties it was now obvious would in no way prevent her, and it was therefore determined that the Queen and her husband should spend eight days with the Emperor and Empress. The visit was to begin on the 18th of August, and before that day came round the British fleet in the Baltic and the allied armies in the Crimea had won some slight successes, which rendered the war a little less unpopular than it had been in France. Still, despite the victory at Tchernaya, it was unpopular. France, according to Frenchmen, was spending blood and treasure for English interests. The alliance between the two countries was giving England the time and experience needed to improve her defective military system—leaving her in relation to France stronger than ever. As for the political parties—Legitimists, Orleanists, and Democrats—they looked on the Queen's visit with hostility, because it was meant to strengthen the hands of a usurper, whom they all hated. The visit therefore was not made under auspicious circumstances. Just before the Queen started on this journey the King of Portugal arrived at Osborne, and on the 4th of August the Prince tells Stockmar how they had to lodge him on their yacht, to keep him out of danger from scarlet fever—the two eldest children in the Royal Family having alone escaped the malady. Many visits were interchanged, however, between the King and the Queen and Prince Albert. The Queen, indeed, at the request of her Ministers, had agreed to persuade King Pedro to join us in the war, a proposal which he, however, very sensibly rejected.†

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXV.

† This resort to the dreaded instruments of "personal Government" and "Court intrigue" by Palmerston was adopted after diplomatic means had failed. Mr. Greville, in the Third Part of his "Journal," gives an amusing description of how we touted for a Portuguese alliance in these days.

It was in the early dawn of Saturday, the 18th of August, that the Queen and Prince Albert, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal, embarked at Osborne, and, escorted by a steam squadron, proceeded to Boulogne, where they arrived at one o'clock in the afternoon. Salutes of cannon from the heights, volleys of musketry from the troops, and enthusiastic cheers from the people greeted the visitors. When the Royal yacht came to the pier the Emperor hastened on board, saluted the Queen, kissing her hand and both cheeks, and then shook hands with Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal. The Queen and her family drove to the station, the Emperor and Marshal Magnan riding on each side of her carriage. They took train to Paris, where they were cordially received. From the terminus of the Strasbourg Railway to the Palace of St. Cloud the houses were all in festal array, and 200,000 National Guards formed a double line for five miles along the route. This brilliant display was somewhat lost on the Queen, for her arrival was delayed till seven in the evening. She, however, had the pleasure of seeing Paris under the flare of illumination, and when she approached the Arc de Triomphe her escort carried blazing torches, which gave a strange picturesque effect to the scene. She was welcomed to the Palace of St. Cloud, which had been set apart for her, by the Empress and the ladies and high officers of the household; and Prince Albert describes their reception by the people as "splendid" and "enthusiastic." The Queen says in her Diary, "I felt bewildered but enchanted—everything is so beautiful." Sunday, the 19th, was devoted to a quiet morning drive with the Emperor, who was in high spirits over the Crimean news, and to church-going—service being held in one of the rooms of the palace by the chaplain to the British Embassy. Then there was a charming drive in the afternoon to Neuilly, and later on a dinner-party, at which Canrobert appeared, almost fresh from the Crimean trenches. He sat next the Queen, and was surprised to find that she was nearly as well acquainted with the details of the war as he was himself. On Monday, the 20th, the Emperor escorted his guests to breakfast—"the coffee quite excellent, and all the cookery very plain and very good," writes the Queen, and served "on a small round table as we have at home." A visit to the Exhibition of Fine Arts, luncheon at the Elysee, a long drive through the chief streets of Paris, and a theatrical performance in the evening (at the Palace) of the *Demoiselles de St. Cyr*, formed the programme. Tuesday, the 21st, was dedicated to a visit to the Palace of Versailles and the Trianon, associated with mournful memories of Marie Antoinette and the ladies of her court, who used to retire at times to this retreat to play at Arcadian simplicity. In the evening, after dinner, the Queen and her hosts went to the Opera, where her Majesty's reception was most cordial and gratifying. The notabilities of Parisian society were there, and they were all charmed with the easy, cheerful, high-spirited bearing of the Queen. On Wednesday, the 22nd, she visited the Exhibition of Industry, remarking that the English exhibits of china were the most striking. Then she drove tc

the Tuileries, and accepted an invitation from the Préfet and the Munici-pality of Paris to a ball at the Hôtel de Ville. The Queen, Prince Albert, th Prince of Wales, and Princess Royal next drove through Paris *incognito*, an in the evening were entertained at a great dinner, at which eighty guest were present. At this dinner the Queen and the Emperor talked long an earnestly over the Anglo-French alliance—he telling her that Drouyn de Lhuy had suggestively reminded him how Louis Philippe became unpopular becaus

THE QUEEN AT THE FÊTE IN THE FOREST OF ST. GERMAIN. (See p. [illegible])

of his alliance with England; the Queen retorting that it was not Loui Philippe's friendship with England, but his insincerity and treachery, whicl caused his fall. On Thursday, the 24th, the Louvre was visited, and in th evening the Queen attended the ball at the Hôtel de Ville—the openin quadrille being danced by her Majesty, the Emperor, Prince Albert, th Princess Mathilde, Prince Napoleon, Lady Cowley, Prince Aldebert of Bavaria and Mdle. Haussmann, daughter of the Prefect of the Seine. The scene wa brilliant beyond conception. It was a triumph of decorative art having, a the Queen said, "all the effect of the Arabian Nights." Picturesque Arab from Algeria at one part of the proceedings came forward and did homage t the Emperor and his guests, staring admiringly at the Koh-i-noor which th

Queen wore in her diadem. The Royal party made the tour of the rooms, tarrying for a little in the *Salle du Trône,* where Robespierre was wounded and Louis Philippe proclaimed; and where the Emperor gallantly said to the Queen, "This occasion will banish from us all sad remembrances." On Friday, the 24th, the Queen visited a second time the Palais d'Industrie, lunched at the École Militaire, and witnessed a review of the troops. Their smart uniforms, her Majesty writes, "are infinitely better made and cut than those of our soldiers, which provokes me much." After this the Queen drove to the Hôtel des Invalides, to visit the tomb of the first Emperor. As she stood before the coffin leaning on the Emperor's arm, by a strange coincidence, while the organ of the church was pealing forth the solemn strains of the English National Anthem, a dreadful thunder storm broke overhead. At dinner the Emperor and Queen that day entertained each other with complaints about the incapacity of their generals in the Crimea, and in the evening another visit, but not in State, was paid to the Opera. On Saturday, the 24th, the Queen attended a hunt in the forest of St. Germain, where she was received by the local *curé* and a bevy of village maidens, one of whom broke down in the middle of her complimentary address to the visitors, though when the *curé* prompted her, greatly to the Queen's amusement, she went on glibly to the end. In the evening there was a grand State Ball at Versailles, the Empress, as she appeared at the head of the grand staircase, says the Queen, "looking like a fairy queen or nymph," and surprising even the Emperor into exclaiming, "*Comme tu es belle!*" ("How lovely you are!") After a splendid display of fireworks there was dancing, and many distinguished guests were presented to the Queen, amongst others Count Bismarck, then Prussian Minister to Frankfort. But he did not make himself agreeable to her Majesty, for when she expressed her admiration for Paris as a beautiful city, he replied, "Yes, even more beautiful than St. Petersburg"—a very significant indication of his strong pro-Russian sympathies. On Sunday, the 26th, Prince Albert's birthday was quietly celebrated, and the Queen and Emperor had some serious talk over the persecution of her friends—the Orleans Princes and Princesses—in the course of which she very frankly and honestly explained to the Emperor the precise nature of her relations to them. Monday, the 27th, was devoted to leave-takings and the journey home. At Boulogne there was an inspection of troops and the camps of Hensault and Ambleteuse were visited, and late at night the Queen steamed away in her yacht from Boulogne Harbour. "*Adieu, Madame, au revoir,*" to which I replied, "*Je l'espère bien*"—these, according to the Queen, were the parting words which passed between her and her Imperial host. By half-past eight next morning her Majesty reached Osborne, finding her younger sons waiting on the beach to welcome her home.

The Queen was deeply impressed, she says, with the Emperor's quietness, gentleness, and simplicity of manner. She felt encouraged to confide in him

without reserve, and was greatly charmed by his kindness and attention to her children, and his admiration for Prince Albert. The Prince, however, did not quite share the Queen's enthusiasm for their host, though he admitted that the Emperor had great powers of fascination when he chose to exert them. Lord Clarendon, who was Minister in attendance on her Majesty, told Mr. Greville that during this visit "the Queen was delighted with everything, and especially with the Emperor himself, who, with perfect knowledge of women, had taken the surest way to ingratiate himself with her. This it seems he began when he was in England, and followed it up at Paris. After her visit the Queen talked it all over with Clarendon, and said 'it is very odd; but the Emperor knows everything I have done, and where I have been ever since I was twelve years old; he even recollects how I was dressed, and a thousand little details it is extraordinary he should be acquainted with.' She has never before been on such a social footing with anybody, and he has approached her with the familiarity of their equal positions, and with all the experience and knowledge of womankind he has acquired during his long life, passed in the world and in mixing in every sort of society. She seemed to have played her part throughout with great propriety and success. Old Jérôme * did not choose to make his appearance till just at the last moment, because he insisted on being treated as a king, and having the title of 'Majesté' given him—a pretension Clarendon would not hear of her yielding to. . . . . Clarendon said nothing could exceed the delight of the Queen at her visit to Paris, at her reception, at all she saw, and that she was charmed with the Emperor. They became so intimate, and she on such friendly terms with him, that she talked to him with the utmost frankness, and even discussed with him the most delicate of all subjects—the confiscation of the Orleans property, telling him her opinion upon it. He did not avoid the subject, and gave her the reasons why he thought himself obliged to take that course; that he knew all this wealth was employed in fomenting intrigues against his government, which was so new that it was necessary to take all precautions to avert such dangers. She replied that even if this were so, he might have contented himself with sequestrating the property and restoring it when he was satisfied that all danger on that score was at an end. I asked Clarendon what he thought of the Emperor himself, and he said that he liked him and that he was very pleasing, but he was struck with his being so indolent and so excessively ignorant. The

* It is not generally known that "Old Jérôme" really caused the Emperor to abandon his intention of going to the Crimea. Every argument pressed by his Ministers and the Queen failed to shake his determination. Part of his plan was to make Jérôme not Regent, but Chief of the Council of Ministers in his absence. The Ministers artfully persuaded Jérôme, who was a vain man, to refuse this office unless he were vested with the same despotic power as the Emperor. This frightened the Emperor, and he immediately gave up his Crimean expedition. See a conversation between Lord Cowley and Mr. Greville in the Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. I., p. 263 (Longmans), 1887.

MAP OF CRATHIE AND BRAEMAR.

Prince of Wales was put by the Queen under Clarendon's charge, who was desired to tell him what to do in public, when to bow to the people, and whom to speak to. He said that the Princess Royal was charming, with excellent manners and full of intelligence. Both the children were delighted with their *séjour*, and very sorry to come away. When the visit was drawing to a close, the Prince said to the Empress that he and his sister were both very reluctant to leave Paris, and asked if she could not get leave for them to stay there a little longer. The Empress said she was afraid this would not be possible, as the Queen and Prince Albert would not be able to do without them; to which the boy replied, 'Not do without us! don't fancy that, for there are six more of us at home, and they don't want *us*.' "*

Writing to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg from Osborne, on the 30th of August, Prince Albert says — "We purpose making an escape on the 5th (September) to our mountain home, Balmoral. We are sorely in want of the moral rest, and the bodily exercise." Balmoral was reached on the 7th, and "the new house," though not finished, was found to be quite habitable, and "very comfortable." The Queen was charmed with its appearance, and the home-like welcome she received from her dependants, an old shoe being

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. I., pp. 283—286.

thrown after her for luck when she entered the Hall. And truly it brought luck—for in two days afterwards Deeside was ruddy with the blaze of the bonfire which was lit on Craig Gowan heights to celebrate the fall of Sebastopol. The bonfire had been prepared the year before, when the false news of the fall of Sebastopol had arrived, and the wind had blown it down on Inkermann Day (5th of November). It was again built up, and on the evening of the 10th, writes Prince Albert to Stockmar, "it illuminated all the peaks round about, and the whole scattered population of the valleys understood the sign, and made for the mountain, where we performed towards midnight a veritable Witches' Dance, supported by whisky."*

In the same letter the Prince writes, "Prince Fritz William comes here to-morrow evening. I have received a very friendly letter from the Princess of Prussia." This, says Sir Theodore Martin, made Stockmar's heart beat fast. He was the recognised matrimonial agent of the House of Coburg, and one of his cherished projects was to arrange a marriage between the young and handsome heir of the Prince of Prussia and the Princess Royal, who, of all the Queen's children, was in an especial degree his favourite. The young Prussian Prince was indeed the only possible suitor in Europe whose prospects rendered him worthy to mate with a daughter of England. The Queen felt that the day would come when he would be Heir-Apparent not to the Crown of Prussia, but to the Imperial Throne of the German Empire. His family was one of the wealthiest in Europe. His father, afterwards the German Emperor, was a very dear and valued friend of the Queen and her husband, and the young Prince Fritz himself had all those qualities of mind and heart which Prince Albert desired to see in the husband of his eldest child. But the affair was one of some delicacy, because the Queen abhorred the idea of what she called "a political marriage;" indeed, as she was on somewhat unfriendly terms with the King of Prussia, and as Prussia was hated and despised by the English people at the time, the alliance was, from a political point of view, far from desirable. Her Majesty, moreover, had no intention of sanctioning any engagement which might be objectionable to her daughter, and the ultimate decision, therefore, lay with the Princess herself, who at the time knew nothing of the hopes or fears that centred round her. The gossip of Society had connected her name with that of Prince Frederick William. But on the Queen's return from France at the end of August Prince Albert told Lord Clarendon there was no truth in these rumours.† On the 20th of September the Prince laid his proposal of marriage

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXVII.

† They crossed over from France on the 28th of August. Mr. Greville says, "While they were in the yacht crossing over, Prince Albert had told him (Clarendon) that there was not a word of truth in the prevailing report and belief that the young Prince of Prussia and the Princess Royal are *fiancés*, that nothing had ever passed between the parents on the subject, and that the union never would take place unless the children should become attached to each other."—Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. I., p. 287. On the 13th of September, however, Prince Albert writes to Stockmar, saying,

before the Queen and her husband, and they accepted it so far as they were concerned, but asked him not to speak to the Princess on the subject till after her confirmation. The Princess was only sixteen years of age at the time, and the Queen was of opinion that there should be no thought of marriage till the following spring, when her daughter would have passed her seventeenth birthday. On the 23rd Prince Albert writes to Stockmar, telling him that "Victoria is greatly excited. Still, all goes smoothly and prudently," and that the young Prince is "really in love" with the little lady, "who does her best to please him." The Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, he says, "are in raptures at the turn the affair has taken." But when a handsome young Prince is "really in love" with a charming young Princess who "does her best to please him," and they are both living in the free, unrestrained intercourse of English family life in a romantic Highland retreat, it is hardly practicable to prevent them from coming to an understanding. The Prussian Prince seems to have appealed successfully to the Queen's good nature, and he soon obtained leave to make his proposal to the Princess before his visit came to an end. "During our ride up Craig-na-ban," writes the Queen, in "The Leaves from a Journal," "he (Prince Fritz) picked up a piece of white heather (the emblem of good luck), which he gave to her (the Princess Royal), and this enabled him to make an allusion to his hopes and wishes as they rode down Glen Girnoch." The lady consented, and the happy pair were betrothed. "The young people," writes Prince Albert to Stockmar, on the 2nd of October, "are passionately in love with each other, and the integrity, guilelessness, and disinterestedness of the Prince are quite touching."

"Our Fritz," as the Prince was affectionately called, was no idle youth of fashion. He was already Colonel of the 1st Foot Guards, and a thorough soldier.* In every branch of the Army he had gone through a hard apprenticeship, as may be seen from the peremptory instructions which had been issued when he was ordered to serve with Colonel von Griesheim's Dragoons. He had to master every elementary detail of drill and organisation, and his knowledge was tested by stern judges.† Col. von Griesheim gives the following account of an interview he had with Prince Fritz's mother in the autumn of 1854:—"Prince Frederick William," he says, "was then twenty-three. He was a young man of notably amiable manners. I received orders to wait upon his mother the Princess at the Palace, when she told me

"I have received a very friendly letter from the Princess of Prussia." In this letter the Princess (afterwards the Empress Augusta) intimated the fact that her son came with the consent of his parents and the King of Prussia to sue for the hand of the Princess Royal

* The Crown Prince of Germany—A Diary London (Sampson Low), 1886.

† "The Officer in command is directed to arrange times so that the Prince may have ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with such various matters as horseshoeing, fencing, vaulting, limbering and unlimbering guns, and stable work, as well as the routine of lessons and singing in the schools."—Extract from Von Griesheim's Instructions. The Crown Prince of Germany—A Diary, p. 24.

that she wished to speak to me as the new Commander of the Regiment, and I must do her the justice to say that she did not allow her motherly love for a son, or her anxiety to secure his personal comforts, to stand in the way of his duty. On the contrary, she begged me that I would in no way unduly spare the Prince, but insist on his learning his profession in every branch, so that he might be in a position to judge what was the real amount of labour which a military life entailed. She also desired that in non-military matters no special external respect might be shown him, expressing, at the same time, her confidence that neither I nor my brother-officers would abuse the relationship in which we were placed. She was sure I should not forget that it was the training of our future king that was entrusted to me, and that I should recognise the obligation of setting things in their true light, that a true judgment might be formed concerning them. The Princess was proceeding to talk over a number of incidental matters when, quite unaccompanied, the Prince of Prussia came into the room. He looked surprised, and said, 'Ah! I see the new Commander is receiving the orders of the dear mamma.' He laughed good-humouredly, and holding out his hand with the cordiality peculiar to him, added that I did not need any instruction from him, and that the length of time he had known me was a guarantee that the Prince was in good hands. Turning to his wife he smiled, and said in an undertone, 'I trained Griesheim, and now he shall train our son.'" *

Prince Frederick William had thoroughly fulfilled the hopes of his parents and his tutor, and he was precisely the type of man likely to win favour in Prince Albert's eyes. It was, therefore, with supreme disgust that the Queen and her husband discovered an attempt would be made to prejudice public opinion against the marriage. The engagement was not to be announced till after Easter. And yet the *Times* began to attack the Queen, Prince Albert, and the Prussian Court, for bringing about such an alliance. The country was told that the Princess Royal was being sacrificed to "a paltry German dynasty," and Prince Fritz was jeered at as a poor creature, who would have to pick up a livelihood in the Russian service, and "pass these years which flattering anticipation now destines to a Crown, in ignominious attendance as a General Officer on the levee of his Imperial master, having lost even the privilege of his birth, which is conceded to no German in Russia." Malignity as well as ignorance inspired this abuse, for it was at that time the cue of a certain section of polite society to hold Prince Albert up to odium on every possible occasion as a tool of the despotic European Courts. As a matter of fact, the young Prince's sympathies were with the Opposition rather than with the Government in Prussia, and he was in the habit of seeking Prince Albert's advice as to how he should steer his course in the stormy sea of Prussian politics. Very sound and wise guidance did the Prince get from his future father-in-law, who viewed with delight and hopefulness his

* The Crown Prince of Germany—A Diary, p. 28.

assiduous efforts to fit himself for his high destiny. "In another way," he writes to the young Prince, "Vicky is also busy; she has learned much in various directions. . . . She now comes to me every evening from six to seven, when I put her through a kind of general catechising, and, in order

THE WOOING OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL. (See p. [illegible])

to give precision to her ideas, I make her work out certain subjects by herself, and bring me the results to be revised. Thus she is now engaged in writing a short compendium of Roman history." *

On the 30th of November the King of Sardinia, accompanied by Count Cavour, arrived in London to visit the Queen and Prince Albert. A rough,

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXVIII.

frank, good-humoured cavalry officer, passionately devoted to field sports, and fired with an ardent love of Italy and a bitter hatred of all foes of Italian Unity—such was our ally, Victor Emmanuel. He had been preceded by his social reputation in Paris, which was, in truth, such as to make the Queen somewhat nervous. Lord Malmesbury, writing in his Diary on the 29th of

COUNT CAVOUR

November, says, "The King of Sardinia, who is here (Paris), is as vulgar and coarse as possible."*

However, his Majesty was received with much kindness by the English people, and on the day after his arrival the Queen and Prince took him to see Woolwich Arsenal and the Hospitals, only too well filled with wounded Crimean soldiers. The Artillery Parade on the Common was viewed by the King with great delight. On Monday, the 3rd of December, Prince Albert

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II. p. 37.

accompanied his Royal guest to Spithead, where they inspected the fleet and went over the old *Victory*, and a new ship of war, to be named after his Majesty. On Tuesday, the 4th, Victor Emmanuel visited the City of London in State, where he met with an effusive welcome, that greatly impressed him. The reply to the Address presented to him by the Corporation, which was delivered by the King—though "writ in choice Italian" for him by his crafty mentor, Cavour—pledging him to support us to the last in our struggle with Russia if the peace negotiations then going on failed, vastly increased his popularity. Next day he was invested by the Queen with the Order of the Garter, and on Thursday he left at five o'clock in the morning for Boulogne. It was bitterly cold and bleak, yet, to the surprise of Cavour, the Queen was up betimes to bid her guest farewell, with all the cordiality of a true English hostess. Many good stories, most of which will not bear repetition here, were told of this visit. "I was presented," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 5th of December, "to the King of Sardinia by Prince Albert, who told him that I was an '*Ancien Ministre d'Affaires Etrangères.*' '*A quelle epoque?*' answered the King. I said, 'In 1852, under Lord Derby's Government.' The King replied, '*Que faites-vous à présent?*' To which the Prince said, '*Il fait de l'opposition, car il faut toujours faire quelque chose dans ce pays.*' '*Ah*,' replied the King, '*donc vous êtes opposé à mon voyage en Angleterre, et à mon alliance.*'"* Lord Clarendon, says Mr. Greville, "gave me an account of his conversations both with the King and Cavour. He thinks well of the King, and that he is intelligent, and he has a very high opinion indeed of Cavour, and was especially struck with his knowledge of England, and our institutions and constitutional history. I was much amused after all the praises that have been lavished on Sardinia for the noble part she has played, and for taking up arms in so unselfish a manner, that she has, after all, a keen view to her own interests, and wants some solid pudding as well as so much empty praise." In fact, Sardinia wanted some territorial advantage, which, of course, in view of our relations with Austria at the time, England could not obtain for her. Hence Victor Emmanuel complained that after spending 40,000,000 francs on the war, he had nothing to show his people for it.† "The King and his people," writes Mr. Greville, "are far better satisfied with their reception here than in France, where, under much external civility, there was very little cordiality, the Emperor's intimate relations with Austria rendering him little inclined towards the Piedmontese. Here the Queen was wonderfully cordial and attentive. She got up at five in the morning to see him depart. His Majesty appears to be frightful in person, but a great, strong, burly, athletic man, brusque in his manners, unrefined in his conversation, very loose in his conduct, and eccentric in his habits. When he was at Paris his talk in

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 38.

† It is now known that Cavour suggested that Austria might be asked to retire from that part of Papal territory which she occupied.

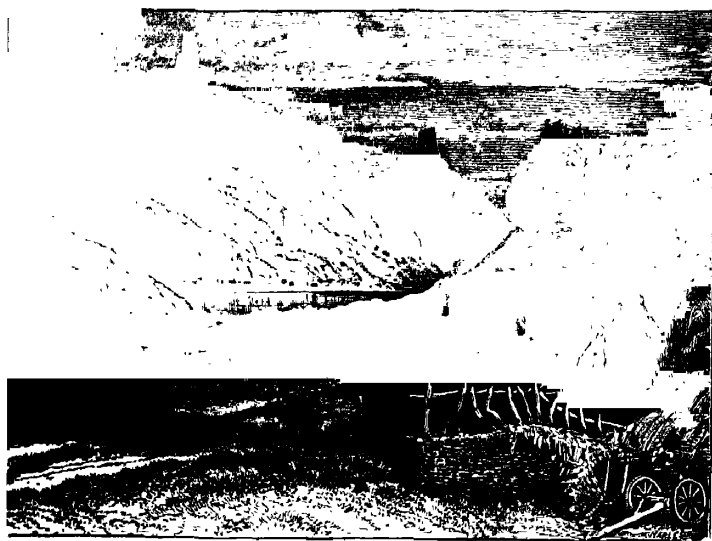
society amused or terrified everybody, but here he seems to have been more guarded. It was amusing to see all the religious societies hastening with their addresses to him, totally forgetting that he is the most dissolute fellow in the world; but the fact of his being excommunicated by the Pope and his waging war with the ecclesiastical power in his own country covers every sin against morality, and he is a great hero with the Low Church people and Exeter Hall. My brother-in-law said he looked at Windsor more like a chief of the Heruli or Longobardi than a modern Italian prince, and the Duchess of Sutherland said that of all the Knights of the Garter she had seen, he was the only one who seemed as if he would have the best of it with the Dragon."* If Clarendon expressed to Mr. Greville great admiration for the Sardinian Monarch, he must have been of a singularly forgiving disposition. For Lord Malmesbury says that when Prince Albert presented Lord Clarendon to his Majesty as the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Victor Emmanuel remarked, "*J'ai entendu parler de vous*," adding, "*C'est fini*," which, says Lord Malmesbury, in plain English meant—"Be off. I've nothing more to say to you."†

On the 6th of October, 1854, the Queen had issued a Royal Warrant for regulating promotion and retirement in the army, which now caused her much vexation. The warrant enabled lieutenant-colonels, after three years' service, to become by right full colonels. This privilege was confined to line regiments, and the officers of the Guards accordingly sent a memorial to the Crown begging that it should be extended to them also. Prince Albert, as Colonel of the Grenadiers, had signed their petition, and in the middle of December the *Times* attacked him with great acrimony for pampering the Guards, and charged him with using his influence over the Queen for purposes of military jobbery. The old story, accusing the Prince of interfering with the army and of having intrigued to become Commander-in-Chief, was vamped up again. It has already been seen that these accusations were absolutely false, and the impossibility of contradicting them publicly gave her Majesty great pain. She knew nothing about the Guards' memorial, and all the Prince knew about it was that he had signed it as a matter of formality, because it was only through him as their colonel, that the officers of his regiment could, according to the regulations, forward any petition to the Government. The memorial was dealt with by the Secretary of State, Lord Panmure, who, as a matter of fact, did *not* grant its prayer. That the Prince sometimes interfered with military administration was quite true. When the War Department broke down he toiled hard to help the Duke of Newcastle to set it on its legs again. When the Queen began to fret over the meagreness of Raglan's despatches, he showed the Department how to draw up a series of forms that would compel Raglan to keep the Secretary of State fully aware from day to

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, p. 303.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol II., p. 38.

day of the state of the Crimean army. When the Prince of Prussia wrote to him warning him that the conduct of the English officers in the Crimea, who were supposed to be deserting their posts "on urgent private affairs," was bringing disgrace on the name of England, Prince Albert did what ought to have been done by Lord Panmure, when the story was promulgated in the press—that is to say, he sifted the facts, and gave the lie direct to the slanderous fable.* To these attacks the Prince had become indifferent; but they irritated the Queen, who resented their injustice, and chafed against her powerlessness to give them public denial.

* "Exclusive of officers who have come back by reason of wounds, sickness, or promotion to the depôt battalions, only thirty-three out of an army of 52,000 men have come home on private affairs."—Letter of Prince Albert to the Prince of Prussia. Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Chap. LXIX.

BALACLAVA: AT PEACE.

(From a Drawing made Twenty-Five Years after the Crimean War.)

CATHCART'S HILL, CRIMEA

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE END OF THE WAR.

Lord Raglan's Successor—"Take Care of Dowb"—Lord Panmure's Nepotism—The Crisis of the War—Gortschakoff's Last Struggle—The Battle of the Tchernaya River—France and the War—A Despondent Court—Divided Counsels among the Allies—The Bridge of Rafts—The Grand Bombardment—French Attack on the Malakoff—British Attack on the Redan—Why the Attack Failed—The "Hero of the Redan"—Pélissier's Message to Simpson—Appeal to Sir Colin Campbell—Evacuation of the Redan—Fall of Sebastopol—Retreat of the Russians to the North Town—Paralysis of the Victors—The Queen's Anger—Her Remonstrances with Lord Panmure—A New Commander-in-Chief—Taking Care of "Dowb"—Codrington Chosen—The Wintry Crimean Watch—Diplomatic Humiliation of Palmerston—France Negotiates Secretly Terms of Peace with Austria—Palmerston's Indignant Remonstrances—The Queen Objects to Prosecute the War Alone—The Surrender of Palmerston—He Abandons the Turks—An Unpopular Peace—The Tories Offer to Support the Peace—The Queen and the Parliament of 1856.

WHEN Lord Raglan died, General Simpson, who had been his chief of the staff, was appointed to succeed him. It is enough to say that Simpson was infinitely less capable than his predecessor; but, on the other hand, he was a good-natured, pliable man, not likely to be troublesome to the authorities at home. Mr. Alfred Varley, the eminent electrician, told Colonel Hope, V.C., that when Lord Panmure's despatch appointing General Simpson to the chief command was received, the message ended with the mysterious order—"Take care of

Dowb." Mr. Varley, who was on duty, thinking "Dowb" was some unknown Russian general who had been suddenly discovered by Lord Panmure, requested that the message should be repeated. It turned out, however, that "Dowb" was merely an abbreviation of Dowbigging, and that Dowbigging was one of Lord Panmure's relatives, whom he, as a Minister, pledged to suppress the nepotism that had ruined the army, thus authoritatively recommended to the good offices of the new Commander-in-Chief.* "Take care of Dowb," from that day till now, has indeed been the shibboleth of jobbery and corruption in all branches of the Queen's service. Thus, though the crisis of the war had now come, it was only too obvious that little could be expected from an army led by a feeble and subservient general, and directed from home by an "administrative reformer" of Lord Panmure's type.

On the 21st of July General Simpson reported that his trenches were within two hundred yards of the Redan, which had been greatly strengthened since the last assault, and that they could not be pushed farther. The loss of life in the trenches was so enormous that the assault could not be long delayed—and yet, till Pélissier took the Malakoff, it was madness to attack the Redan. On the other hand, overwhelming reinforcements were being poured in from Russia, and, on the 16th of August, Prince Gortschakoff made a bold attempt to raise the siege. He crossed the Tchernaya river, and attacked the French and Sardinians, but was hurled back with great loss. This came as glad tidings to the Queen, who had heard with apprehension that the French were beginning to cry out against the war, and that they were complaining that France was simply a tool in the hands of England. The victory of the Tchernaya and the Queen's visit to Paris silenced these murmurs for a time. Prince Albert, however, was still despondent, for no progress was made after this battle; and his letters from the Crimea warned him that another winter campaign would yet have to be undertaken.

The months of July and August produced in England a fresh crop of censures in the newspapers. It was even suggested that, by way of counteracting divided counsels among the allies, the siege should be entirely left to the French, while the English, Sardinians, and Turks should sally forth and attack the Russian army of observation in the field. In September, the beginnings of a bridge of rafts between the north and south sides of Sebastopol were seen, and, on the 5th of September, the grand bombardment, preliminary to the assault on the Malakoff and Redan, commenced—the French opening four miles of cannonade at a given signal. A terrific hail of shot and shell was almost continuously poured upon the hapless city till the 8th, when the moment for the assault arrived. Pélissier was to hoist the tricolour on the Malakoff when it was taken, and that was to be the signal for the British attack on the Redan. For many hours a savage contest raged round

* See a curious letter on this subject from Colonel Hope, V.C, in the *Daily Chronicle* of 14th September, 1886, and a note appended to it from the pen of the Editor of that newspaper.

and on the Malakoff, but in the end the French captured the stronghold. The British storming force of 1,000 men, with small covering and ladder parties, then rushed forward to the outworks of the Redan. In crossing the space of two hundred yards that intervened between their trenches and the fortress, they were swept by a terrific fire, under which they fell like swathes of corn before the reaper. The troops—for the most part weedy young recruits—soon became demoralised, and many of them had actually to be kicked into action by their sergeants. Somehow they forced their way over the ramparts—a confused undisciplined mob in a pitiful state of disorganisation. One figure alone stands out in this scene of murky strife in heroic grandeur—that of Colonel Windham. He strove with furious energy to rally the scattered remnants of regiments which were mixed up with each other, and to hurl them against the inner breastwork. But as at the Alma, there were no supports at hand, and Windham sent messenger after messenger imploring Codrington to hurry them on. His entreaties were unheeded, partly because some of the messengers were shot, partly because Codrington, like most of the English generals in the Crimea, did not seem to consider that slender storming parties needed strong and instant support. At last Windham, enraged at the useless and sickening slaughter of his men, determined to go himself and force his chief to send the stormers succour. "Let it be known," he said to Captain Crealock, "in case I am killed, why I went away." He passed through the zone of fire in safety, reached Codrington, and, whilst vainly arguing with him, he saw that the day was lost. The subalterns and sergeants he had left behind—for most of the superior officers were killed or wounded—could no longer hold the men to their deadly work. First one, then another, and then a small group, were seen to creep through the gaps in the Redan. Then a mad rush of terror-stricken soldiers, yelling and shrieking in panic, proclaimed that Windham's mission was useless, and that the fight was over. As for the Commander-in-Chief, where was he all the time? Cowering in a safe corner of the trenches, where he could see little of the fight! There Pélissier's messenger found him when he came to ask if he would not immediately assail the Redan again. "The trenches were," according to Simpson's despatch, "subsequently to this attack, so crowded with troops, that I was unable to organise a second assault."

General Simpson might as well have doomed his men to sudden death as send such a slender column as had been repulsed, to storm the Redan. This, then, is the sum of the matter. The first assault failed because the stormers were too few; the second was not attempted, lest they might have been too many! Ultimately, Simpson did what he ought to have done in the first instance; that is to say, he fell back on Sir Colin Campbell and the Scottish Brigade.* But

* Simpson was bitterly blamed for not asking Campbell's Division of Guards and Highlanders, who were picked and seasoned soldiers, to assault in the first instance. Campbell, however, though he often exacted cruel sacrifices from his men, was parsimonious of blood, and it was said in the camp that he

when his Highland scouts went to reconnoitre during the night, they found the place deserted. The losses on our side were frightful, especially in officers and sergeants. Of the 2,447 stormers who were killed and wounded, 1,435 belonged to the Light Division; in fact, owing to Simpson's imbecility in sending a mere handful of men to the attack, and Codrington's inexcusable neglect to hurry on supports, we sacrificed more men in failing to carry the Redan, than Wellington lost when he captured Badajoz.* During the night the Russians

FRENCH ATTACK ON THE MALAKOFF. (See p. 671.)

set fire to the town. Crossing the bridge of rafts, the enemy fled to the northern side of the harbour, leaving us in possession, not of Sebastopol, but, as Gortschakoff said, of a heap of blood-stained ruins.

On Sunday, the 9th of September, the news that Sebastopol had fallen

refused to attack till he had time to make the necessary preparations. Then he observed, grimly, he would not "attack, but 'tak' the Redan." Codrington seems to have imagined that there was no need for all this caution. He attacked, but did not take, the fortress; in fact, to take it on his plan was an utter impossibility.

* That was partly due to the fact that our trenches were 200 yards from the Redan. This space was enfiladed by a murderous fire when crossed by the stormers. The French, 20,000 strong, were only 20 yards from the Malakoff. Simpson's excuse for hastening the attack instead of pushing the trenches closer was that every day the French were losing 200 and we 60 men in the trenches.

was proclaimed through England. And so the siege that had gone on for the best part of a year, which had involved the construction of seventy miles of trenches, and the expenditure of 1,500,000 shells, came to an end—gloriously for the French with victory at the Malakoff, ingloriously for England with ignominious defeat at the Redan. On the 29th of September, the Russians were

GENERAL TODLEBEN.

repulsed at Kars; but on the 28th of November, the neglected and famine-stricken garrison, whose heroic defence under General Fenwick Williams was one of the most brilliant episodes of the war, had to surrender. The occupation of Kinburn and the bombardment of Sweaborg were the only successes won by us at sea.

When Sebastopol fell, it was not the Russians but Generals Simpson and Pélissier who were paralysed by the catastrophe. The Allies, in fact, seemed to sit helplessly looking on, and gave the enemy time to render his position on the north side of the city almost impregnable. Thus once more the

besiegers became the besieged, and found themselves in even a more perilous position than that which they held before the fall of the city. The Queen was greatly distressed to hear that all our sacrifices had been in vain, and that Simpson and Pélissier were even more incompetent than Raglan and Canrobert.* At last her Majesty's impatience could no longer be controlled, nor her irritation concealed. On the 2nd of October she wrote to Lord Panmure saying, "there may be good reasons why the army should not move, but we have only one. . . . When General Simpson telegraphed before that he must wait to know the intentions and plans of the Russians, the Queen was tempted to advise a reference to St. Petersburg for them." And the intensely provoking thing was that if the Allies had only threatened a landing between Eupatoria and Sebastopol after the fall of the city, the Russians would have been compelled to evacuate the Crimea.†

Naturally the Queen began to press the War Office to appoint a new Commander-in-Chief, and then Ministers began to "take care of Dowb." There was but one great military reputation not made—for it had been made long before—but somewhat enhanced in the Crimea. It was that of Sir Colin Campbell, the only leader on whom even a shred of the mantle of Wellington or Moore had fallen. The soldiers had confidence in no other; in fact, he was the only divisional commander in the army who had a native genius for war. But he had no "interest," and had he been appointed, his iron will and stubborn character would have soon asserted themselves over the foolish counsels of Pélissier. A strong, competent man without "interest" was in Lord Panmure's eyes an objectionable person. So he looked elsewhere for a successor to General Simpson. Happening accidentally to hear from Mr. Greville of Colonel Windham's exploit at the Redan, Panmure suddenly resolved to appoint him Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Greville was naturally amazed at this proposal, and suggested that it would be better to try Windham first with a Division before they put him over the heads of his seniors. Simpson, however, was eager to come home; time pressed, and Campbell, having no connection with "Dowb," was of course impossible. As for Codrington, his failure and bungling at the Redan ought to have rendered him impossible also, but on the other hand he was not quite so incompetent as Simpson, and he had "interest." Finally, Prince Albert's advice was taken, and thus Codrington, as the candidate who "divided the authorities least," was appointed to the chief command. But the troops were divided into two *corps d'armée*, the command of which was offered

* The Duke of Newcastle, who had gone to the seat of war to examine affairs on the spot, in a letter to Clarendon, says that Simpson seemed "never to be doing but always mooning. He has no plan, no opinion, no hope but from the chapter of accidents." He thought Pélissier just as incompetent. "I believe," he adds, "Pélissier's officers have no confidence in him, and I know his soldiers dislike him." Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXVII. The Sardinian De La Marmora was the only one of the Allied Commanders-in-Chief who had any marked ability.

† So the Russians afterwards said. This plan was proposed by Sir E. Lyons, but Pélissier laughed scornfully in his face when he suggested it, and poor Simpson, as usual, concurred with Pélissier.

to the two senior generals over whose heads Codrington had been passed. One of these, Sir Colin Campbell, in bitterness of heart returned to England, firmly determined to quit a service, which had rewarded half a century of brilliant achievement with contemptuous neglect. The Queen, however, came to hear of this, and touched with some twinge of remorse, sent for the old man, and in the course of an interview with him persuaded him to alter his intentions. She spoke to him of her anxiety as to the fate of the army, and as a personal favour to herself, requested him to go back to the Crimea. The rough, war-worn veteran in an instant forgot the wrongs of a lifetime. Tears glistened in his eyes, as he assured the Queen, in the broad provincial *patois*, which he always spoke when under the excitement of battle or deep emotion, that he would return immediately, and as for his rank—well, "if the Queen wished it, Colin Campbell was ready for her sake to serve under a corporal." To the credit of her Majesty it must be remembered that this was the last time Campbell was neglected. If it took him forty-six years' hard, thankless toil to rise to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, in eight years he became a Field Marshal.

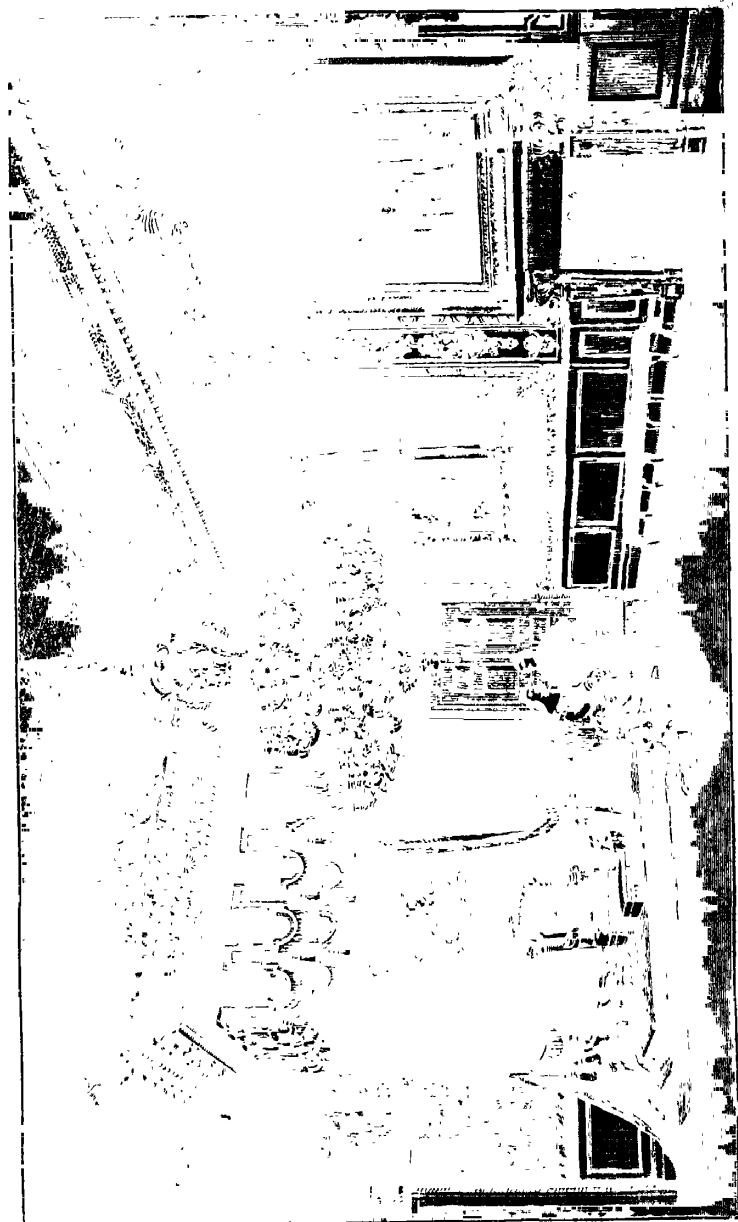
But besides keeping an idle wintry watch on the plateau before Sebastopol, there was no work in store for the army in the Crimea. The victories won by the sword were now about to be neutralised by the pen, and for Lord Palmerston the supreme moment of humiliation and failure was close at hand. The corner-stone of his foreign policy, it will be remembered, was the French alliance. If that proved to be unstable, the policy itself was *ab initio* a fatal blunder. And the French alliance broke down at the critical moment when England, full of confidence in her reorganised army, expected that the war would be prosecuted till her disgraceful defeats at the Redan were triumphantly avenged. France, as has been repeatedly said, was sick of the war—a fact which Palmerston never had the moral courage to face. The war had now served the Emperor's purpose, for the victory of the Malakoff had glorified the dynasty. Napoleon III., therefore, resolved to desert his ally, and in October Palmerston learnt with dismay that 100,000 French troops were to be immediately withdrawn from the Crimea.* What was still more serious, as Prince Albert says in a letter to Stockmar, the French were now demanding territorial compensation either in Poland, Italy, or the left bank of the Rhine. This last demand was particularly alarming to the Queen, who, in the spring, had warned Clarendon of its probable consequences. "The first Frenchman," she says, in her letter of the 15th of April, "who should hostilely approach the Rhine, would set the whole of Germany on fire." But in November, Palmerston's policy compelled Englishmen to drink the cup of humiliation to the lees. Napoleon III., ignoring England, secretly negotiated with Austria the terms of peace which were to be offered to Russia, and these were then transmitted to the British Government, by

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXVIII.

Count Walewski, with an intimation that England must accept them as they stood. Palmerston, angry at being thus duped and slighted, sent a violent remonstrance to France, declaring that England would carry on the war alone rather than accept such terms.* The Emperor himself, however, wrote to the Queen advising her to give way, and explaining why he could not consent to extort any further sacrifices from France, for what he contemptuously called "the microscopical advantages" which were the objects of Lord Palmerston's policy. The Queen in her reply says, "I make, then, full allowance for your Majesty's personal difficulties, and refuse to listen to any wounded feelings of *amour propre* which my Government might be supposed to entertain at a complete understanding having been come to with Austria —an understanding which has resulted in an arrangement being placed cut and dry before us, for our mere acceptance, putting us in the disagreeable position of either having to accept what we have not even been allowed fully to understand (and which, so far as Austria is concerned, has been negotiated under influences dictated by motives, and in a spirit which we are without the means of estimating), or to take the responsibility of breaking up this arrangement, of losing the alliance which is offered to us, and which is so much wanted,† and even of estranging the friendly feeling of the ally who advocates the arrangement itself."‡ One member of the Cabinet, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, doubtless expressed the feeling of all his colleagues when he told Mr. Greville that they felt they had no alternative but to submit with a good grace. To this, says Mr. Greville, he "added an expression of his disgust at the pitiful figure we cut in the affair, being obliged to obey the commands of Louis Napoleon, and after our insolence, swagger, and bravado, to submit to terms of peace which we had just rejected; all which humiliation, he justly said, was the consequence of our plunging into war without any reason, and in defiance of all prudence and sound policy." He might have added that it was the inevitable result of plunging into war with a treacherous ally, on whose fidelity Palmerston was senseless enough to stake the fortunes of the Empire, and the sceptre of his Sovereign. The Queen personally considered the terms which were thus thrust on England far from adequate; still she set her face against Palmerston's first proposal to continue the war for the sake of winning prospective victories. After some trivial modifications the Franco-

* Evelyn Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol II., p 322.

† The excuse for the Franco-Austrian intrigue was that the rejection of the terms by Russia bound Austria to join France and England in going on with the war But of course Austria had taken pains to find out what terms Russia would accept before she gave her pledge, so that she never had the remotest intention of fighting on our side. As for the terms they were, as Mr. Greville puts it, but a second edition of the proposals which we had rejected at the Vienna Conference. There was, says Mr. Greville, this difference: "while on the last occasion the Emperor knocked under to us and reluctantly agreed to go on with the war, he is now determined to go on with it no longer, and requires that we should defer to his wishes."—Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. I., p. 297.

‡ Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXVIII.

THE THRONE ROOM, ST. JAMES'S PALACE. *(From a Photograph by H. N. King.)*

Austrian conditions were accepted by the British Government, transmitted by Austria to Russia, and accepted by her on the 16th of January, 1856. "Think," said Sir George Lewis to Mr. Greville, "that this is a war carried on for the independence of Turkey, and we, the allies, are bound to Turkey by mutual obligations not to make peace but by common consent and concurrence. Well, we have sent an offer of peace to Russia, of which the following are among the terms: We propose that Turkey, who possesses one-half of the Black Sea Coast, *shall have no ships, no ports, no arsenals in that sea*; and then there are conditions about the Christians who are the subjects of Turkey, and others about the mouths of the Danube, to which part of the Turkish dominions are contiguous. Now in all these stipulations so intimately concerning Turkey, for whose independence we are fighting, Turkey is not allowed to have any voice whatever, nor has she ever been allowed to be made acquainted with *what is going on except through the newspapers*, where the Turkish Ministers may have read what is passing, like other people. When the French and Austrian terms were discussed in the Cabinet, at the end of the discussion some one modestly asked whether it would not be proper to communicate to Musurus (the Turkish Ambassador in London) what was in agitation, and what had been agreed upon, to which Clarendon said he saw no necessity for it whatever." * But Palmerston by this time had abandoned the Turks—indeed, he now became quite moderate, not to say humble in his tone—permitting Clarendon to adopt or reject his suggestions as he chose. This sudden docility naturally improved his position at Court. "Palmerston," writes Mr. Greville, "is now on very good terms with the Queen, which is, though he does not know it, greatly attributable to Clarendon's constant endeavours to reconcile her to him, always telling her everything likely to ingratiate Palmerston with her, and showing her any notes or letters of his calculated to please her." †

The Prime Minister and his colleagues it seems were surprised that Russia assented so readily to the terms of peace, and were for a time nervous as to the verdict of the English people. "All peaces are unpopular," wrote Sir George Lewis to Sir Edmund Head, "and all peaces, it seems to me, are beneficial, even to the country which is supposed to be the loser. How greatly England prospered after the peace of 1782, and France after the peace of 1815! I suppose that this peace, if it takes place, will be no exception to the general rule." ‡ Fortunately, the Court supported the Ministry in acting with the other Powers, and Mr. Disraeli and Lord Stanley privately informed the Cabinet, that they would accept any peace which was sanctioned by the Crown. Thus the Queen and her Ministers were enabled to meet the Parliament of 1856 with some measure of confidence.

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. I., p. 310.

† Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. I., p. 315.

‡ Sir G C. Lewis's Letters, p. 309.

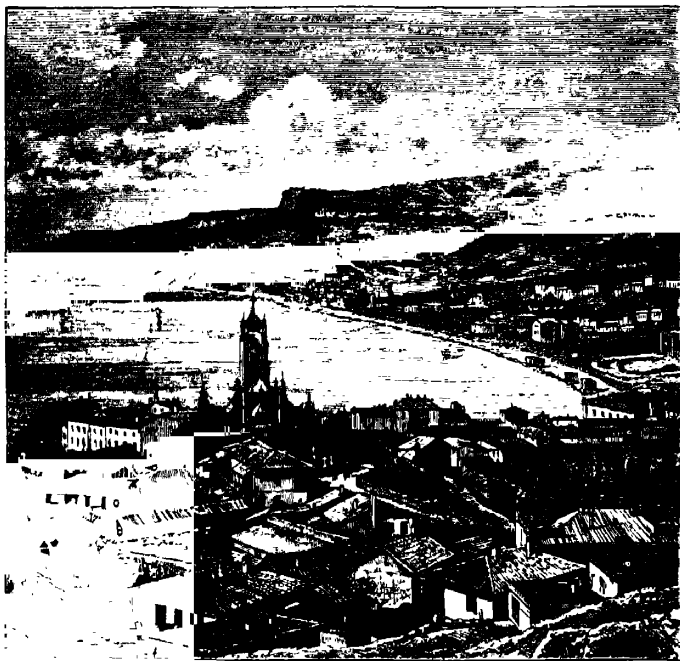
CHAPTER XXXIV.

PEACE AND PARLIAMENT.

Opening of Parliament—A Cold Speech from the Throne—Moderation of Militant Toryism—Mr. Disraeli's Cynical Strategy—The Betrayal of Kars—The Life Peerage Controversy—Baron Parke's Nickname—More Attacks on Prince Albert—Court Favouritism among Men of Science—The Congress of Paris—How France Betrayed England—Walewski's Intrigues with Orloff—Mr Greville's Pictures of French Official Life—Snubbing Bonapartist Statesmen—Peace Proclaimed—Popular Views—A Memento of the Congress—Terms of Peace—The Tripartite Treaty—Prince Albert's Opinion of the Settlement—Parliamentary Criticism on the Treaty of Paris—Stagnation of Public Life in England—The Queen's "Happy Family" Dinner Party—A little "Tiff" with America—The Restoration of H.M.S. *Resolute*—The Budget—Palmerston's Tortuous Italian Policy—The Failure of his Domestic Policy—The Confirmation of the Princess Royal—Robbery of the Royal Nursery Plate—Prince Alfred's Tutor—Reviews of Crimean Troops—Debates on the Purchase System—Lord Hardinge's Tragic Death—The Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief—Miss Nightingale's Visit to Balmoral—Coronation of the Czar—Russian Chicanery at Paris—A Bad Map and a False Frontier—Quarrel between Prussia and Switzerland—Quarrel between England and the Sicilies—Death of the Queen's Half-Brother—Settlement of the Dispute with Russia—"The Dodge that Saved us."

PARLIAMENT was opened by the Queen in person on the 31st of January, 1856, vast crowds flocking to Westminster for the purpose of testifying their interest in the negotiations for peace. The Royal speech was a brief and business-like summary of the events that had led up to these negotiations, and it announced measures for assimilating the mercantile law of England and Scotland, simplifying the law of partnership, and reforming the system of levying dues on merchant shipping. Complaint was made that the references to the achievements of the army were cold and unsympathetic, as if the speech were that, not of a Sovereign, but of a Minister, and Lord Derby was perhaps right in saying that had her Majesty been left to the promptings of her heart, her Address would not have been open to this objection. Those who had observed the warm womanly sympathy she had shown to the wounded soldiers, or who had witnessed her agitation when she decorated the maimed Crimean heroes, knew well that had she been free to speak as she felt, she would have uttered eloquent words of thanks and praise to cheer the troops still keeping watch and ward in the Crimea.

The general feeling expressed in both Houses of Parliament was that, if we had determined to prosecute the war till Russia sued for peace, we should certainly have obtained more honourable terms than those which had been now accepted by us. But Mr. Disraeli wisely curbed the bellicose spirit of his party, and declared that to continue the war merely for the sake of adding lustre to our arms, would bring us no honour. From being vindicators of public law we should in that case sink to the level of "the gladiators of history." Policy as well as prudence forced moderation on militant Toryism. Mr. Disraeli in a letter to Lord Malmesbury, written on the 30th of November, 1855, says,

"it seems to me that a Party that has shrunk from the responsibility of conducting a war, would never be able to carry on an Opposition against a Minister for having concluded an unsatisfactory peace, however bad the terms."* Lord Derby's determination to refuse office when Lord Aberdeen fell from power, therefore doomed the Opposition to meek inactivity. "We are off the rail of politics," said Mr. Disraeli in the letter just quoted, "and must

VIEW IN THE CRIMEA: JALTA

continue so as long as the war lasts." Hence one can have no difficulty in agreeing with Sir Theodore Martin when he asserts, that "it was only to be expected of a statesman like Mr. Disraeli, that he should refrain from embarrassing by a word the Ministers on whom devolved the difficult duty of protecting the national interests and honour, in negotiating terms of peace."† There was no division on the Address. But Lord Derby attacked the Government for the abandonment of Kars, in deference, he insinuated, to the wishes

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 37.

† Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXX. Sir Theodore, when he penned this, had not seen Mr. Disraeli's cynical letter to Lord Malmesbury, otherwise he would probably not have added "such generosity among statesmen may always be counted on as a matter of course."

of the French Emperor, who feared that the war in Asia Minor would dangerously enhance British prestige in that region. On the 28th of April Mr. Whiteside also raised a debate on the subject in the House of Commons, but the Tory party was so unwilling to follow its leaders, that Lord Derby regretted the matter had ever been stirred. The discussion merely established the facts that Lord

MISS NIGHTINGALE.

Stratford had cruelly neglected to press General Williams' appeals for reinforcements on the Porte, that the Government had culpably neglected to give Williams the money (£100,000) which would have provisioned Kars. But as the fortress was to be restored to the Turks, and as General Williams was to be consoled with a baronetcy, the House of Commons thought the matter had better drop, and Mr. Whiteside's motion was lost by a majority of 303 to 176. Much more serious was the defeat inflicted on the Government on another subject which deeply interested the Queen—that of Baron Parke's life peerage.

Writing on the 9th of January, 1856, in his Diary, Lord Campbell says, "Bethell, the Solicitor-General, has made Baron Parke a peer. The judicial business of the House of Lords could not go on another session as it did last. Pemberton Leigh was first offered a peerage, and I wish much that he had accepted it, but he positively refused to be *pitchforked*. I don't know that anything less exceptional could be done than applying next to Baron Surrebutter." * At the Lord Chancellor's levee on the first day of Hilary Term, Lord Campbell asked him if there was any truth in the story that Parke's peerage was to be for life. On hearing that it was, Lord Campbell replied, "Then sorry am I to say that I must make a row about it." At first he thought that the grant of a life peerage was not illegal—for Coke asserted its legality—but merely unconstitutional. When, however, Lord Campbell studied the precedents, he became convinced that "no life peerage had been granted to any man for more than 400 years, and that there was no authenticated instance of a peer ever having sat and voted in the House of Lords having in him a life peerage only—the life peerages relied upon being superinduced on pre-existing peerages, *e.g.*, De Vere, Earl of Oxford (a title which had been in his family since the Conquest), was created by Richard II. Marquis of Dublin for life." Lord Campbell goes on to say, "My eyes were opened. The power of the Crown to give a right to vote in the House must depend on the exercise of the power; and no one *had* voted in right of a peerage for life more than *of a peerage granted during the pleasure of the King*—for the granting of which there was at least one precedent." †

When Sir Theodore Martin says that "the right of the Crown to create a life peerage with a right to sit in Parliament" was "scarcely disputed in the discussions which arose," his anxiety to exaggerate the Queen's prerogative has led him into a grave error. As Lord Campbell says, "It was not necessary to resort to the doctrine of desuetude," for "the non-exercise of a prerogative, ever since the Constitution was settled, afforded a strong inference that it had never lawfully existed." The fact is that the arguments in favour of recognising the right of the Crown to create a peer for life, with the right of voting in the House of Lords, would have been equally good for creating a peer with a similar right, during the Sovereign's pleasure. A peer who could at any moment be deprived of his rank and senatorial privileges would, of course, either be a creature of the Court or the minion of the Minister. Lord Lyndhurst, therefore, had little difficulty in carrying a motion referring Baron Parke's Letters Patent to a Committee of Privileges, which reported against the right asserted by the Crown. The Government yielded, and Sir James Parke was finally created an hereditary peer in the ordinary way, under the title of Lord Wensleydale.

* This was a nickname wh'ch Serjeant Hayes had stuck to Parke on account of his prejudice in favour of fossilised forms and precedents.—*Life of Lord Campbell*, Vol. II., p. 388.

† *Life of Lord Campbell*, Vol. II., p. 340.

The rebuff was annoying to the Queen; all the more that it led to a fresh series of attacks on Prince Albert. He was accused of having attempted to extend the Queen's prerogative with the ulterior object of packing the House of Lords with certain scientific men who were supposed to be Court favourites.* In his "Memoirs," according to Mr. Greville, General Grey "told his brother, the Earl, that his Royal Highness knew nothing of the matter till after it had been settled." The truth is that nobody was cognisant of the affair except the Lord Chancellor, Lord Granville, and Lord Palmerston. Mr. Greville says, "George Lewis told me that the life peerage had never been brought before the Cabinet, and he knew nothing of it till he saw it in the *Gazette*,"† which illustrates the thoughtless manner in which Lord Palmerston allowed himself to be committed to a step, that roused public jealousy against the Crown and the Court. Lord Malmesbury also states, that when Lord Derby was dining one day with the Queen, she told him that if she had had any idea that the question would have created such a disturbance, she would never have dreamt of granting Parke his life peerage.‡

Fortunately the negotiations for peace were now proceeding apace at Paris. The Queen had written a letter to the French Emperor, which Lord Clarendon had delivered to him, earnestly insisting on the necessity of unity of action between France and England at the Congress of the Powers. The Emperor told Lord Clarendon it was "a charming letter;" but in spite of his flattering account of it, the influence of France from first to last was turned against England in the discussions between the plenipotentiaries. Possibly this was due to the constitutional indolence and weakness of the Emperor, who permitted Walewski to manage matters his own way, and as for Walewski, he betrayed Lord Clarendon at every opportunity Napoleon III. was really in the hands of his *entourage*, and they were to a great extent in the hands of Russia.§ Lord Cowley, indeed, informed Mr. Greville that Walewski privately made known to Orloff, the Russian plenipotentiary, not only the points he must yield, but those as to which he might safely defy Lord Clarendon with the open or secret support of France.

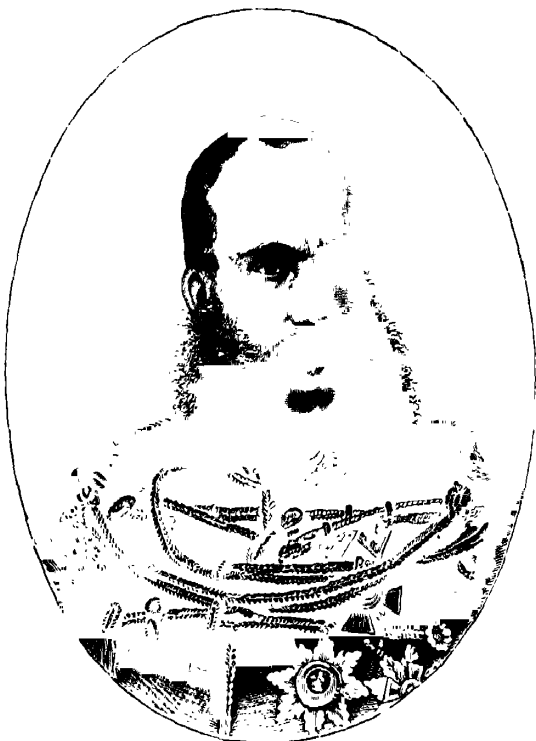
"The signing of the Treaty of Peace with Russia," writes Lord Malmesbury

* Mr Babbage, Dr Lyon Playfair, and Sir R. Murchison, it was said, were to be the first batch of life scientific peers

† Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 51.

‡ Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II, p 43.

§ Mr. Greville, *writing on March 9, says*, "Called on Achille Fould, who introduced me to Magne, Minister of Finance, said to be a great rogue. Everything here is intrigue and jobbery, and I am told there is a sort of gang, of which Morny is the chief, who all combine for their own purpose and advantage: Morny, Fould, Magne, and Rouher, Minister of Commerce They now want to get out Billault, Minister of the Interior, whom they cannot entirely manage, and that minister is necessary to them on account of the railways, which are under his management." Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 31. At a party at Lord Holland's house in Paris, where a great many aristocratic ladies were present, Mr. Greville says that when MM. de Flahault and Morny were announced, "the women all jumped up like a covey of partridges and walked out of the room, without taking any notice of the men."

on the 30th of March, "was announced by the firing of cannon from the Tower and Horse Guards. Numbers collected in the streets, but no enthusiasm was shown."* In fact, when the terms became known there was much popular disappointment, and the *Sun* newspaper actually appeared in deep mourning

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA

over our national humiliation. On the next morning a great crowd assembled in front of the Mansion House. At ten o'clock the Lord Mayor, attended by the Sheriffs, the Sword-bearer, Mace-bearer, and City Marshal, advanced to the stone balcony, and amidst loud cheers read a despatch from the Home Secretary informing him that the Treaty was signed. At noon the Lord Mayor

* The Treaty of Paris was signed on Sunday, March 30. Each of the fourteen plenipotentiaries originally intended to keep the pen with which he signed it as a *memento* of the occasion. They, however, yielded to the request of the Empress Eugenie, who begged that only one pen should be used, which should be retained by her as a souvenir. Only one was accordingly used. It was a quill plucked from an eagle's wing, and richly mounted with gold and jewels.

proceeded in state to the Royal Exchange, where a great number of ladies had mingled with the crowd, and read the despatch again.

And what were the terms of peace? The Powers admitted Turkey to

THE CONFERENCE OF PARIS, 1856.

participate in all the advantages of the public law of Europe, and they agreed that in any future dispute with the Porte, the matter must be submitted to arbitration before force was used by either side. The Sultan was bound by the Treaty to communicate to the Powers a firman improving the condition of his Christian subjects, but this instrument, it was stipulated, gave the Powers no

collective or individual right to interfere between Turkey and her Christian subjects. The Black Sea was neutralised—*i.e.*, all ships of war were excluded from it, and the establishment of arsenals on its coasts was prohibited. But the Euxine was declared free to the trading vessels of all nations, and the Powers were at liberty to keep a few armed ships of light draught for police duty on the neutralised sea. The navigation of the Danube was declared free. Russia ceded Bessarabia to Turkey. The privileges and immunities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia were guaranteed, but the Sultan was permitted to garrison the latter province. Russia and Turkey were bound to restore to each other the conquests they had respectively made in Asia. On the invitation of France the Congress was asked to consider the position of Greece, the Roman States, and the two Sicilies. It was also asked to condemn the licence of the Belgian Press, and to formulate new rules for maritime warfare. These discussions came to naught, but it was agreed by the "Declarations of Paris" that privateering should be abolished; that, with the exception of contraband, an enemy's goods must be free from capture under a neutral flag, a neutral's goods being also respected under an enemy's flag; and that "paper blockades" should not be recognised, *i.e.*, a blockade to be effective must in future be maintained by a force strong enough to cut off access to the coasts of an enemy.* It will be observed that there was nothing in this instrument to provide means for punishing Russia if she broke it. Hence, on the 15th of April, France, Austria, and England signed what was called the Tripartite Treaty, binding each other jointly or severally to go to war against any Power that violated the Treaty of Paris. This compact was treated like a dead letter when Russia attacked Turkey in 1877. "The peace," said Prince Albert in a letter to Stockmar, "is not such as we could have wished, still infinitely to be preferred to the prosecution of the war, with the present complication of general policy." That was in truth the verdict of the country. Comparing the terms with those which we might have obtained at Vienna in 1855, it was a humiliating settlement for England, in no way justifying the continuance of the war after the battle of Inkermann. Comparing them with the terms which the Czar might have obtained before the invasion of the Crimea, the settlement was humiliating to Russia.

In Parliament the debates on the Treaty were on the whole favourable to the Government. Complaint was, however, made that no effective steps had been taken to protect Turkey from Russian aggression in Asia Minor; that the Circassians had been abandoned; that Lord Clarendon in the Congress had not protested with enough warmth against the attacks made on the Belgian Press; that no definite provision had been made to prevent Russia from

* In 1870 the neutrality of the Black Sea was abandoned—Russia having declared she would no longer respect the Treaty on that point. After the last Russo-Turkish war, Russia took back Bessarabia. The "Declarations," in fact, are the only portions of the Treaty that remain in force.

building war-ships at Nicolaieff; that the government of the Principalities had been left an open question; and that by the Declarations rights of search at sea, which were extremely useful to a naval power during war, were surrendered. It is true that, by agreeing to abolish privateering, England sacrificed what may be called her right of fighting with naval volunteers; and it seems as if the American doctrine—namely, that to the merchant whose ships are plundered, it matters little whether the mischief is done by a man-of-war or a privateer—is sensible. On the other hand, it was obvious that England could not carry on a naval war for a year on the principle that free ships did not make free goods, without coming into collision with every neutral State in the world. But to all objections there was, of course, one answer. No better terms could be got unless England was prepared to carry on the war alone. Yet, as a matter of fact, Russia had suffered so severely during the winter, that it is probable she might have been more complaisant at Paris, had Lord Clarendon been firmer, and had Napoleon III. not perfidiously played into her hands.

The solitary result of the Crimean War, says Mr. Spencer Walpole, was to "set back the clock for some fourteen years."* Still he seems to think that it "was perhaps worth some sacrifice, to prove that England was still ready to strike a blow for a weak neighbour whom she believed to be oppressed." This would have been a gain had it added to English prestige. But the war really diminished that prestige. M. De Tocqueville, after returning from a Continental tour, said to the late Mr. Senior, "I heard universal and unqualified praise of the heroic courage of your soldiers, but at the same time I found spread abroad the persuasion that the importance of England had been overrated as a military power properly so called—a power which consists in administering as much as in fighting, and, above all, that it was impossible (and this had never before been believed) for her to raise large armies, even under the most pressing circumstances. I never heard anything like it since my childhood. You are supposed to be entirely dependent on us. . . . A year ago we probably overrated your military power. I believe that now we most mischievously underrate it. A year ago nothing alarmed us more than a whisper of the chance of a war with England. We talk of one now with great composure. We believe that it would not be difficult to throw 100,000 men upon your shores, and we believe that half that number would walk over England or Ireland." †

After peace had been proclaimed, public life in England stagnated for a time, and party rancour temporarily disappeared. Ministers and Ex-Ministers met in society on the friendliest terms, and Lord Malmesbury describes a dinner party which the Queen gave on the 7th of May in honour of Baron Brunnow, at which the leaders of both factions were present—"the happy family I call them," says the Queen in a letter to King Leopold. "Lord John Russell was

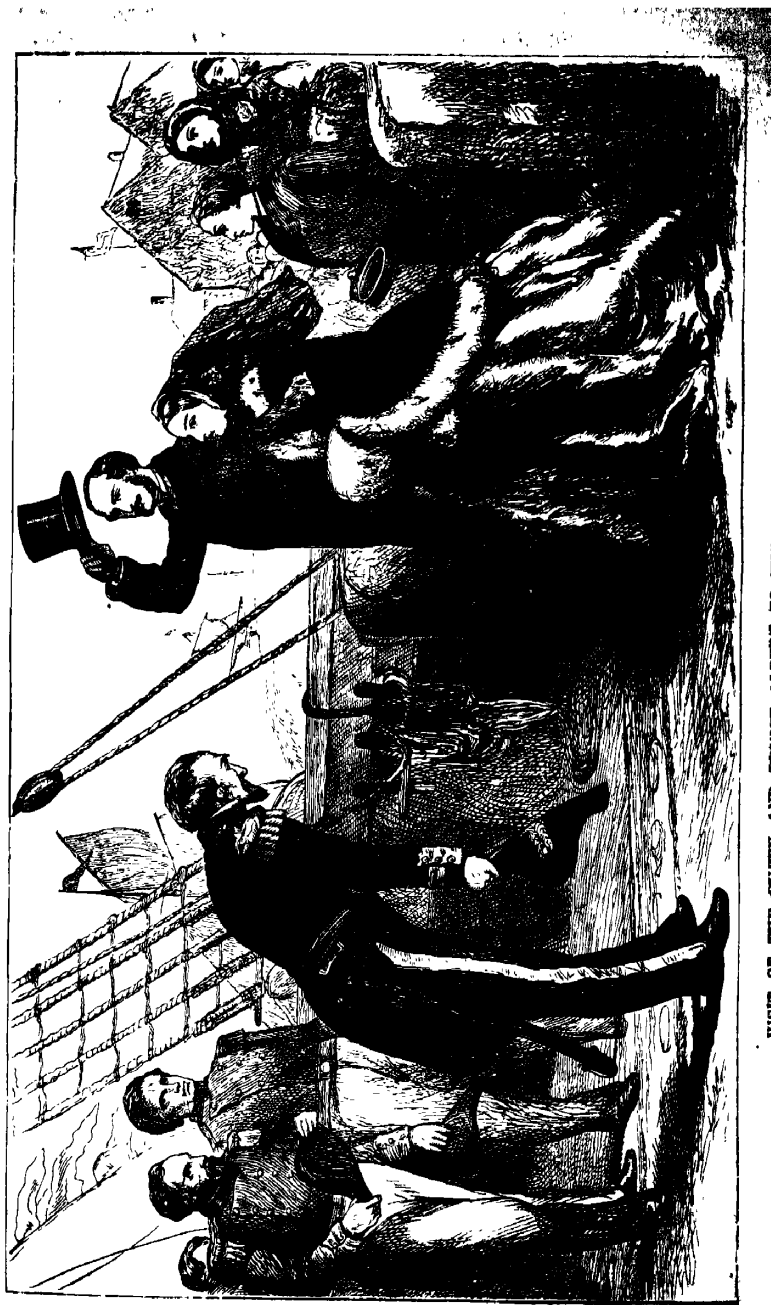
* History of England, Vol. V., p 143.

† Correspondence of A. de Tocqueville with Mr. Nassau Senior, Vol. II., pp. 99, 101.

there," says Lord Malmesbury, "and very civil to me, as when I arrived he crossed the room to come to speak to me—a thing he never did before. He began by saying 'You gave it them well last night,'* and seemed quite delighted at the Government being bullied. . . . I had to take Lady Clarendon to dinner. She was at first very cross, but I ended by laughing her out of her bad humour."† A slight ripple on the calm waters was due to the suspension of diplomatic relations with the United States. In raising recruits under the Foreign Enlistment Act, it seems some overzealous British agents had given the American Government not unreasonable cause to complain that we were violating their law during the war. The dispute became acute, when the British Minister to the United States was requested to leave Washington—but the quarrel was not a serious one. "The Americans," Prince Albert informs Stockmar on the 16th June, "have sent away our Minister, but accompanied the act with such assurances of friendship and affection, and of their perfect readiness to adjust all points of difference in conformity with our wishes, that it will be difficult to give theirs his *congé* in return." As a matter of fact the British Government apologised, and on the 16th of March, 1857, Lord Napier was received at Washington as Mr. Crampton's successor. In truth there was no real ill-feeling at all between the two nations—and of this a curious proof was given at the end of the year. H.M.S. *Resolute* which had been attached to the last Arctic expedition had been abandoned in the ice. Some American explorers found her adrift and took her to the United States. There she was re-fitted at the expense of the Government, and sent back to England as a present to the Queen. When the *Resolute* made her appearance at Cowes, the Queen insisted on going in person, on the 16th of December, to receive the gift. Her courteous reception of the American officers touched them deeply, and Lord Clarendon informed her Majesty that Mr. Dallas, the American Minister, told him, his countrymen were quite overwhelmed with the kindness which they had everywhere received.

Lord Palmerston's unwearied attention to business, and his popularity after peace had been proclaimed, almost silenced criticism on his domestic policy. It had been supposed that the Budget would tempt the Opposition to attack him, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer had a dismal story to tell when the House of Commons met after Whitsuntide. The expenditure for the past year had come to £88,428,355, or £22,723,854 in excess of the revenue. In fact, during the three years ending with 1856 the war had cost England

* This refers to Lord Malmesbury's attack in the House of Lords on the Treaty of Peace.

† Continuing a year after this, Lord Malmesbury records his impressions of a conversation with Lady Ely on the famous "happy family" dinner of 1856. He says, "It looks as if her Majesty made up the dinner of these discordant materials for fun, and, from the same *malice*, made me take Lady Clarendon to dinner, as it was only two days after I had attacked Lord Clarendon in the House of Lords, and Lady Clarendon would not speak to me at first, but I ended by making her laugh. The Queen, who was opposite, was highly amused, and could hardly help laughing when Lady Clarendon at first would not answer me."—Memoirs of an ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 67.

£[illegible]. After making the most cautious estimates, Sir George Cornewall Lewis said that for the coming year, on the basis of existing taxation, his expected revenue would fall short of his anticipated expenditure by £7,000,000. As no new taxes were to be levied, he was compelled to find the money by borrowing, and, of course, no remission of taxation could in such circumstances be looked for. The House sanctioned the scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he was warned that in future reduced estimates would be demanded.

More than one attempt was made by Mr. Disraeli to assail the Italian policy of Lord Palmerston. That policy was somewhat tortuous, for whilst the English Foreign Office was perpetually encouraging Sardinia to protest against the Austrian occupation of North Italy, England had, with Austria and France, become a party to the Tripartite Treaty guaranteeing the execution of the Treaty of Paris. Mr. Disraeli argued that it was inconsistent to stir up Sardinia and the discontented populations of Italy against Austria, at a time when we had by the Tripartite Treaty virtually bound ourselves in a close alliance with the Austrian Empire. The tyrannical Government of Sicily also elicited remonstrances from England, against which Russia protested, on the ground that we had no right to interfere between King "Bomba" and his subjects. But no enthusiasm was roused on these subjects—in fact, the country did not desire a change of Government at the time, and every effort to weaken the Ministry was therefore futile. Yet the home policy of the Ministry was a signal failure. They succeeded in assimilating the mercantile law of England and Scotland; but their first Bill to amend the law of partnership was abandoned in March. A second one was introduced, and abandoned in July. A Bill for the amendment of the Poor Law met the same fate. The Bill to regulate lunatic asylums in Ireland, and a Bill to relieve merchant vessels of tolls and dues were also abandoned. Ministers were equally unfortunate with their Divorce Bill, and with their Bills to establish jurisdiction over wills, and to check the criminal appropriation of trust property. Their Church Discipline Bill was rejected by the Lords. The Bills to reconstruct the Irish Court of Chancery and the Insolvency Court were dropped.* The Jury Bill, Juvenile Offenders Bill, and Dublin Police Bill were also given up. The Civil Servants' Superannuation Bill, the London Municipal Reform Bill, the Bill for the local management of the metropolis, a burial Bill, a vaccination Bill, a Bill dealing with the Queen's College in Ireland, and a Scotch education Bill were all abandoned. A Bill enabling two Bishops to retire on handsome terms was passed, though the arrangement was denounced as simoniacal, and the County Police Bill also became law. But the legislative failures of the Government showed that it had no firm hold over the House of Commons, and that its position was safe, merely because

* Nobody regretted this, for they created a host of highly-paid place-holders. Mr. Disraeli declared that these measures were at first supposed to be an ingenious means of compensating Ireland for the failure of the Tipperary Bank.

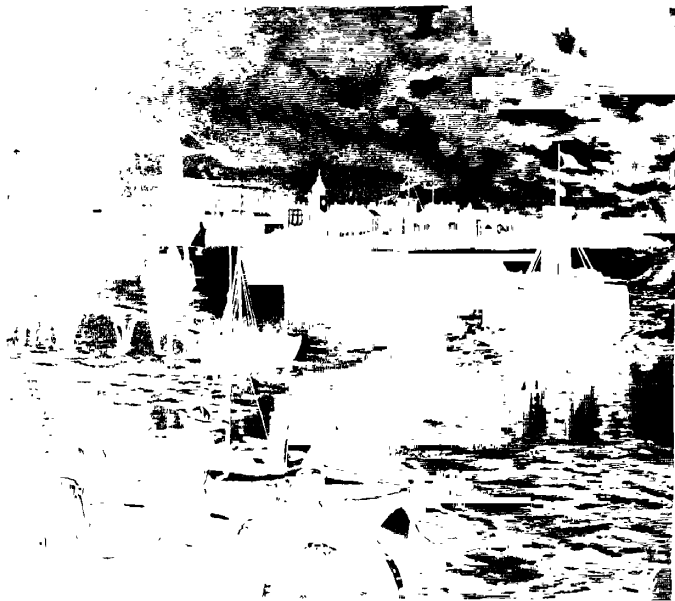
the nation was not in a mood for change so soon after its energies had been exhausted in a costly and inglorious war. Moreover, Parties were still disorganised, Lord John Russell's isolation and the position of the Peelites being disturbing factors in the situation. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, however, began to draw nearer and nearer to each other, Lord Stanley being regarded as the connecting link between them, and some of the Whigs, a little alarmed at the prospect of a hostile coalition, began to hint that Palmerston would be wise to attract the Peelites back to his standard. The fact is, the war left the country profoundly disgusted with Party government. Sir James Graham told Mr. Greville that hitherto the party system had been efficient for government, because patronage had been "the great instrument for keeping parties together." Peel, however, broke up the old party system in 1846, and now, said Sir James Graham, "between the Press, the public opinion which the Press had made, and the views of certain people in Parliament, of whom Gladstone is the most eminent and strenuous, patronage was either destroyed or going rapidly to destruction."* To some extent the Queen shared these views, but in the event of any mishap leading to Palmerston's resignation, the idea of the Court was to organise a coalition under Clarendon. Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of July.

Outside politics the life of the Queen during 1856 was not very eventful. On the 20th of March the confirmation of the Princess Royal brought together an interesting family gathering at the private chapel at Windsor. Prince Albert led the princess in, and was followed by the Queen and King Leopold of Belgium. The officers of State, and of the household, and most of the members of the Royal Family, were present, and the Bishop of Oxford, Lord High Almoner, read the preface, the Archbishop of Canterbury performing the ceremony. Several guests were present, and in describing the event to Stockmar the Prince dwells with some pride on the fact that the Princess came through the ordeal of Dean Wellesley's preliminary examination a few days before with great success.† The choice of the Navy as Prince Alfred's profession had now been made, and in April the Queen and Prince Albert, after much anxious thought, selected a tutor for their son. He is described by the Prince in one of his letters as "a distinguished and most amiable

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part Vol. II, pp 42—45.

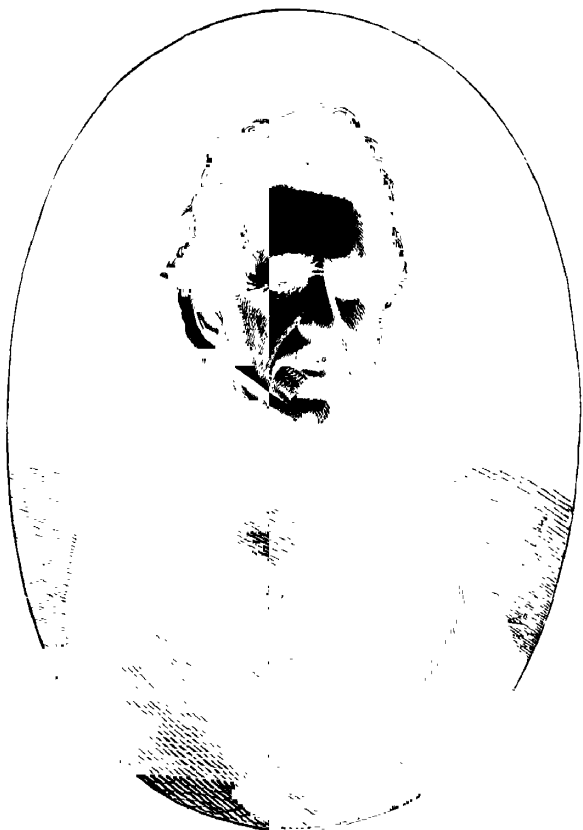
† A few days before this event, on the 15th inst., the Royal Nursery was robbed. The Royal Household is, of course, under the control of the Lord Steward. One of his sub-departments is called "The Silver Pantry," which has three yeomen, one groom, and six assistants attached to it. Yet, when the nursery plate had to be sent to Windsor, these gorgeous functionaries, with their staff of porters, horses, grooms, and carts, could not condescend to convey it. It was trusted to a common carrier, who unhappily, when on his way, stopped at a public-house for refreshment. He and his man were "only absent for five minutes," but in that time a light spring cart had driven up to the carrier's waggon, and when it drove away, the box containing the Royal nursery plate had vanished. The plate chest was found in Bonner's Fields containing everything but the bullion. The knife-blades and packing, which latter consisted of women's dresses, were found, but the plate was never traced.

young officer of Engineers . . . . . one Lieutenant Cowell, who was Adjutant of Sir Harry Jones at Bomarsund and before Sebastopol. . . . He is only twenty-three, and has had a high scientific training. By this a great load has been taken off my heart." *

During the spring of the year the wounded from the Crimea had been pouring in. In February the Queen presented Miss Florence Nightingale with a jewel, somewhat resembling the badge of an Order of Knighthood, for her

PORTSMOUTH

services at Scutari. On the 16th of April her Majesty went to Chatham with her husband to visit these victims of the war. She passed through the wards much affected by the sight of some of the more ghastly wounds, speaking kind and comforting words of sympathy to those who had suffered most severely. The Camp at Aldershot was also visited on the 18th of April, and 14,000 troops were reviewed, her Majesty riding along the line whilst the men presented arms. Next morning was a field day, and the Queen appeared on the ground on horseback, wearing a Field-Marshal's uniform, with the Star of the Garter over a dark-blue riding-habit. On the 23rd of April the splendid fleet

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXII.

at Spithead was reviewed. The spectacle was one of surpassing magnificence, and upwards of 100,000 persons witnessed it, crowding every spot from which a view could be obtained between Fort Monckton and Southsea Castle. The Solent was alive with yachts and craft of all kinds, decked with bunting, which

SIR DE LACY EVANS.

fluttered gaily in the light breeze. The Queen's yacht left Portsmouth Harbour at noon, steamed down and returned through the double line of war-ships. As the yacht rounded the *Royal George* and *Duke of Wellington* they opened a Royal salute, and their yards were suddenly manned, as if by magic, with seamen, each trying to cheer louder than his comrade. This manœuvre was repeated in succession by every ship in the fleet, and the effect was imposing and impressive. A mimic attack on Southsea Castle followed, and at night

the whole fleet was suddenly and simultaneously illuminated with blue lights from yards and portholes.

"Our army," Prince Albert wrote, in April, "has begun to return, and it will require redoubled exertions to keep up its organisation." In fact, already an active party in the Cabinet had begun to demand heavy retrenchment on military expenditure. The Queen had long been convinced that hurried retrenchments led to wasteful panic expenditure, and was very much concerned when she heard what was being mooted in the Ministry. Hence she wrote to Lord Palmerston expressing her strong feeling that retrenchment should be moderate and gradual. "To the miserable reductions of the last thirty years," she says, "is entirely owing our state of helplessness when the war began;" and surely, she urged, Ministers were not going to forget the lesson taught by our sufferings in the Crimea. What, however, was most seriously wanted was a new military system which would properly utilise the money already voted for the army, and prevent it from being jobbed into the hands of incompetent persons with powerful family interest. Sir De Lacy Evans, on the 4th of March, made an effort to persuade the House of Commons to abolish the purchase system, which he described as "a stain upon the service and a dishonour to England," and Lord Goderich warmly advocated the application of some effective tests of competence to candidates for commissions. But though everybody sympathised with Evans, nobody would help him to carry out his ideas. In the abstract, said Lord Palmerston, purchase was bad. No one would propose such a system if we were establishing an army for the first time. It existed only in the British army, but, then, it did exist, and it had existed so long that it was hard to get rid of it without injustice to individuals,* and great expenditure in compensation. Yet the highest estimate made of the value of commissions did not exceed £8,000,000—less than half the sum voted every year by the House of Commons for the troops; and even that sum would have had to be paid, not at once, but over a long series of years, under any scheme, to release an army which had been pawned to its officers. Prince Albert, in conjunction with Lord Hardinge, drew up a plan for a new military organisation, which, however, did not touch questions of patronage or promotion. On the 19th of May the Queen laid the foundation stone of the great military hospital at Netley, the first of the kind in England, and an institution which we owe entirely to her Majesty. "Loving my dear, brave army as I do," she writes to King Leopold, "and having seen so many of my poor sick and wounded soldiers, I shall watch over this work with maternal anxiety." † A visit from Prince Frederick William of Prussia brought sunshine into the Royal household, and gladdened the heart of the Queen's eldest daughter, who was supremely happy at once again meeting her betrothed. It was during this visit that the Princess met with an accident, on the 25th of June, that

* De Lacy Evans' proposal was referred to a mixed Commission of civilians and military men.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXII.

might have ended fatally. She was sitting at her table in Buckingham Palace, reading a letter, when the sleeve of her dress caught fire from a candle. Luckily Miss Hildyard and Miss Anderson (who were in the room at the time) promptly rolled the Princess in the hearthrug and extinguished the flames, though her arm was severely burnt from below the elbow to the shoulder.

On the 8th of July the Queen again went to Aldershot to review a great body of Crimean troops, the Royal party including the King of the Belgians and Prince Oscar of Sweden. Unfortunately the weather somewhat marred the grandeur of the spectacle, but it became fair enough ere the day was done to admit of the regiments forming in three sides of a square round the Queen's carriage. Then the officers who had been under fire, with four men from each company and troop, stepped forward, and her Majesty, rising, addressed them a few words of welcome and thanks. She told them to say to their comrades that she had herself watched anxiously over their difficulties and hardships, and mourned with deep sorrow for the brave men who had fallen in their country's cause. When she ceased to speak, the cry of "God save the Queen" burst forth from every lip. The air was black with helmets, bearskins, and shakoes, which the men tossed up with delight. Flashing sabres were waving and glancing along the lines, and on every hillside crowds caught up the cheering that rose from the serried and glittering ranks of the army. Unhappily the day was saddened by a strange and melancholy occurrence. Lord Hardinge was seized with a fit whilst talking to the Queen. "He fell forward," says Prince Albert, "upon the table before which he was standing. I assisted him to the nearest sofa, where he at once resumed what he was saying with the greatest clearness and calmness, merely apologising that he had made such a disturbance. When he was moved to London it was found his right side was paralysed." Next day the Guards and Highlanders arrived, and were received by the Queen and enthusiastic crowds in the Park. "They marched past in fours," writes Lord Malmesbury, "preceded by their colonels on horseback and their bands, in heavy marching order. Certainly they looked as if they had done work; their uniforms were shabby, many having almost lost all colour, their bearskins quite brown, and they themselves, poor fellows, though they seemed happy, and were laughing as they marched along, were very thin and worn." * Lord Hardinge's career was now closed. On the 9th of July he resigned, and on the 24th of September he died. On the 12th of July the Cabinet accordingly advised the Queen to appoint her cousin, the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief, in succession to Lord Hardinge, and her Majesty was gratified to find that the arrangement was one which was highly popular with the troops. Thus the intention of Wellington was fulfilled, and the army again passed under the direct command of a Prince of the Blood Royal.

The Prince and Princess of Prussia paid a visit to England in August, arriving on the 10th and leaving on the 29th, by which time the Court had

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 49.

retired to Osborne. On the 30th, after spending two days in Edinburgh, the Queen and her family arrived at Balmoral. "We found the house finished," writes the Queen in her Diary, "as well as the offices, and the poor old house gone!" * It was a stormy, tempestuous holiday, but the Queen made the best of it. On the 21st of September Sir James Clark introduced Miss Florence Nightingale to the Queen, who was greatly charmed with her, and with whom her Majesty held grave consultations as to the reforms that were needed in military hospitals. The coronation of the Czar at Moscow, on the 7th of September, was attended by Lord Granville as the Queen's representative, and when his reports reached Balmoral, Prince Albert, in a letter to Stockmar, said that they regarded these as "an apotheosis and homage paid to the vanquished, and which cannot fail to inspire both worshipper and worshipped with dangerous illusions in regard to the real state of things."

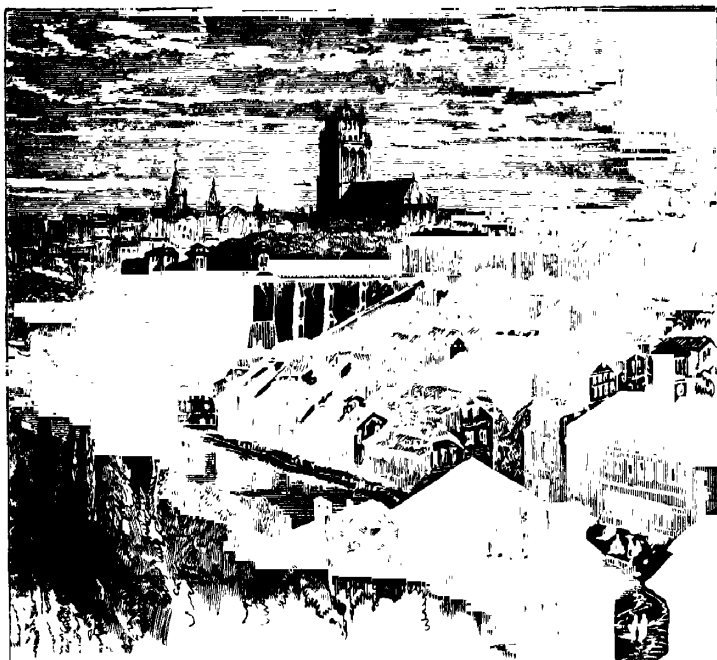
The Queen was now getting alarmed as to the carrying out of the Treaty of Peace. She saw Russia making strenuous efforts to separate France and England. Instead of restoring Kars to the Turks, the Russians demolished the fortifications, and prolonged their military occupation of the country in defiance of the Treaty of Paris. They tried to filch Serpent Island at the mouth of the Danube, under the pretext that it was inside the new line of their frontier. They sought to push their new frontier as far south as Lake Jalpuk, because the Powers, misled by a faulty map, had permitted them to retain the Moldavian town of Bolgrad.† In each case the Emperor of the French was inclined to support the Russian claim. The British fleet was therefore ordered to occupy the Black Sea till the deadlock was ended, and when Chreptovitch, the new Russian ambassador, threatened to leave England because this step had been taken, Lord Palmerston coolly told him "the sooner he did so the better," if he did not mean to give England satisfaction.‡

The King of Prussia now began to press the Queen to interfere in a quarrel between him and the Swiss Republic. Neuenburg or Neufchâtel, by dynastic inheritance, had come into the possession of Frederick I. in 1707. In 1806 it was ceded to Napoleon, who gave it to Berthier, the most diplomatic of his generals. After the Great Peace it was granted an oligarchic constitution,

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXII.

† When the frontier was drawn, Count Orloff said to Lord Clarendon that he should take it as a favour if he would draw it a little farther south so as to include Bolgrad, which was the capital of some Russian military colonies in which the Czar was greatly interested. This was done as a matter of courtesy to the Czar, Orloff pointing to the position of Bolgrad on the map—a French map—and showing that it was such a long way from Lake Jalpuk, that the concession did not give Russia access to a Moldavian lake on which she might, perchance, one day build a threatening flotilla. After the Treaty was signed, it turned out that the place marked as Bolgrad on the French map was really Tabak, and that Bolgrad was actually far to the south of it, on the northern shore of Lake Jalpuk. The Russians therefore, insisting on the letter of the Treaty, claimed Bolgrad, on the left shore of the lake, leaving the right shore to Moldavia.

‡ Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 50.

and received as a Canton into the Swiss Confederation, but its vassalage to the House of Hohenzollern was formally acknowledged. In 1848 the Republican citizens of Neuenburg broke the bond that tied them to the Prussian crown, and though the Protocol of London of the 24th May, 1852, recognised the Prussian claim to the Province, the Province ignored the Protocol of London. In

VIEW IN BERNE.

the autumn of 1856 the Prussian party in Neuenburg attacked the Republicans, but the Swiss Federal troops ruthlessly suppressed the rising, and not only killed twelve royalists, but had the audacity to throw a hundred others into prison, simply because they were loyal to their feudal lord. The King of Prussia objected to their being put on trial, and demanded their surrender, but it was a far cry from Berlin to Berne, and the stubborn Switzers paid no heed to his demands. Napoleon III. menaced them in vain. Austria, always pleased to see Prussia humbled in Germany, threw obstacles in the way of Prussian troops marching through the territory of the Confederation to coerce Switzerland, and Napoleon did not

ture to outrage French opinion by letting them march through Alsace-Lorraine. In England, Palmerston smiled grimly over the embarrassment of Russia's most faithful ally. He said to the Hanoverian Minister in London when Prussia was threatening coercion, "the Prussians will incur much expense, and in January Switzerland will condemn the captives and then amnesty them; *donc la farce sera finie, et la Prusse y sera pour les frais.*"*

Nor was this the only anxiety at Court. King "Bomba's" misgovernment in southern Italy, and his brutal treatment of persons arbitrarily arrested on suspicion of disloyalty, were provoking revolution. An outbreak in the south must lead to a rising in the north, which in turn must involve France and Sardinia in war with Austria. England and France, finding their remonstrances disregarded by the Neapolitan Government, withdrew their legations from Naples in October, and ordered the fleet to make a demonstration in the bay. This step was sanctioned by the Queen not without some misgiving, because to suspend diplomatic relations with a State because its internal government is not to our liking, was to establish a dangerous diplomatic precedent. It evoked from Russia a cutting remonstrance, which, however, Lord Palmerston had to accept as best he could.

On the 19th of October the Court retured to Windsor, and on the 17th of November, Stockmar, in response to a pressing appeal to come and advise the Queen in the midst of her growing difficulties, paid her what was destined to be his last visit. He found her heavily stricken with grief because of the death of her half-brother, Prince Leiningen, on the 13th. "We three," (the Prince, the Princess Hohenlohe, and the Queen), she writes to King Leopold, "were very fond of each other, and never felt or fancied that we were not real *Geschwister* (children of the same parents). We knew but *one* parent—*our* mother."† The last day of the year brought with it one consolation. The Conference in Paris had settled the dispute with Russia, and a map was signed by the plenipotentiaries which met the requirements of the Czar, without giving Russia strategical advantages which she had tried to obtain.‡

* Lowe's Bismarck, Vol I, p 218. † Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXIII.

‡ The French Emperor was pledged to support Russia against us But after his return from Biarritz, he found political parties were using his disagreement with England to weaken the Anglo-French alliance, and discredit his foreign policy The secret history of the transaction, however, was not creditable to Palmerstonian diplomacy Lord Malmesbury writes on the 21st of November, "Persigny told me Walewski is in disgrace. The difficulty about Bolgrad and the Isle of Serpents arises from the Emperor having been entrapped into a promise by the Russians, but Persigny has suggested a solution, which has been accepted by the Emperor and our Government, namely, a Congress, which is to assemble, into which Sardinia is to be admitted, *on condition of voting against Russia.* Austria goes with England, and Prussia is of course excluded. This gives England a majority, and the Emperor an excuse for giving way."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II, p 53. Lord Clarendon, had, up till the beginning of December, refused to submit the dispute to a Congress, for the point which Russia raised about Bolgrad was simply a point of obvious chicanery which it was beneath the dignity of England to debate. Lord Palmerston and he yielded, however, and, as Mr. Greville says scornfully, by "this dodge saved us."—Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 68.

CHAPTER XXXV.

TWO LITTLE WARS AND A "PENAL DISSOLUTION."

The Queen's New Year Greeting to Napoleon III. A Gladstone-Disraeli Coalition—A "Scene" in the Carlton Club—Mr. Disraeli's Attack on Lord Palmerston's Foreign Policy—The Queen Consents to Reduce the Income Tax—A Fallacious Budget, with Imaginary Remissions—The Persian War—General Outram's Victories—Unpopularity of the War—Making War without Consulting Parliament—The Rupture with China—A "Prancing Proconsul"—The Bombardment of Canton—Defeat of Lord Palmerston, and his Appeal to the Country—A Penal Dissolution—Abortive Coalition between the Peelites and Tories—Mr Gladstone and the Intriguers—Split in the Peelite Party—Palmerston's Victory at the Polls—The Rout of the Manchester School—The Lesson of the Election—Opening of the New Parliament—The Work of the Session—Mr. Gladstone's Obstruction of the Divorce Bill—The Settlement of the Neufchâtel Difficulty—The Question of the Principalities—Visit of the French Emperor to the Queen.

WRITING on New Year's Day in 1857, Lord Malmesbury says in his Diary, "The Conference opened yesterday on the questions of Bolgrad and the Isle of Serpents, which the Russians falsely claim as being included in the Treaty of Peace. The Swiss are making energetic preparations for resisting the threatened invasion of Neufchâtel by Prussia; whilst England and France are using their utmost exertions to prevent a war. England has declared war against Persia, and Admiral Seymour has bombarded Canton to avenge an insult offered to our flag." * The Queen, in a letter conveying her greetings to the Emperor of the French, also observes, mournfully, that "the New Year again begins amid the din of warlike preparations;" and there was undoubtedly a feeling of disappointment in England that the Peace of Paris had not brought peace to the world. Yet the general condition of the country was prosperous. Crime, however—especially fraud and murder—had increased shockingly, and severe moralists in Pall Mall went about predicting that Parliament must now devote a Session to social legislation—especially penal legislation—so as to purge a corrupt people of its wickedness. But the corrupt people, much to the Queen's regret, was of quite another opinion—and so were the political factions. The constituencies were beginning to murmur against taxation. Now that war was over, they demanded sweeping reductions in the income and other taxes, which involved the diminution of the army and navy to such slender dimensions, that her Majesty felt certain they would be as unfit to cope with a sudden emergency as they were when the Crimea was invaded. As for the factions, they were determined to turn out the Government, which they knew existed solely on the credit Palmerston had obtained by carrying on war when the nation wanted it, and ending it when the nation was getting sick of the struggle. The Queen was hostile to any abrupt change of Government at a time when she could see no means of replacing Palmerston's Cabinet by a stronger one, and she viewed with disapprobation the subterranean intrigues

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p 55.

which were going on between the Tories and the Peelites. That Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli were attempting, through the medium of Lord Stanley, to form a Coalition, was known at the Court; nay, it was even said that Mr. Gladstone was to take the leadership of the Tory Party in the House of Commons. Sir William Jolliffe, the Tory Whip, when pressed on the point in December, 1856, told Mr. George Byng that this was "not true at present; that he could not say what might or might not happen hereafter, but that he (Mr. Gladstone) could not be accepted as a leader, and must, in any case, first serve in the ranks." Only a short time before that some of the younger members of the Party had visited the drawing-room of the Carlton Club with the amiable intention of throwing Mr. Gladstone out of the window. That they had now modified their repugnance to him indicates how keen their hunger for office had grown. But that the Tory Party was disorganised through Mr. Disraeli's unpopularity, and also because Lord Palmerston's policy, though Liberal abroad, was really too Conservative at home to be successfully attacked, is clear from a letter which Lord Derby wrote to Lord Malmesbury on the prosperity of the Conservatives at the close of 1856.*

Parliament was opened on the 3rd of February, 1857, and the Queen's Speech naturally referred to the wars and rumours of war that filled the air. Law Reform and the Bank Act were the only subjects of domestic interest dwelt upon. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert now appeared almost anxious to join Lord Derby; and the Tories, on their part, were quite prepared to support Mr. Gladstone in demanding that the Income Tax be reduced to 5d. in the current year, and abolished altogether in 1860, as had been agreed on in 1853.† Mr. Disraeli's attack, on the other hand, was directed against the Foreign Policy of the Government. He complained that at the very time Lord Clarendon was encouraging the hopes of Count Cavour and of Italy at the Congress of Paris, France had signed a Secret Treaty guaranteeing to Austria her Italian provinces, and had signed it by the advice of England. Lord Palmerston denied the existence of this Secret Treaty. But he admitted that in 1854, when there was some hope that Austria would take part in the war, an agreement was made to the effect that should Russia raise an insurrection in North Italy, France would help Austria to put it down, if Austrian armies were actually co-operating with the Allies against Russia. In the Upper House, Lord Aberdeen voted for the amendment to the Address with many of the Tories—a somewhat unusual thing for an ex-Premier to do—and this, along with Mr. Gladstone's cordial support of Mr. Disraeli, was taken to be a sign that the Peelites desired to coalesce with the Opposition. Lord John Russell, who was a kind of political Ishmaelite,

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 58. See also Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 69.

† The Duke of Beaufort and eighty Members of the Lower House, however, threatened to leave the Party if places in a Tory Government were given to the Peelites.—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 67.

also spoke bitterly about the abortive demonstration of the fleet at Naples, which had drawn upon us insulting remonstrances, and had not coerced King Ferdinand into good behaviour. On the 17th of February Mr. Disraeli compelled Lord Palmerston to admit that "a military convention," if not a Secret Treaty, between France and Austria *had* been signed, but only as a temporary arrangement. When, however, Mr. Disraeli persisted in saying it was a Secret Treaty, and that on the face of it there was no limit to the period of its operation,

OLD WINDSOR LOCK

(From a Photograph by Taunt and Co., Oxford.)

Palmerston lost his temper, a circumstance so extraordinary that it convinced the House he had been again caught tripping.

After many harassing consultations, the Queen felt that it was impossible for the Cabinet to resist the growing agitation against the Income Tax. The coalition between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli was too ominous to be disregarded; and so, on the 10th of February, she wrote to King Leopold, "We think we shall be able to reduce the Income Tax and yet maintain an efficient navy, and the *organisation* of the army, which is even more important than the number of the men." * When Sir George Cornewall Lewis brought in his Budget on the 13th of February, it was found that he reduced the Income Tax from 1s. 4d. to 7d. in the pound; but of course this was still 2d. above the peace limit fixed in 1853. The complaint of the Opposition was that the Government imposed that 2d. merely to promote what Mr. Disraeli called the "turbulent and aggressive policy" abroad by which Lord Palmerston diverted the attention of

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXV.

the country from its own affairs at home.* Mr. Gladstone attacked the Budget all along the line. Sir George Lewis, he said, pretended to remit £11,000,000 of taxation. But of that sum £4,470,000 were war taxes, which necessarily dropped when war was over, and though Sir George brought the tea duty down from 1s. 9d. to 1s. 7d. on the lb., and on sugar from 20s. per cwt. to 18s. 4d., that still raised from tea and sugar £1,400,000 more than the old peace duties drew from them. The real remission, then, was not £11,000,000, but £3,184,000. The faults of the Budget were obviously two. It virtually ignored the pledge of the Government in 1853 to abolish the Income Tax in 1860. Instead of cutting down expenditure so as to render it possible to keep that pledge, it increased expenditure above the peace limit, so as to make it impossible to surrender the Income Tax.† The accepted financial policy of the country had been to grant an Income Tax during peace solely to enable the Government to remit taxes on articles of popular consumption. It was granted merely to give an elastic revenue time to recover from sudden remissions of indirect taxation. Sir George Lewis, however, still kept the tax above the peace limit, and his small reductions on the tea and sugar duties left them standing above the peace limit also. Moreover, he maintained his expenditure on a scale which created deficits that rendered the continuance of the Income Tax, without compensating remissions of indirect taxes, inevitable. In fact, Sir George Lewis may be said to have introduced the vicious principle of modern finance, by which a temporary Income Tax is insidiously converted into a permanent one, and by which, under cover of extraordinary disbursement during a war, the country is left after peace is declared with a residue of that outlay clinging to the estimates, as ordinary and permanent annual expenditure. The Budget, however, was carried through in a slightly modified form, but the sudden dissolution of Parliament in March compelled Sir George Lewis to levy his new taxes not on a descending scale for three years, but for the ensuing year only. With a view to the popular vote to which Lord Palmerston was about to appeal, Sir George then surrendered 2d. of the tea duty, which brought it down to 1s. 5d. on the pound. But he made no adequate provision for the Persian war, or the war with China. His alteration of the tea duty of course rendered

* On the estimate of expenditure and revenue for 1856—1857 there was a deficit of £10,000,000. To meet this Sir George Lewis had borrowed £7,499,000, and he had raised £1,000,000 in Exchequer Bills. The total receipts from all sources, said Sir George Lewis in his Statement (*Annual Register*, Vol. XCIX., p. 29), would, when the financial year closed, be £79,384,000, and the expenditure £78,000,000, leaving a surplus of £1,384,000. This was a wrong calculation. The net income of the year was £75,569,575, or, after deductions, £72,963,151, showing a deficit on the expenditure of the year of £3,254,604. For the coming year, 1857—1858, Sir George estimated his expenditure at £63,224,000, to which £2,000,000 had to be added for the service of war loans. The revenue he estimated at £66,365,000; so that he expected a surplus of £141,000.

† Quite apart from the cost of the Crimean War, Mr. Gladstone showed that £6,000,000 had been added to the ordinary expenditure of the country during the four years ending 1856—1857.

his surplus a myth, and his Budget, with an inflated expenditure, went forth, as Mr. Gladstone complained, with a deficiency of ways and means. In fact, on the eve of an appeal to the constituencies, a prudish Chancellor of the Exchequer "went to the country" with a profligate electioneering Budget.

Mention has been already made of a "little war" that was being waged with Persia. It had sprung out of the irrepressible desire of the Shah to hold Herat, and from the traditional belief of the Foreign Office that when Herat was in Persian hands, "the key of India" was in the pockets of the Czar.* In 1851 Persia had promised that she would not meddle with Herat if the Afghans did not attempt to seize it. But the Governor of Candahar advanced on the coveted city, whose ruler appealed to Persia for protection. The Indian Government admitted that there was no danger to India in Persia responding to this appeal. The Foreign Office, however, suspended diplomatic relations with the Court of Teheran.† Persia then agreed to retire from Herat when the Afghans withdrew, and negotiations went on in a dilatory fashion till the Crimean War broke out, when the Czar urged Persia to resist and become his ally. The Shah's Prime Minister held his Imperial master back, and Mr. Thomson, a typical representative of the Foreign Office in Persia, by way of further conciliating the friendly Premier, appointed as First Secretary of the British Legation, a disreputable person who had been dismissed from the Persian service, and whose family were among the most active enemies of the anti-Russian Minister. The Minister refused to receive this individual — Meerza Hashim by name. By way of compensating him Mr. Murray, who succeeded Mr. Thomson, appointed him British agent at Shiraz, a place where we had no right to have an agent at all, but where, by the courtesy of the Persian Government, we had been allowed to have one.‡ The Persian Premier then threatened to arrest Meerza Hashim. As a matter of fact, he arrested his wife, and maliciously insinuated in a despatch, when Mr. Murray demanded her release, that he had compromised himself with the lady. Murray accordingly struck his flag and demanded an apology, whereupon Persia issued a manifesto declaring that the Afghans were advancing on Herat, and

* Of course, Lord Beaconsfield before he died educated the Foreign Office up to the truth, which is, that "the key of India" is held in London—and that the defensible gates of India are those on our frontier which we can protect by our arms. But the amazing thing is that when the Foreign Office *did* believe that Herat was the "key of India," they never would let it be held by a Power which, like Persia, was strong enough to keep it safe with British help. Persia was the natural ally of England against Russia. But every effort of the Indian Government to conciliate Persia has been thwarted by the Foreign Office. Since we abandoned her for the sake of the Russian alliance against Napoleon I., the English Foreign Office has exhausted the resources of its diplomacy in betraying, browbeating, and irritating her. And yet it is a fact, that without the good-will of Persia, which enabled Russia to draw supplies from "the golden province of Khorassan," Russia could never have marched from the Caspian to the gates of Merv.

† Correspondence respecting relations with Persia, Parliamentary Papers, 1857, pp. 21—39.

‡ This story of diplomatic blundering is told in the speeches of Mr. Layard and Lord Palmerston. Hansard, Vol. CXL., pp. 1717—1722.

threatening to seize that fortress. In July, 1856, a British force was ordered to proceed from Bombay to occupy the island of Karrack and the city of Bushire. By this time the Crimean War was over, and Persia could get no aid from her Russian ally. A Persian ambassador therefore was sent to Paris to negotiate for peace, but he broke his journey at Constantinople to arrange the terms with Stratford de Redcliffe. Whilst there, news came that Persia had captured Herat. Stratford demanded its evacuation, and the dismissal of the Prime Minister. This latter demand the Persian Envoy rejected. The English Government therefore went on with the war. It was, however, declared by the Indian Government that war was waged for the recovery of Herat, which Persia had offered to evacuate, whereas the British Government, in their declaration, stated that their object was the dismissal of the Persian Premier,* who had foiled the attempt of Russia to drag the Shah into the Crimean War. The Expedition, led by General Outram, occupied Karrack and captured Bushire. But these victories did not really determine the issue. In England the war had become unpopular. Palmerston had begun it, and carried it on without consulting the House of Commons, by the simple expedient of using the revenues of India to meet its expenses. This was a source of supplies which the House, of course, could not control. At the beginning of the Session it was currently rumoured that the Government would soon be called to account for a proceeding which the Representative Chamber was bound to view with jealousy and suspicion.

These mutterings of hostility alarmed Palmerston, for he had already determined to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country against the condemnation which the House of Commons had passed on his policy in China. Whilst, as yet, the full bearing of his Persian policy was imperfectly understood by the constituencies, he hastened to make peace, and Persia, after her defeats, was not disposed to be obstinate. But the Shah refused to dismiss his Prime Minister, and Palmerston was accordingly fain to withdraw his demand, and be content with an apology for the imputations which had been cast on Mr. Murray's character. Such was the inglorious end of a war which is one of the least creditable events in Lord Palmerston's career. As might be expected, when the General Election was over, and the new Parliament met, Ministers were fiercely attacked for declaring and prosecuting the war unconstitutionally without consulting the House of Commons. The country was now fully alive to the danger that lurked in such a monstrous extension of the Queen's prerogative as would permit her to use the revenues of India, which the House of Commons could not control, for carrying on war outside the Indian Empire. The only real control which the people have over the Crown is their power to stop supplies for the army. The Persian War, however, proved that the Crown could draw supplies and troops from India, without any Parliamentary sanction whatever. Palmerston's policy had thus put into

* Papers respecting Persia, p. 211.

the hands of the Queen a deadlier weapon of despotism than either the Tudors or the Stuarts had dared to wield. But the attack, damaging as it was, failed to upset the Ministry; though the House, in 1858, at Mr. Gladstone's suggestion, forced the Government to accept a clause in the India Bill which disallowed such pretensions on the part of the Crown.*

But at the beginning of the Session of 1857 it was not Persia but China that really engrossed the attention of the country. A dispute between Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hong Kong, and the Chinese authorities at Canton,

SIR JOHN BOWRING.

raised an issue which made it easy for the Peelites to unite with the Tories, and the Cobdenites with both.

The Chinese War of 1857 occupies an unique place in the events of the Victorian epoch, because it was a war which was provoked by a member of the Peace Society. In October, 1856, the Chinese authorities arrested twelve Chinamen on board a native lorcha called the *Arrow*, on a charge of piracy. The British Consul, asserting that the *Arrow* was a British ship, contended very properly that the accused should have been demanded from him. Nine of the Chinamen were released. Sir John Bowring thereupon insisted on the release of the other three, and an apology within forty-eight hours, on pain of immediate

* India under Lord Canning, by the Duke of Argyll, p. 72. See also 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, Section 55. Lord Beaconsfield made another attempt to evade this section by bringing Indian troops to Malta during the Russo-Turkish War in 1877.

reprisals. The three men were released; but the Chinese Governor courteously refused to apologise, because, he said, as the *Arrow* was *not* a British ship, no wrong had been done to the British flag. This was literally true, for Sir J. Bowring, as everybody now admits, was utterly mistaken as to the nationality of the lorcha. The courtesy of the Chinese in surrendering the prisoners in deference to an illegal demand, which Bowring had couched in terms of offensive arrogance, was rewarded next day by the bombardment of the luckless commercial city of Canton—a barbarous act which could be justified by the laws neither of God nor of man. In fact, "a prancing proconsul," to use a famous phrase of Sir William Harcourt's, had virtually usurped the prerogative of the Crown, and levied war on a foreign Government on his own responsibility. Instead of recalling Bowring and the British Consul, Lord Palmerston, without giving the matter much thought, identified himself with their proceedings, though many Members of his Cabinet, notably Lord Granville and Mr. Labouchere, who afterwards were forced to defend Bowring in Parliament, personally disapproved of his conduct.* But Ministers virtually abandoned the case of the *Arrow* when the controversy grew hot. "As usual," writes Mr. Morley, "they shifted the ground from the particular to the general; if the Chinese were right about the *Arrow* they were wrong about something else; if legality did not exactly justify violence, it was at any rate required by policy; Orientals mistake justice for fear; and so on through the string of well-worn sophisms, which are always pursued in connection with such affairs." † The real truth, as the Tory leaders said in the debates in both Houses of Parliament, was that Bowring's vanity had been hurt because the Chinese had refused to receive him in Canton. When he sent Admiral Sir M. Seymour to bombard the port he tacked on to his original ultimatum a demand that foreigners should be freely admitted to the city, on the ground that this privilege, though ceded by the Treaty of 1846, had never been granted. Admitting that his interpretation of this disputed point in the Treaty was correct, neither he nor Lord Palmerston had any right to force that interpretation on China by war. Their duty was to have acted in concert with the Governments of France and the United States, who were equally interested in the question, and in this way to exhaust the resources of diplomacy, before appealing to the arbitrament of the sword. Every Member of both Houses of Parliament who was not an infatuated partisan of Lord Palmerston's took this view of the case; and when Mr. Cobden, on the 26th of February, brought forward a motion condemning the policy of the Government, he carried it, after a debate which lasted many nights, by a majority of sixteen. ‡ In the House of Lords the Government repelled the attack, on the 27th of February, by a majority of

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol II., p 93.

† Life of Cobden, Chap. XXIV.

‡ The vote was 247 for, and 263 against, the Ministry. See Cobden's Speeches, Vol. II., pp. 121—156, for his indictment.

thirty-six; and had the division been taken on the same night in the Commons, the majority, after Cobden's and Russell's speeches, would have been so enormous that Palmerston would hardly have dared to ask the Queen to dissolve Parliament. But he adroitly delayed matters, held a meeting of his Party, harangued them, and threatened them with a dissolution, and so, by the 4th of March, when the division was taken, the majority against him dwindled to sixteen. On the 5th of March, Ministers announced that Parliament would be dissolved and the sense of the country taken on the issue. The antipathy of the Queen to "penal dissolutions," indeed, to any dissolution of Parliament, if it can be avoided, was overcome by Lord Palmerston representing that the majority against him was exceedingly small—that it was made up of a coalition of factions, whose leaders, agreeing only on one point, could not possibly form a stable Government. On the other hand, from a General Election a Government of some kind would be evolved with a solid working majority, an advantage of supreme importance in the eyes of the Sovereign.

Then the game of intrigue began. Lord Malmesbury was sent to Mr. Sidney Herbert to negotiate an alliance between the Tories and the Peelites, his proposal being, says Lord Malmesbury, "that we should not take a hostile part towards each other's candidates." By this arrangement it was supposed that no personal enmities would be made, and the difficulty of organising an actual coalition, if such should be deemed necessary, would therefore be minimised.* Mr. Herbert rejected these overtures, because the Peelites had become so much divided in opinion and so weak in influence, that his desire was to see them dispersed. Lord Malmesbury then sounded Mr. Gladstone at the Carlton Club. "He had," writes his lordship, "seen Sidney Herbert, who told him of our interview, and Gladstone said he quite disagreed with his views, and had told him so. . . . His leanings are apparently towards us, but he was quite of my opinion that no sort of agreement should be made beyond the one I had proposed."† In fact, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Herbert had very nearly quarrelled over the matter. Writing to Sir George Lewis on the 16th of March, the late Mr. A. Hayward says, "Gladstone and S. Herbert have come to an explanation which has ended very like the lovers' separation in Little's poems:—

> 'You may down *that* pathway rove,
> While I shall take my way through *this*.'

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol II, p 63 Mr. Greville declares that Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli had "made up their minds to coalesce with Gladstone and the Peelites on the first opportunity."—Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol II, p. 93. Lord Malmesbury says that at a private meeting of the Tory Party on the 4th of March, Lord Derby denied that he had coalesced with Mr. Gladstone, but refused to be dictated to by any member of the party as to "the course he should pursue with regard to any political personages whatever," a declaration which was loudly cheered. The general opinion was that such a coalition, though the Tory leaders favoured it, would have split up the Tory Party.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 64. Note that the attitude of the Peelites to the Tory Party curiously resembled that of the Liberal Unionists in 1887.

Sidney Herbert takes the Liberal and Gladstone the Derbyite turn. I know no one who will follow Gladstone's lead in the matter, except, perhaps, Lord A. Harvey." *

As a rule in England, the Minister who dissolves Parliament and appeals to the country is beaten. The General Election of 1857 was a startling exception to that rule. For Palmerston it was a complete victory. For his opponents it was not a defeat—but a rout. Cobden, Bright, Gibson, Fox, and Miall were rejected by the very men whose fortunes they had made by their Free Trade policy. As Mr. Morley says, "nothing had been seen like it since the disappearance of the Peace Whigs in 1812, when Brougham, Tierney, Lamb, and Horner all lost their seats." † The Peelites suffered almost as cruelly. The Conservative ranks were sadly thinned, for twenty-four counties were won by the Ministry; in fact, the *Times* declared, that the Tories would "never again, as a party, become candidates for office." ‡ The "Manchester School" lost its supporters, (1), because it had got the reputation of factiously opposing all Governments; (2), because the manufacturers, enriched by Free Trade, had ceased to be Radical; and (3), because they thought that when Palmerston forced Bowring into Canton at the point of the bayonet, cotton goods would go in with him. The Peelites were beaten (1), because they were divided among themselves; and (2), because they were a small faction, and in a General Election a small faction generally is crushed in the collision between the great parties. The Tories lost adherents (1), because the farmers resented their support of an amendment moved by their natural enemy, Mr. Cobden; and (2), because rumours were spread abroad by Lord Palmerston's agents that they were about to coalesce with Mr. Gladstone, who represented the principles of "the traitor Peel." Lord Palmerston triumphed (1), because his only Liberal rival, Lord John Russell, had alienated the country by his tortuous disloyalty to two Ministries, and incurred the hatred of the Dissenters by his defence of Church Rates; (2), because his personal popularity, after bringing the wars with Russia and Persia to an end, was unbounded; and (3), because he and his satellites poured forth speeches, inflated with cheap and vulgar "patriotic" claptrap, to such an extent that even Mr. Greville says in his "Memoirs" that he was "disgusted at the enormous and shameful lying with which the country is deluged." § England, moreover, was involved in a war with China, and after all Palmerston was the only political leader who had proved that he could carry on a war with least discredit to the country. || The election was,

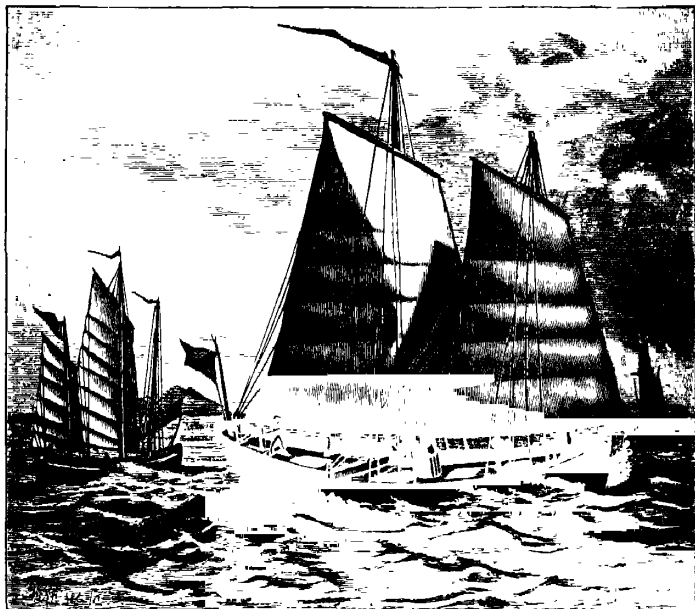
* Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., from 1814 to 1844. Edited by Henry E. Carlisle. 2 Vols. London, Murray, 1886.

† Life of Cobden, Chap. XXIV.

‡ Annual Summary of the *Times* for 1857. On the 24th of February, 1858, the Tories formed Lord Derby's second Government.

§ Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 99.

|| Lord Derby had shrunk from carrying on the Crimean War when Lord Aberdeen resigned.

therefore, a personal one. Constituents did not scrutinise closely the principles or capacity of candidates, so long as they promised to support Lord Palmerston,* and so numbers of Parliamentary Reformers crept unnoticed into the House. But in such cases the loyalty of a majority lasts no longer than the popularity of the leader. Let him make one false step that forfeits popularity, and then his supporters desert him, disinterring what they call their "principles" from buried election addresses to justify their "new departure."

CHINESE LORCHAS IN THE CANTON RIVER.

It was unfortunate that neither the Queen nor Prince Albert recognised this fact, and that they both imagined that Palmerston's principles—which, in domestic policy, were reactionary and illiberal—were as popular as Palmerston himself. The only true and just criticism of this historic Election, which sent 189 new Members to the House of Commons, and for a time broke the old parties to pieces, was passed by the Duke of Newcastle. Writing to Mr. Hayward on the 10th of April, he says:—"I come to the conclusion that Palmerston will be disappointed with his new Parliament. The gain to

* Even new Tory candidates, when they saw how the current of public opinion was setting, began to beg support by saying that if they had been in the House when the China vote was taken, they would have voted for Lord Palmerston.—See Greville Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 100.

Liberal opinion is very great, and the Derby party is for the present smashed; but in these gains are to be found Palmerston's disadvantages. Nobody *can* fear the alternative of a Derby Ministry, and if Palmerston *rises* to the occasion he will soon find his popularity gone and his Government in danger. It is all nonsense to suppose that the China vote has really influenced the decision of the country; but there is a question which alone Palmerston cares about (and that in an *adverse* sense), which has gained ground everywhere, and is now established as the question of the day—Reform of Parliament; and I have no belief in a *good* measure coming from unwilling men; and *how* unwilling are the influential men in the present Cabinet my former association with them pretty well informs me." *

From this Election the history of the Queen's reign enters on a fresh phase. Underlying every party intrigue and combination there is henceforth to be detected an irrepressible though concealed antagonism between the Parliamentary Reformers and their opponents. In England, it is a curious fact that political parties always exhaust their ingenuity in veiling the real issue between them. When a Government is punished by dismissal, it is not dismissed for the blunder it has committed, but because it has done, or refused to do, something else, which is hardly hinted at in public, but which has offended a powerful body of its supporters. Palmerston was a Minister whose ardent, impetuous temperament, and confidence in his own dexterity, rendered him prone to commit blunders. A Minister of that type can go on blundering with impunity so long as he is supposed to be trustworthy on the one great question which lies closest to the hearts of that section of his supporters, who are prepared to sacrifice him for their cause. But whenever they discover that he is not to be trusted, they take advantage of his first mistake to combine with his enemies and overthrow him. In the new Parliament of 1857, it was therefore clear that Palmerston's personal ascendency would last till the party of Parliamentary Reform discovered that they had absolutely nothing to expect from him, save open or concealed hostility. It was because the Queen did not grasp this fact that she was startled to find, a few months after Parliament met, how rapidly Palmerston's popularity was waning. Prince Albert also, strangely enough, mistook the verdict of the country in 1857, as being one cast solely against "the peace-at-any-price people." †

On the 7th of May the House of Commons began the business of the new Session. On that day the Lord Chancellor read the Queen's Speech, which, contrary to general expectation, did not contain any reference to Parliamentary Reform. It was, says Lord Malmesbury, "the lamest production,

* Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. I., pp. 312, 313

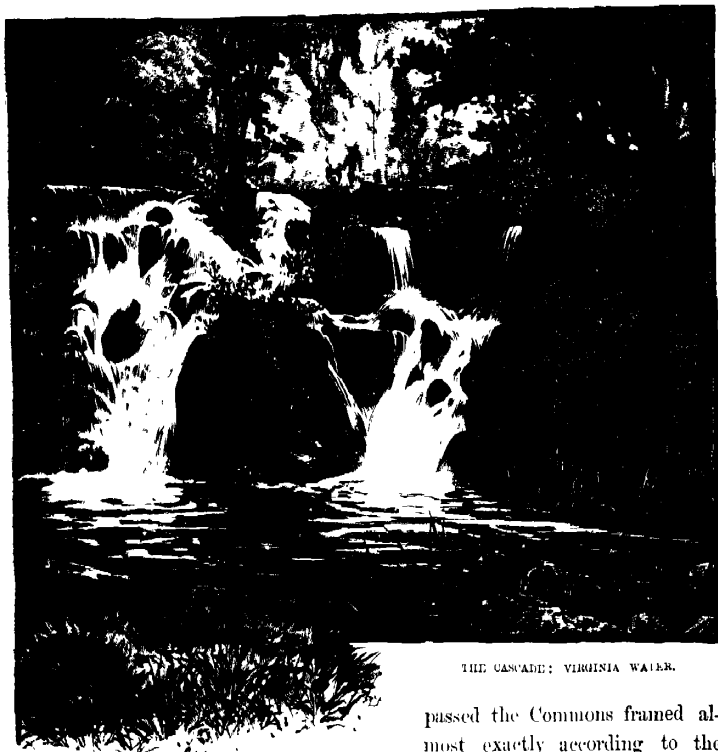
† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXV. On the 5th of March, 1858, he writes to Stockmar:—"Lord Palmerston's sudden decline in popularity was a remarkable phenomenon."—Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXIV.

even for a Queen's Speech, I ever read."* However, it gave a soothing account of foreign affairs, and intimated not only that the main stipulations of the Treaty of Paris had been carried out, and that the Neufchâtel difficulty was in a fair way of being settled, but it announced the signature of a Treaty of Peace with Persia. The only subject for regret in our foreign relations was, of course, the war with China. The legislative programme was meagre in the extreme, for the only important Bills promised were, one relating to the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts over wills and divorce, and another to check fraudulent breaches of trust. The Address was carried with very little debate, the Radicals being satisfied to let the question of Parliamentary Reform sleep, because Lord Palmerston promised that during the recess the Cabinet would give the subject serious consideration. It was, in truth, a dull and uneventful Session.

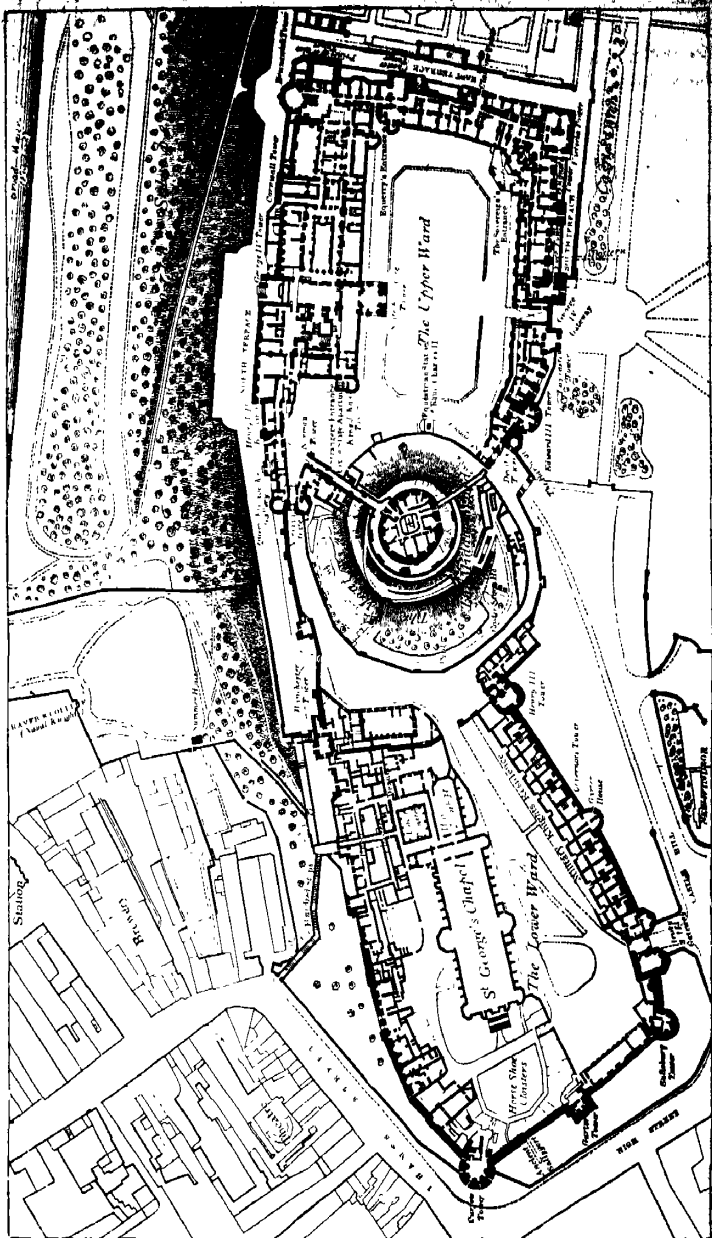
But a slight fillip of interest was imparted to it by the revival of the old controversy as to the admission of Jews to Parliament. The election of Baron Rothschild as one of the Members for the City of London compelled the Government to deal with the matter, and Lord Palmerston brought forward a Bill, on the 15th of May, to alter the law relating to Parliamentary Oaths, and remove from the statute book one of the last relics of mediæval bigotry. Although it was bitterly opposed by many Tories, such as Sir F. Thesiger and Mr. Whiteside, the Bill passed the House of Commons, but only to be thrown out by the House of Lords. Lord John Russell then tried to solve the problem by bringing in a Bill to extend the operation of the Act, 1 and 2 Vict. cap. 106, giving a discretion as to the forms on which certain oaths are administered. But while this Bill was in progress it was proposed to free the Jews from their Parliamentary disabilities by applying to their case the provisions of the Act 5 and 6 William IV. cap. 62. This Act was passed to enable a solemn declaration to be substituted for an oath in certain instances. The only question was whether the Act could be stretched so as to include the oath imposed on Members of Parliament On Lord John Russell's motion a Select Committee was appointed to inquire if the Act applied to Parliamentary Oaths, but in due time they reported that it did not. This virtually ended the controversy for the Session, and Lord John Russell could only give notice that he would renew the agitation next year.

Undoubtedly the legal and social reforms proposed by the Government in 1857 were those which created most excitement in the country. The Ecclesiastical Courts had been long threatened with extinction, and at last the Government dealt them a fatal blow. Bills were introduced in May transferring to purely secular tribunals their Testamentary Jurisdiction and the greater part of their control over the Marriage Laws, and though the establishment of the new Court of Probate was not much opposed, the Divorce Bill was fiercely debated. Members who were under sacerdotal influence attacked this measure with

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 70.

the utmost ferocity. Indeed, it was not opposed, but factiously obstructed, clause by clause and line by line, Mr. Gladstone being the most energetic of its opponents.* It was, however, passed, and undoubtedly the Government won some credit in the country by the pertinacity with which they piloted this embarrassing measure through both Houses of Parliament. "I am very glad," writes Lord Campbell, in his Journal, "that the Divorce Bill finally

THE CASCADE: VIRGINIA WATER.

passed the Commons framed almost exactly according to the recommendations of the commission over which I had the honour to preside, preserving the law as it has practically subsisted for two hundred years: that a husband who has conducted himself properly may obtain a dissolution of the marriage for the adultery of the wife, and that a wife may obtain a dissolution of the marriage for the adultery of the husband, attended by incest, or any aggravation which renders it impossible for the connubial union to continue; the

* This was one of the first recorded cases of "obstruction" in the modern sense of the word. Mr. Parnell used, at one time, to justify his tactics by citing as a precedent Mr. Gladstone's opposition to the Divorce Bill.

law being now to be administered by a regular judicial tribunal, instead of the injured parties being obliged to petition the Legislature for private Acts of Parliament to dissolve the marriage. We are assailed on the one hand by those who hold that, according to divine law, marriage cannot be dissolved even for adultery, and on the other by those who think that for this purpose no distinction should be made between the sexes,* and that in all cases the wife should be entitled to a divorce on proof of any breach of the marriage vow by the husband. But I think the true principle is, that the marriage ought only to be dissolved when it is impossible for the injured party to *condone*, and that Divine Providence has constituted an essential difference in this respect between the adultery of the husband and the adultery of the wife. I would rather run the risk of cases of great hardship occurring, when it would seem desirable that women should be released from the tyranny of profligate and brutal husbands, than give too great a facility to divorce, which has a tendency most demoralising." †

Another measure of sound reform, with which Lord Campbell honourably associated his name, gave rise to a curious incident, towards the end of the Session, in the House of Commons. "Since I returned from circuit," says Lord Campbell, in his Diary, "my chief business has been to watch the progress through the House of Commons of my Bill for checking the trade in obscene publications by allowing them to be seized in the *depôts* of the dealers. Brougham had hardly ventured to oppose the Bill as it passed through the Lords, but afterwards he wrote a violent article against it in the *Law Magazine*, and he put up Roebuck to assail it in the House of Commons. The Bill, being in Committee yesterday (July 12th), I showed myself in the Peers' Gallery to watch its fate, and that I might be consulted, if necessary, during the debate. Roebuck contented himself with reading a letter which he had received from Brougham, pointing out the danger of country justices perverting the Bill for the punishment of poachers; and it went through the Committee with the amendments which I had suggested and assented to. The Speaker then sent me a message by the Chancellor of the Exchequer complaining that I had appeared in the House *to overawe their deliberations*, like Cardinal Wolsey and Charles I., and that it would become his duty to protest against such an unconstitutional proceeding." ‡

Brief mention must also be made of the Fraudulent Trusts Bill, as one of

* That no such distinction should be made is the view which seems to be gaining ground now. The French Chamber adopted it in their Divorce Bill of 1886, and it has been adopted in the law of Scotland, where, as in France, paramours are not permitted to marry after divorce is granted. In England the marriage of paramours, outside the forbidden degrees of affinity and consanguinity, strongly condemned by Bishop Wilberforce in the debates on the Divorce Bill, is permissible. Though, as a concession to Wilberforce and his followers, it was enacted that a clergyman might refuse to perform the ceremony, the concession did not satisfy anybody.—See Life of Wilberforce, Vol. II., pp. 343—347.

† Life of Lord Campbell, Vol. II., p. 351.

‡ Life of Lord Campbell, Vol. II., p. 353.

the Ministerial achievements during the Session of 1857. Several glaring cases of embezzlement on the part of trustees had recently occurred, and yet it was found that the existing criminal law could not reach the guilty parties. Sir Alexander Cockburn, before his elevation to the Bench, had promised to deal with this scandal, and now his successor, Sir Richard Bethell, afterwards Lord Westbury, fulfilled that promise. The object of his Bill was simply to make trustees of settlements, directors of companies, and other persons invested with a fiduciary character, criminally responsible for frauds, or for the misappropriation of the funds entrusted to their care. The Bill passed both Houses. The only serious opposition it met with was from Lord St. Leonards, who dreaded lest its severity might deter honest and substantial men from serving as trustees.

These were among the chief results of the brief but useful Session of 1857, which was prorogued on the 28th of August. Up to midsummer the House of Commons dozed through halcyon days, only too well pleased to do the bidding of its master. Lord John Russell was meek, Mr. Gladstone was an absentee, the Tories were discouraged, and the Radicals were docile. To go to a division at this time on any question was to rush to ignominious defeat. But about the middle of July the House began to show signs of a quickened life. The debates on the Persian War roused the combatant spirit of the Opposition; Mr. Gladstone reappeared, as Ministers knew to their cost when the Divorce Bill was obstructed; and it was remarked that even Palmerston's most subservient followers no longer hesitated to cheer Mr. Roebuck or Mr. Disraeli, when they made an exceptionally clever attack on the Ministry. In August the shadow of the Indian Mutiny darkened the prospects of the Government, and when Parliament was prorogued there was some ill-concealed grumbling among the captious critics of the Court, because the Queen went to Scotland at a time when the British Empire in India was in dire peril. But on the whole, Palmerston's *prestige* was not materially impaired. His domestic programme, modest as it was, had been successfully carried out. Moreover, for the first time in his career, his relations with the Court had been put on a satisfactory footing. On this point Mr. Greville records an interesting conversation with Lord Clarendon, who told him that the Queen had treated Palmerston during the Session with unreserved confidence. Palmerston, on the other hand, found it expedient to treat the Queen with a deference and attention which had produced a favourable change in her sentiments towards him. Mr. Greville says, "Clarendon told me that Palmerston had lately been ailing in a way to cause some uneasiness. . . . Clarendon talked one day to the Queen about Palmerston's health, concerning which she expressed her anxiety, when Clarendon said she might indeed be anxious, for it was of the greatest importance to her, and if anything happened to him he did not know where she could look for a successor to him, that she had often expressed her great desire to have a *strong* Government,

and that she had now got one, Palmerston being a strong Minister. She admitted the truth of it. Clarendon said he was always very earnest with her to bestow her whole confidence on Palmerston, and not even to talk to others on any subjects which properly belonged to him, and he had more than once (when, according to her custom, she began to talk to him on certain things), said to her, 'Madam, that concerns Lord Palmerston, and I think your Majesty had better reserve it for your communications with him.' He referred to the wonderful change in his own relations to Palmerston, that seven or eight years ago Palmerston was full of hatred and suspicion of him, and now they were the best of friends, with mutual confidence and goodwill, and lately, when he was talking to Palmerston of the satisfactory state of his relations to the Queen, and of the utility it was to his government that it should be so, Palmerston said, 'And it is likewise a very good thing that she has such boundless confidence in her Secretary for Foreign Affairs, when after all there is nothing she cares about so much.'"*

And yet it cannot be said that in foreign affairs Lord Palmerston had won any conspicuous triumph for British diplomacy. The dispute with Persia did not end gloriously for England. It is true that the controversy over Neufchâtel, in which the Queen, owing to her close relations with the Royal Family of Prussia, was deeply interested, terminated happily.† But on the other hand, the vexed question of the Danubian Principalities was still open, and it was almost certain that it would lead to the diplomatic humiliation of England.

The future government of the two Principalities was left by the Congress of Paris to be settled by the Treaty Powers. Russia desired their union under a Native prince. France and Sardinia desired their union under a foreign prince, fearing that a Native ruler would soon become a mere satrap of the Czar. Turkey and Austria desired to keep the Principalities separate, and this view was warmly supported by Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon. At the Congress of Paris, France had insidiously suggested to Austria that she should take the Principalities, the object being to justify new territorial arrangements on the Rhine in French interests. After that proposal was rejected, the French Emperor drew closer and closer to Russia; but when the General Election gave Palmerston a solid majority, Russia became effusively civil to England. When, however, England persisted in acting with Austria and the Porte, thereby resisting territorial changes, which could only be made

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 3.

† This dispute was settled by a Conference which met at Paris on 5th March, 1857, France, Austria, England, and Russia being represented, Prussia and Switzerland being occasionally admitted with a consultative voice. Frederick William IV. resigned all his rights to Neufchâtel for a pecuniary indemnity, which he generously refused afterwards to take, and the royalist prisoners were set free. The severance of this province was as great an advantage to Prussia, as the separation of Hanover was to England.

at the expense of Austrian and Turkish interests,* the French Emperor took umbrage at our diplomacy. But Persigny's influence was successfully exerted to hold him true to the Anglo-French alliance, Persigny's chief argument

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE

(From a Photograph by Bassano.)

being that a war with England would so convulse France that, in the general confusion, the Bonapartist dynasty might disappear. Napoleon III., therefore, determined to pay the Queen a private visit, and, though her Majesty was not anxious to receive him, she consented to do so, in the hope and belief that

* France and Sardinia would have made an Austrian occupation of the Principalities ground for demanding, by way of compensation, the retirement of Austria from Northern Italy.

personal communications between the two sovereigns might serve some useful purpose.

When this visit was paid, in August, the controversy over the Principalities had become very serious. The Moldavian elections had returned a majority of Separatists, and the French complained that this result was due to the influence of English agents over the constituencies. France, Russia, and Sardinia, in fact, threatened to suspend diplomatic relations with Turkey unless the elections were annulled. The Eastern Question, in short, had once more been re-opened, and Europe was thus brought to the brink of war. The French Emperor, the Queen, and Prince Albert freely interchanged their ideas on the question at Osborne, whilst at the same time the French and English Ministers —namely, Persigny, Walewski, Palmerston, and Clarendon—carried on a series of conferences. The grievance of the Emperor was that, though Turkey had promised France to annul the elections, at the last moment she had, at the instigation of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, broken her promise. The Porte had admitted that they were thus in the wrong, but had excused their conduct by saying that they acted under pressure from England and the English Ambassador. The annulment of the elections was now with France a point of honour; and as Persigny had failed to bring Palmerston and Clarendon to reason on the point, his Majesty had resolved to appeal to the Queen. The Queen and her husband seem to have met the Emperor's arguments with Lord Stratford's counter-statement, but in vain. The end of their conference was a victory for France on the main point at issue. Lord Stratford was to be ordered to reverse his course, and to call on the Porte to annul the elections. "Lord Palmerston," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 14th of August, "has given way on the question of the Principalities, so the Emperor has gained his point by his visit to Osborne. The dispute arose on the question of the union of the Principalities, which France, Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia supported. England, Austria, and Turkey opposed the union; and the elections in Moldavia having been in favour of England, the French, Russians, &c., accused the English Government of having influenced them unfairly, and demanded that they should be annulled. The Porte refused this, upon which the Ambassadors of France, Prussia, and Sardinia struck their flags. The Emperor Napoleon, instead of wasting time in useless correspondence, came over himself, and the question was settled at once. I do not pretend to judge whether Palmerston was right or wrong, but his defeat must have cost him a bitter pang. Louis Napoleon's Ministers have been completely won over by the Russians, especially Walewski."* The Queen was certainly of a different opinion. She thought that Palmerston had succeeded in effecting a compromise, and not a capitulation. Prince Albert was also distinctly under the impression that whilst England surrendered on the question of the elections, France had surrendered on the question of uniting the Principalities. A Memorandum was drawn up on 9th of August,

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II, pp 78, 79.

embodying some arrangement of this sort, but Walewski refused to sign it, upon the ground, says Sir T. Martin, "that the Emperor's Government desired to keep the satisfaction to be obtained from the Porte and the arrangement subsequently to be made respecting the Principalities distinct from each other, and also because, were he to sign the Memorandum, it would appear that France had made a concession on the latter point for the purpose of inducing the Sultan to agree on the former." He also appears to have stated that it was not necessary to sign the document, because "amongst men of honour writing was unnecessary." In May, 1858, at the second Congress of Paris, it was discovered that writing in this case was extremely necessary. When the British Plenipotentiaries contended that the French Emperor had yielded on the point of the union of the Principalities, His Majesty denied that he had done anything of the sort. The only concession he ever made, according to his account, was that he would not insist on their being ruled over by a foreign prince—a detail of secondary consequence. It seems also to have been admitted on our side that we had agreed to recognise the administrative union of the provinces, so that the misunderstanding may have arisen out of a quibble over the terms "administrative" and "political" union.

During this visit, Lord Malmesbury tells us that extraordinary precautions were taken by the Queen for the Emperor's protection. "Eighty detectives were sent down from London, besides French police. The strictest guard was kept round the Palace and over the island. Besides this, a number of men-of-war's boats guarded the shore, and did not allow a single boat to approach." * From a memorandum of their conversations which Prince Albert drew up, it is obvious that the settlement of the question of the Principalities was not the sole object of Napoleon's journey to Osborne. He broached a great many insidious proposals for a redistribution of European territory, also for a revision of the Treaties of 1815, but they were all coldly and sceptically received. He even suggested a wild scheme for converting the Mediterranean into an European lake. "Spain might have Morocco, Sardinia a part of Tripoli, England Egypt, Austria a part of Syria—*et que sais je*," writes Prince Albert, in describing this suggestion; † the first step being a friendly understanding with England on the subject. As his Majesty had told the Prince he was soon to have an interview with the Russian Czar, it need hardly be said that no encouragement was given by the Queen to these extraordinary projects. In truth, neither the Queen nor her Ministers were at this moment in a mood for entering on an adventurous foreign policy. The Indian Empire had been shaken to its centre by the revolt of the Bengal Army, a revolt known in history as the great Indian Mutiny, and the causes of which must now be traced.

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 78.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXIX.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE INDIAN MUTINY.

The Centenary of Plassey—Rumours of Rebellion—Causes of the Mutiny—The Annexation of **Oudh—Lord Dalhousie's Indian** Policy—Its Disturbing Effect on the Minds of the Natives—**The Royal Family of Delhi—The Hindoo** "Sumbut"—The Discontent of the Bengal Army—The Grievances of the **Sepoy—The Greased** Cartridges—The Mystery of the "Chupatties" Mutiny of the Garrison at **Meerut—The March to Delhi—Sir** Henry Lawrence at Lucknow—*The Tragedy of Cawnpore—Death of the Commander-in-*Chief—Who took Delhi?—Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab—The Saviour of India—**Lord Canning at Calcutta—First** Relief of Lucknow—Despatch of Sir Colin Campbell—Second Relief of **Lucknow—Savage Fighting** at the Secunder-baugh The Queen's Letter to Sir Colin Campbell His **Retreat to Cawnpore—His Management** of the Campaign—Windham's Defeat at the Pandoo River—Sir Colin **Campbell's Victory** *over the Gwalior Army*

WITH the exception of the Sicilian Vespers, no revolt ever smote a great Empire so unexpectedly as the Indian Mutiny. Gaily was the centenary of Plassey celebrated at a banquet in London on the 23rd of June, though the sultry air of India was even then laden with rumours of a wide-spreading rebellion. A few casual allusions to these reports were made in both Houses of Parliament, but July brought with it the rush of rising waters in the dull ears of the nation, when news of the atrocities of Meerut and the rebel march on Delhi startled the country from its apathy.

To the end of time historians will probably differ as to what it was that caused the Indian Mutiny. Some have laid stress on considerations of general policy. Others have attributed the catastrophe to special acts of administration. The acts of administration were, however, but the sparks that exploded the forces of revolution, which had been slowly accumulating in the country. To understand the origin of the Indian Mutiny one must understand the administration of Lord Dalhousie, and fairly estimate the last acts of his viceregal career. Of these none had a more serious effect on the minds of the Native Courts than the annexation of Oudh. Inasmuch as Dalhousie was personally a strong opponent of annexation, the presumption is that the step, objectionable as it seems, was inevitable. Oudh was misgoverned by a vicious but feeble-minded Prince, and the people were tortured not only by his besotted tyranny, but by the exactions of a corrupt aristocracy. At the same time, the Kings of Oudh had long been trusty allies of the East India Company, who had borrowed money from them, protected them against their mutinous subjects, and used their territory as a recruiting ground for the Sepoy army. One-half of Oudh had been given to the Company, by the Treaty of 1801, on condition that a British army should be maintained in the country for the support of the reigning dynasty. Attempts had been made—notably by Lord

Auckland—to evade this obligation, but they were made in vain. After the first Sikh war, Lord Hardinge had warned the King of Oudh that the Company could no longer tolerate misrule in his territory, and Dalhousie, in 1848, had sent Colonel Sleeman to reconstruct, if possible, its internal administration. The task was a hopeless one, and in 1851 Sleeman reported * that there was no choice but to assume the whole government of the kingdom. Dalhousie shrank from taking this step, and in 1854, when Sleeman resigned, Sir James Outram was appointed as his successor, and asked to report on the whole case. Outram, though a firm anti-annexationist, confirmed Sleeman's statements. He admitted that the duty imposed on the Indian Government

THE BARRACKS AT MEERUT.

by the Treaty of 1801 rendered it necessary to have recourse to extreme measures. As a warm advocate for maintaining Native States so long as they had any vitality, it was, said Outram, painful and distressing to him to confess that in continuing to uphold the sovereign power of an effete and incapable dynasty we were inflicting infinite misery on 5,000,000 of people.† Unfortunately, the Treaty of 1801 had stipulated that all improvements in the administration of Oudh must be carried out by Native officers under British advice. It was impossible, therefore, to transfer the administration of Oudh

* Sleeman's Tour in Oudh, Vol. II., p 353.

† Oudh Blue Book, p. 46.

to the servants of the Company, and equally impossible to expect reforms from the servants of the King. Lord Dalhousie's notion was that the Treaty of 1801 should be "denounced"—that the King should be told he must either sign a fresh one, handing over the administration of his country to the Indian Government, or forego the protection of the British force, which stood between him and a revolution. Dalhousie ignored the fact that the withdrawal of our troops from Oudh logically involved the retrocession of that half of the kingdom which was given to us as payment for their services, and yet there can be little doubt that had his demand been pressed, the King of Oudh would have yielded. Dalhousie's advisers differed in their views, and in the end the Court of Directors settled the matter by ordering the Governor-General to annex the country, depriving the King of revenues, rank, power, and authority, and allotting a suitable pension to him and his successors.* Dalhousie's plan, on the other hand, was to assume the administration, but not to extinguish the dynasty of Oudh, and it was with reluctance that he carried out the policy of his masters. The country was annexed by Sir James Outram on the 7th of February, 1856, the King's private property being confiscated and sold. These are the essential facts of the case, and it is easy to pass judgment on them. No Treaty conferred on the Company the shadow of a right to do more than secure for the people of Oudh good government. As it was quite possible to do that without destroying and degrading the dynasty, the seizure of Oudh was simply an act of rapine.† As the Kings of Oudh had been noted all over India for their staunch loyalty to the English in India, every Native prince regarded the annexation of Oudh as a menace to his throne. At every Native Court it was whispered that to be loyal to England was simply to invite ruin. Thus the last act of Dalhousie's viceregal reign sowed the seeds of suspicion, distrust, and even hatred in the hearts of the Native dynasties.

But the whole policy of this great and vigorous ruler, by a curious irony of fate, had steadily prepared the minds of the Indian races for a revolution. Dalhousie had covered India with railways, canals, roads, and telegraphs. He had introduced a cheap postal system by which a letter from Peshawur to Cape Comorin, or from Assam to Kurrachee, was carried for three farthings—one-sixteenth of the old charge. He had reformed the Civil Service, he had improved education and prison discipline, he had passed laws that went to the root of family life, such as those permitting Hindoo widows to marry again, and relieving persons who changed their religion from forfeiture. As for his wars and his annexations, he had the "tyrant plea, necessity." When

* Oudh Blue Book, p. 235.

† If we go behind the facts and pretexts of the official case we can easily discern better though unstated reasons for the annexation of Oudh. After the annexation of Scinde and the conquest of the Punjab, Oudh was left protruding into British territory, so as to cut it into two parts. Oudh was in our way, and it was therefore taken.

leaving Calcutta he said mournfully, and with a trace of misgiving, as he looked back on his brilliant achievements, "I have played out my part, and while I feel that in my case the principal act in the drama of my life is ended, I shall be content if the curtain should now drop on my public career." But the great work done by Dalhousie had not been done without friction between the paramount power and its subjects and vassals. It was, indeed, thought in England that Dalhousie handed India over to Lord Canning in a state of profound tranquillity. Yet, looking deeper than the surface, says an able writer on Indian history, "there were latent causes of uneasiness which largely pervaded the minds of the Native classes of all ranks and creeds."* Dalhousie's system of progressive education was detested by Hindoo and Moslem alike, because it undermined the whole fabric of their faith. The Moslem youth, it is true, did not frequent the English schools. But young Hindoos flocked to them with an eager thirst for knowledge, and they went to the missionary seminaries, where Christianity was taught, quite as freely as to State schools, where its teaching was prohibited. In their homes, they spoke of what they were taught to their parents, who regarded the whole system of English education as a diabolical device for corrupting the faith and morals of their children. This suspicion was strengthened and confirmed by the aggressive proselytism of the missionaries, to whose zeal one of the soundest and best informed of Native civilians has directly traced the origin of the Mutiny. The entire scheme of Dalhousie's policy was based on the assumption that the Natives would greet with loyalty and gratitude the new era of progress that he ushered in. On the contrary, as Colonel Meadows Taylor says, "the material progress of India was unintelligible to the Natives in general. A few intelligent and educated persons might understand the use and scope of railways, telegraphs, steam-vessels, and recognise in them the direction of a great Government for the benefit of the people; but the ancient listless conservativism of the population at large was disturbed by them. 'The English,' it was said, 'never did such things before, why do they do so now? These are but new devices for the domination of their will, and are aimed at the destruction of our national faith, caste, and customs. What was it all to come to? Was India to be like England? The earlier Company's servants were simple but wise men, and we respected them; we understood them and they us; but the present men are not like them; we do not know them, nor they us.' No one cared, perhaps, very much for such sentiments, and few—very few—English heard them; but they will not have been forgotten by those who did."† The Directors of the East India Company had, prior to Dalhousie's

* The History of India, by Meadows Taylor, p. 710.

† Curiously Mr. Cobden was among the few Englishmen who both knew and cared. In a letter to Mr. Bright, dated the 24th of August, 1857, he says, "From the moment that I had satisfied myself that a feeling of alienation was constantly increasing with both Natives and the English—we had some striking evidence to this effect before our Committee in 1853—I made up my mind that it would end in trouble sooner or later."—Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXV.

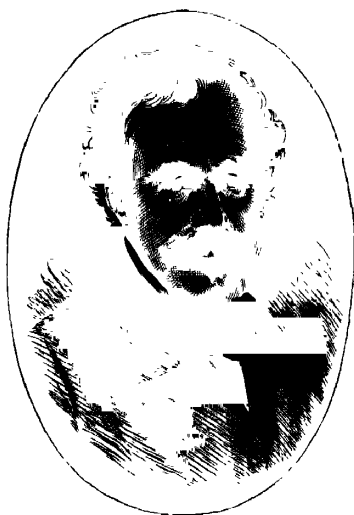
time, rigidly enforced on their servants a policy of benevolent neutrality to the religious beliefs and social prejudices of India. The government of the Company in its best days might have been bad. But it was successful because it was, on the whole, popular, and it was popular because it was intensely conservative. Ardent progressive officials were repressed, whereas under Dalhousie their passion for innovation had free scope and disastrous encouragement.

Nor was Oudh the only centre of Court intrigues against the British *raj*. The question of settling the position of the Royal Family of Delhi, the last representatives of the old Emperors of India, had been much debated in Dalhousie's reign. When Lord Canning went to India, in 1856, it was again taken up, and a final decision given on the points raised. The heir-apparent, Prince Fukhr-ood-deen, who had agreed to evacuate the Palace, died on the 10th of July, 1856, and it was supposed he had been poisoned. The Queen, Zeenut Mahál, immediately began to intrigue for the purpose of procuring the recognition of her son as heir-apparent, and the King of Delhi petitioned the Government of India to this effect. But the petition could not have been granted without a breach of the Mohammedan law, and so Mirza Korash, the next in legal succession to Fukhr-ood-deen, was recognised as heir to the throne. But whereas, in the case of Fukhr-ood-deen, the recognition of the Government was the result of a compact or bargain between independent authorities, in the case of Mirza Korash it took the form of an Imperial decree, conferring rank and dignity on a vassal prince. The Royal Family of Delhi resented the whole arrangement. "Remembering the old relations between the Company and the Empire, the immense benefits originally conferred on them, and the admitted position of the Company as servants of the State, it was," writes Colonel Taylor, "only natural they should now be accused of perfidy. The efforts and intrigues of the spirited Queen and several of the princes were now redoubled, locally as well as in foreign quarters; and India, especially the North-West Provinces, became filled with the most alarming rumours." *

Along with these there spread extraordinary tales of the decaying power of England—tales which fawning courtiers poured into the willing ears of Native princes, and with which embittered malcontents regaled the Native servants of the Company. The sudden collapse of Palmerston's militant policy in the Crimea and in Persia convinced every enemy of England in India that the omens were propitious for a revolt against English rule. It was also an untoward coincidence that the year 1857—58 was the Hindoo "Sumbut" 1914, and the centenary of Plassey. But when that crowning victory was won, the astrologers had declared that the *raj*, or rule, of the Company would last only for a century. Astrology so dominates Indian life, that the people have a trick of fulfilling, by their unconscious action, the prophecies of their soothsayers; and he who predicts a successful insurrection on a given date has himself

* Meadows Taylor's History of India, p. 713.

rnished one of the strongest encouragements for its organisation. The Sumbut 14, therefore, could not arrive without suggesting to the Indian mind that opportunity for throwing off the yoke of England had come. One of the ereotyped ceremonies of New Year's Day is the public recital of the almanack r the year in every Indian village. Hence, in 1857, every Hindoo villager is solemnly warned that wise men, who, a century ago, held infallible comune with the stars, foretold that in this fateful year the British *raj* must end.

Unfortunately, the base on which the empire of the Company had rested r a century was at this critical period extremely insecure. India was won

SIR JAMES OUTRAM.

d India was held, not by English, but by Native soldiers. The British npire was, therefore, built up on the fidelity of the Sepoy, and the Sepoy d become dissatisfied with his masters, especially in Bengal.* The army Bengal had not only been prone to mutiny, but Napier had denounced its :k of discipline, and there were fewer Europeans in it in proportion to tives, than in the armies of Bombay or Madras.† The Crimean War had ined the life-blood from the British battalions in Bengal; and whereas six glish regiments were usually stationed between Calcutta and Allahabad,

* India under Lord Dalhousie, by the Duke of Argyll, pp. 57—60. Sir J. Kaye says that the ian army consisted, in round numbers, of 300,000 men, of whom 40,000 were Europeans.—Kaye's oy War, Vol. I., p. 341. When Lord Canning reached India the Native army, as a matter of fact, sisted of 233,000, the Europeans of 45,000 men.

† Now we maintain in India one English to every two Native soldiers. Dalhousie maintained one glish to every five Native soldiers.

when Lord Dalhousie left the country there were only two. Obviously, if the Sepoy was not to be trusted, the whole fabric of empire in India was in such circumstances resting on a rotten foundation, and although officers of experience refused to doubt the loyalty of their men, the spirit of mutiny was most certainly abroad in the Bengal army. The Sepoy had grievances, and the Government had not sense enough to redress them. These grievances were two in number. (1), When a Sepoy in the old days marched to the conquest of a province he got increased pay and allowances; but in recent times, when the province was annexed, it was considered British territory, and the pay and allowances of the Company's mercenary forces were reduced to the scale of home service. Conquests, therefore, while they imposed more work on the army, practically reduced its pay. (2), Another cause of discontent was the "General Service Order" of 1856. The Sepoy was originally enlisted for service in India only. He could not be sent across the sea; in fact, only low caste men dared cross "the black water." During the first Burmese War the Sepoys had to be marched round the Indian frontier to the enemy's territory; and when the second Burmese War broke out, the 38th Native Infantry refused to embark for Rangoon. Of course, though they should not have been asked to go without having been previously "sounded" on the subject, refusal in their case was tantamount to mutiny. Dalhousie could not, however, legally punish them, so he sent them to Dacca, where they were decimated, not by courtmartials, but by cholera. Thus the Sepoy argued that he must in future choose between his caste or a pestilential station, if he refused to serve across the sea. But while the Sepoys were brooding over this dilemma in 1856, the Governor-General promulgated the "General Service Order" to the effect that no more Sepoys should be enlisted who would not take an oath to cross the sea if called on to do so, and veteran officers, who had grown grey in the Company's service predicted that this Order would make mischief in the army. And so it did. To the Sepoy, his service under the Company was a source of pride, profit, and even of valuable civil privileges.* To him it was as great a grievance to issue an Order of this sort, as it would be to the English aristocracy to attach conditions to military service, which should render it impossible for a gentleman to hold the Queen's Commission. The individual Sepoy, no doubt, was not touched by the Order. But then his sons and grandsons, whom he expected to become Sepoys, were. The army was thus closed to every Native, unless they were prepared to submit to loss of caste. In fact, a lucrative profession was, by Lord Canning's Order, made the monopoly of low-caste natives. Unfortunately, too, most of the recruits were drawn from Oudh, the annexation of which had been a scandal, and which was swarming with disbanded soldiers, who had been in the personal service of the deposed King.

* See on this curious subject Kaye's Sepoy War, Vol I., and Appendix, p. 619.

Thus we had, in 1857, the following conditions prevailing in India: (1), popular belief was current in every village that the last year of the British y had come; (2), The Native Courts were suspicious that the annexation of Oudh was an indication of the fate that was in store for them; (3), The high-aste Natives, whether in the army or in civil life, were suspicious that the Government desired to defile their caste, and sap the foundations of their eligion.* The country was therefore in such an inflammable condition that he first spark that fell on it would produce an explosion. By an extraordinary ct of stupidity the Government not only struck this spark, but fanned it nto flame.

The Crimean War caused the British Army to substitute the rifle for the ld smooth-bore musket popularly called "Brown Bess." In 1856 it was etermined to serve out Enfield rifles to the Indian Army, and in doing his no heed was paid to Sepoy prejudices. The cartridge of the new weapon ould not be rammed home unless it were previously greased. But, then, no Hindoo can touch the fat of ox or cow without loss of caste, which is worse than loss of life, and no Moslem can touch pigs' fat without moral efilement. Yet no steps were taken to exclude these substances from the rease for the Indian cartridges! A rumour accordingly flew round the bazaars hat in order to attack Hindoo and Moslem alike the two objectionable fats ad been *mixed* in the grease. This story was traced to a curious source. One ay a low-caste man at Dumdum, near Calcutta, asked a Sepoy to give him draught of water from his *lotah*. The Sepoy refused, loftily observing that he vessel would be polluted if a low-caste man touched it with his lips. The ascar replied, with a sneer, that the Sepoy would soon lose his own caste, or the Government were making cartridges greased with defiling fats, which e would have to bite in loading his rifle. The Sepoy, horror-stricken at this ale, told it to his comrades. It flew from mouth to mouth, and soon the Native Army of Bengal lay under the blight of a hideous panic—every man oing about his duty haunted by a dread of soul-destroying defilement.† The men, half-crazy with fear, met of nights to concert measures for their protection, nd at Barrackpore incendiary fires broke out. General Hearsey, who was n command, warned the Government of what was going on, and orders were iven that ungreased cartridges should be issued—the men lubricating them ith whatever substance they chose to apply.‡ But no sooner had one suspicion een banished from the Sepoy mind than another took its place. A glazed aper was used for the ungreased cartridges, whereupon a new rumour flew ound to the effect that the glaze was produced by fat. General Hearsey

* "The Mutiny would perhaps never have occurred if British officers, turning themselves into issionaries, had not fostered the notion that the Company was anxious to convert its subjects to hristianity."—Walpole's History of England, Vol. V., p. 430.

† Holmes' Indian Mutiny, p. 82. India under Lord Canning, by the Duke of Argyll, p. 77.

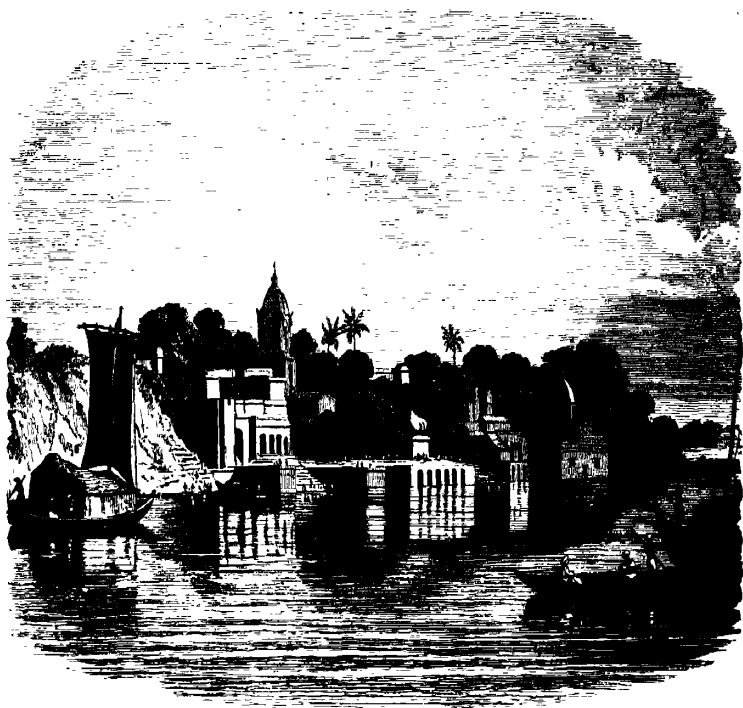
‡ Parliamentary Papers. Mutinies in the East Indies, p. 1 *et seq.*

harangued his men, assuring them on his honour that their suspicions were wrong, and they seemed satisfied; though, as events showed, they were by no means satisfied.

A detachment of the 34th was sent from Barrackpore to Berhampore. They carried the tale about the glazed paper with them, and communicated the fresh panic to the 19th Native Infantry at that station. The day after the men of the 34th arrived the 19th Regiment had blank cartridges served to them, which by some mistake had been made out of two different kinds of paper. The men at once suspected that the new defiling cartridges had been mixed with the old ones, so that their caste might be destroyed, and they refused to take their percussion caps. Colonel Mitchell, instead of reasoning with his Sepoys as Hearsey had done, flew into a paroxysm of passion—which simply confirmed their suspicions. Mitchell, in fact, mistook fear for mutiny, and it was in vain that the Native officers, who of course knew the real state of the case, implored him to keep his temper with his men. That night the 19th mutinied. Mitchell had no European troops, but he closed round the mutineers with two other Native regiments—cavalry and artillery—and then, sending for the Native officers of the 19th, stormed at them in impotent fury. They assured him that their men were only in a panic, and that if the cavalry and artillery were withdrawn they would return to duty. The cavalry and artillery were withdrawn, and the 19th went back to its quarters loyally enough.

Though Mitchell's indiscretion drove the 19th into revolt, it had unquestionably revolted. Lord Canning, therefore, was bound to punish it, and he decided that the regiment must be disarmed and disbanded. But he had no British troops to spare for this purpose. He accordingly had to wait from the end of February till the end of March for the arrival of an English regiment from Burmah to disarm the 19th, who were marched down to Barrackpore to be broken up. On the 29th of March, two days before the disbandment of the 19th Native Infantry, Private Mungul Pandy of the 34th, in a fit of drunken fanaticism, attempted to get up a mutiny among his comrades. He shot the horse of the Adjutant, Lieutenant Baugh, who was cut down in trying to seize him. Only one man of the quarter-guard responded to the order to arrest the mutineer, who was finally captured, tried, and hanged on the 22nd of April. Evil communications had passed between the 19th and the 34th, and it was found that, though the Sikhs and Moslems in the regiment were loyal, the Hindoos were mutinous to a man. Yet nothing was done to punish the 34th. The discharged men of the 19th, however, carried the story of their wrongs to their homes in Oudh and Bundelkund, and soon it came to be believed that not only were the cartridges greased, but, in order to produce a general pollution of the Natives, which would destroy all caste, "that the public wells, and the flour, and ghee (a clarified butter sold in the bazaars), had been defiled by ground bone-dust and the fat of cows and pigs, while the salt had been sprinkled with cows' and

hogs' blood."* Viceregal proclamations were issued to contradict these rumours and reassure the people, but in vain. The North-West Provinces had now become smitten with the terror which hovered over India, and the Commander-in-Chief suggested that the *depôt* at Umballa might be broken up before the rifle practice began at the annual training. Lord Canning, believing that his proclamations had lulled the rising storm, refused to sanction this

CAWNPORE.

step. Fires next broke out at Umballa, as at Barrackpore—the officers alleging that Sepoys, who were as yet "undefiled," set fire to the huts of those who had accepted the defiling cartridges, and that the latter retaliated. Oudh soon became affected, and in May Sir Henry Lawrence had to disarm the 7th Irregular Native Infantry at Lucknow.

In the North-West Provinces the famous "chupatties" began to make their appearance. They consisted of small baked cakes, and they were passed on from hand to hand, from hamlet to hamlet, spreading a strange excitement

* Meadows Taylor's History of India, p. 720.

wherever they went. The circulation of the "chupatties" was evidently a signal of some sort, and yet, though Native society was shaking with revolutionary tremors, nothing happened. At last an event occurred which precipitated a general catastrophe. At Meerut eighty-five men of the 3rd Native Cavalry had been tried and doomed to ten years' hard labour on the roads for refusing to bite their cartridges. They were paraded and punished before the other Native regiments, who seem to have been irritated, rather than overawed. Next day (10th May), the 3rd Cavalry forced the gates of the gaol and released their comrades. The men of the 20th and 11th Regiments flew to arms, shot every European they met, set fire to their huts, and marched on to Delhi. Why, it will be asked, was this revolt not quelled, seeing that a strong English force was stationed at Meerut? The outbreak, it is true, occurred during church hours on a Sunday; but even this hardly explains why General Hewitt, who was in command, permitted the mutineers to pursue their march to the city of the Mogul Emperors. There they proceeded, as if by concert, to the King, who espoused their cause. The people of the city rose and massacred the Europeans. The Native regiments in Delhi—the 38th, 54th, and 74th—joined the mutineers one by one, and though the arsenal was held for a time by Lieutenant Willoughby, with Lieutenants Raynor and Forrest, and six other Englishmen, they blew it up when it was no longer tenable. The Mutiny was now a war of liberation. It had a King for a rallying-point, and an Imperial city for a capital.

The North-West had by this time fallen from the feeble hands of Colvin into the grasp of the rebels. In Gwalior the British Resident, by his personal ascendency, held Scindia to his loyalty, though Scindia's army revolted. But for George Lawrence, Rajpootana would have been lost. As for Oudh, there the struggle was becoming tragic. On the eve of the insurrection this province, seething with sedition, was put under the rule of Sir Henry Lawrence. Lucknow, with 700,000 inhabitants, was a hotbed of treason, and the success of the mutineers at Meerut agitated them profoundly. At the end of May the Sepoys in Lucknow rose and marched away to Delhi, leaving Lawrence with a handful of Europeans to hold a rebellious city. Cawnpore is forty miles south of Lucknow, and there General Wheeler and another devoted band were similarly situated. On the night of the 21st of May, Wheeler and the English population—about a thousand souls—withdrew into a kind of temporary fortress which he had created, and which he defended by some 210 men. At Cawnpore, in May, 1857, there was residing a young Mahratta noble, Nana Sahib by name, whose popular manners had rendered him a favourite in the English community. He had been the adopted heir of the last Peishwa of Berari, and his grievance against the Government was that Dalhousie refused to let him enjoy the pension guaranteed to the Peishwa and his successors. Nana Sahib had spent a season in London to press his claims, and had been most hospitably received. His agent, Azin Oolla Khan,

had returned to India after visiting the Crimea, and bearing to his master tales which were partially true, of the defeats and humiliations which England had suffered during her war with Russia. Nana Sahib had been busy with plots against the English *raj* for many years, and his agents were ubiquitous. In Oudh they had been especially active, for they had taken every advantage of the mistakes of an over-zealous Commissioner—Mr. Coverley Jackson—to fan the flame of discontent in that province. Yet Wheeler trusted the Nana Sahib so implicitly that he put the treasury of Cawnpore in the charge of his personal retinue lest his own Native troops might fail him. On the 4th of June General Wheeler's Sepoys revolted, joined Nana Sahib's retinue in plundering the treasury, and then, laden with spoil, set out for Delhi. But the Nana's idea was to win empire for himself rather than for a degenerate descendant of the Mogul dynasty. He therefore persuaded the rebels to return, and besiege the English garrison at Cawnpore. On the twentieth day of the siege he sent one of his prisoners, an old lady named Greenway, to General Wheeler, offering the beleaguered English a safe conduct to Allahabad if they would surrender. The offer was accepted. On the 27th of June the survivors—men, women, and children, about 450 in all—marched to the boats which had been prepared for them. As soon as they had embarked Nana Sahib treacherously opened fire on them, and converted an exodus into a massacre. One hundred and twenty-two captives were taken, and imprisoned in a house till the 15th of July, when they were butchered. Next morning their bodies, some still quivering with life, were thrown into a well. When tidings of this ghastly crime reached Europe, the nation was for a moment horror-stricken, but only for a moment. A cry of rage broke forth from the British people, and the Government hastened to send avenging reinforcements to the East. They could not, however, arrive in time to save Cawnpore, and when it fell, the rebels closed round Henry Lawrence at Lucknow. Two days after the siege began a stray shot mortally wounded him, and, after thirty-six hours of intense agony, one of the noblest hearts in India had ceased to beat for ever.

"It is evident," said the Queen, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, commenting on these events, "from a comparison of the news with the map, that whereas hitherto the seat of the mutiny was Oudh, Delhi, and the Upper Ganges, to which localities all troops have been despatched, it has now broken out in their rear, cutting them off from the base of operations, viz., Calcutta, and that it has reached the gates of the seat of Government itself." The North-West and Oudh were, in fact, lost. In the former province, a Mogul King held sway at Delhi, whilst Colvin was clinging to Agra with feeble hands. In Oudh, Nana Sahib, the viper of the insurrection, was installed at Cawnpore; whilst a small band of Englishmen, bewailing the loss of their heroic leader, stood desperately at bay at Lucknow. In six months, the Empire which had been created in a century, was shattered and in

ruins. Yet the English clung to these ruins with the tenacity of despair, and what they had lost they were determined to re-conquer. Fortunately, they had in India what they lacked in the Crimea, two leaders who were alike competent to translate a high resolve into prompt action. These were Lawrence at Lahore, and Canning at Calcutta.

When the Mutiny first broke out General Anson was Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in India. It was said that he was a mere amateur soldier, and that in Simla he had accordingly found a congenial Capua. Family interest had sent him at one bound from the Turf some years before to the command of one of the Presidency armies. When the Commandership-in-Chief of the Indian Armies fell vacant, family interest had again secured the post for him. Had he been a man of capacity and energy the Mutiny would have been stamped out when it was feebly sporadic. After it became what Canning called "epidemic," the task of repression was harder. Whether Anson would have risen to the level of his responsibilities the world will never know now, because he died in a fortnight after he began to grapple with the crisis.* His slender force was then taken in hand by Sir H. Barnard, who pressed on to the South, and who reached Alipore on the 5th of June, where he effected a junction with Sir Archdale Wilson, who had marched from Meerut. On the 8th Barnard drove the rebels from their entrenchments at Budlee Serâi, four miles north of Delhi, where he repeated Raglan's experiment in the Crimea—that of besieging a fortress, whose garrison was really besieging him. On the 5th of July Barnard died, to be succeeded by Reed, who in turn was succeeded by Wilson on the 17th of July. All four were sluggish generals, and it was well that John Lawrence, at Lahore, acted on them like a goad. Englishmen will not readily forget his famous telegram to Anson in May when he heard that the General was about to entrench himself at Umballa—"Clubs are trumps—not spades!" A vain controversy has arisen as to who can claim credit for the capture of Delhi; whether it was due to Wilson's slow but cautious tactics, or to the engineering skill of Taylor, or the demoniac energy of Nicholson, or the dashing enterprise of Chamberlain, who brought succours from the Punjab. The man who really took the rebel stronghold was not a soldier but a civilian, for it was John Lawrence, at Lahore, and not any of the generals before Delhi, who was the bulwark of the war.†

When the Mutiny broke out the Punjab was—by the prompt action of Lawrence's subordinates who disarmed sulking troops, and stamped out the germs of mutiny whenever and wherever they were visible—saved and secured.

* Anson first heard of the outbreak at Simla, on the 12th of May. He was at Umballa on the 15th. On the 27th he died of cholera at Kurnaul.

† Lawrence himself says modestly, in a letter to Lord Dalhousie (June 14th, 1858): "To Nicholson, Also Taylor, of the Engineers, and Neville Chamberlain, the real merit of our success is due." But this does some injustice to Colonel Baird Smith, who was Taylor's chief, and who deserves credit for forcing Wilson on to attack the city.

After this Delhi seemed to him to be the very keystone of the insurrection. To take it there was no risk too great to run—no hazard too perilous to undergo.* Though his own position at Lahore was dangerous enough, he threw himself on the people, and staked everything on the fidelity of the Sikhs.

LORD LAWRENCE

He summoned the old gunners of the Khálsa from their fields. The low-caste "Muzbis" he converted into sappers. The fierce chieftains, who had fought against us in '48 and '49, together with their followers, he hurried on to the rebel city, thereby stripping his province of local leaders who might have organised a rising. "From the Punjab arsenals," says one of Lawrence's critics, "the siege-trains were equipped; from the Punjab districts vast amounts of carriage were gathered and despatched systematically

* Life of Lord Lawrence, by R. Bosworth Smith, M.A., Vol. II., p. 30.

with their loads to Delhi; from the Punjab treasuries the sinews of war were furnished. Men were raised by tens of thousands to replace the Sepoys—raised indeed, in such numbers that—as constantly comes out in Lawrence's correspondence—the dread was for a long time never absent from his mind lest this might be overdone, and new danger might arise from the Punjabis becoming conscious of their strength." * What wonder, then, that in England as in India, where it was admitted that the fall of Delhi broke the neck of the insurrection, all men who knew the circumstances of the case, who knew how he had to stimulate laggards, † strengthen faint hearts, overcome jealousies, sweep away obstructions—"all greeted Sir John Lawrence by acclamation as the man who had done more than any single man to save the Indian Empire"? ‡ And justly. For had the great and warlike Sikh nation, in the midst of which Lawrence stood like a lion at bay, risen against the British *raj*, "all would have been lost save honour." He saw, in fact, that the Khálsa banner must be carried into our own lines, otherwise it would be swept into the lines of the enemy; and it was this inspiration of genius that really saved India. Delhi fell before the attacks of the reinforced army, after six days' fighting, on the 20th of September, and on the 21st the Mogul king was captured by Captain Hodson ("Hodson of Hodson's Horse"), who next day shot, with his own hand, his two sons, and hung up their bodies in the most public place in the city.§

The fall of Delhi was not the end, but the beginning of the end, of the Mutiny. Oudh had to be recovered, and if it be said that Lawrence captured Delhi, it is but right to say that Canning wrested Oudh from the grasp of the insurgents. His position in Calcutta was an embarrassing one. A terrible panic had paralysed those round him. Though they seemed able to do nothing but clamour for vengeance and for blood; ‖ yet in the whirlwind of their passion Canning stood "steadfast as a pillar in a storm." He was one of those who at such a moment "attain the wise indifference of the wise" to everything save the paramount demands of practical duty. He sent to Bombay, Madras, and Ceylon for reinforcements. He intercepted at Singapore the force that was on its way to China to support Lord Elgin, who had been

* *Quarterly Review* for April, 1883

† Whilst the siege was in progress, Wilson had, "more than once," says Nicholson, in one of his letters to Lawrence, spoken of withdrawing the guns. Nicholson, who was the Roland and Hotspur of the war, and Lawrence's trustiest lieutenant, says of Wilson, "Had he carried out his threat I was quite prepared to have appealed to the army to set him aside and elect a successor." Three days after penning that letter this fiery Berserker fell mortally wounded, leading the stormers of the Cashmere Bastion. Wilson, feeling it difficult to maintain the occupation of the city, wanted to withdraw. When this was communicated to Nicholson, he turned on his death-bed, convulsed with passion, and exclaimed, "Thank God, I have yet strength enough to shoot that man!"

‡ Life of Lord Lawrence, by R. Bosworth Smith, M.A., Vol. II., p. 225.

§ The king died in prison three months afterwards. Hodson's defence was that he feared a rescue.

‖ Lord Canning himself has described their conduct—especially that of the terror-stricken officers, "with swords by their sides"—as "disgraceful."—Life of Sir H. Lawrence, p. 575.

sent to supersede Sir John Bowring,* and he armed Henry and John Lawrence with absolute power in Oudh and the Punjab. On the 23rd of May, Neill brought to Calcutta the first of the reinforcements from Madras. Havelock followed with two regiments from Persia, superseding Neill; and after him came Outram, who was to supersede Havelock and succeed Henry Lawrence as Chief Commissioner in Oudh. Outram, however, refused to deprive Havelock of the honour of relieving Lucknow, and accompanied him merely in his civil capacity. On the 17th, Havelock forced his way to the scene of the massacre at Cawnpore, where the sickening relics of Nana Sahib's crime were still visible. Onwards his Army of Vengeance swept with hungry hearts to Lucknow, which they entered on the 25th of September, after a great variety of perilous adventure. When the imprisoned garrison, who had long been listening with strained ears for the beat of the English drums, met their rescuers, the scene was inexpressibly touching. The Highlanders, usually the most stolid and least emotional of our troops, had become dangerously excited after they entered Cawnpore; and, in the engagements on the march to Lucknow, they had fought, contrary to their wont, more like savages than civilised men. But when they marched into Lucknow their hearts softened. Oblivious of discipline and decorum, they rushed from their ranks, shaking hands with the ladies, lifting up the little children in their brawny arms, and passing them along from hand to hand, to be pressed to rough and bearded lips. Outram now took over the supreme command; but, finding himself again surrounded by the enemy in overwhelming numbers, he decided not to withdraw from the city. Lucknow had therefore to be relieved again.

The death of Anson, and the startling development of the insurrection in midsummer, together with the pressing appeals of the Queen, roused the Cabinet to action. They sent out reinforcements, and on the 11th of July decided to appoint Sir Colin Campbell as Anson's successor. When asked by Lord Panmure when he could start, Campbell answered, laconically, "To-morrow;" and, as a matter of fact, with little more than the kit of a common soldier, the veteran did start next night.† On the 17th of August he arrived at Calcutta, and toiled without ceasing to organise an army. The greatest military historian of our time has said that Campbell had a genuine and natural love for war, and he was one of those whose hearts beat stronger in the hour of battle than at any other moment of their lives. But he loved victory better than combat; and when he fought, he fought to win. Hence the extraordinary pains he took with his preparations, and the time he spent, or, as some of his panic-stricken critics in Calcutta said, wasted, in making arrangements which would virtually guarantee success. It was not till the 27th of

* Elgin's patriotism and generosity in surrendering these troops were justly extolled by Sir William Peel, the leader of the Naval Brigade, who said that the Chinese Expedition really relieved Lucknow.—Walrond's Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin, p. 188.

† Shadwell's Life of Lord Clyde, Vol. I., p. 405.

October that he left Calcutta. On the 9th of November he got to Cawnpore; and then by a brilliant forced march on the 12th he reached the Alum-baugh—a summer palace of the kings of Oudh—from which he was able to signal his arrival to Outram. A gallant civilian—Mr. Kavanagh—contrived, in disguise, to make his way from Lucknow through the enemy's lines to the relieving force, and told the story of Outram's defence, an achievement,

SCENE AT THE FIRST RELIEF OF LUCKNOW. (See p. 7[illegible])

as Lord Canning said, without a parallel in history, save Numantia and Saragossa. On the 14th Sir Colin Campbell moved on the city. On the 16th he attacked the chief stronghold of the rebels—the Secunder-baugh. The 93rd Highlanders and a regiment of Sikhs forced their way in through a narrow breach, and then, finding that the Sepoy garrison could not escape, they massacred them. The Highlanders here fought with uncontrollable ferocity, neither asking nor giving quarter. "*Cawnpore*, you——!" was the cry of rage with which each man drove his bayonet home into the heart of his foe; and, excited by their example, the Sikhs strove only too successfully to emulate the barbarity of their Scottish comrades. For three terrible hours did the men of the 93rd satiate their passion for vengeance; and when they emerged from the place with tartans soaked in blood, they left it packed high

and close with corpses—hardly a single rebel escaping to tell the tale. On the 17th of November Campbell had fought his way to the Residency, and Lucknow was rescued a second time.

The victory was hailed in England with pride and delight. The Queen sent a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, congratulating him. "The Queen," she writes, "has had many proofs already of Sir Colin Campbell's devotion to his Sovereign and his country, and he has now greatly added to that debt of gratitude which both owe him. But Sir Colin must bear one reproof from his Queen, and that is, that he exposes himself too much. His life is most precious, and she entreats that he will neither put himself where his noble spirit would urge him to be—foremost in danger—nor fatigue himself so as to injure his health." * Her Majesty's caution was hardly needed. Sir Colin Campbell was a general who never exposed himself or his troops to unnecessary danger. But when necessary, he would spend his own and their blood as recklessly as if it were water. It has been noticed that his brilliant victories in India were all won with little loss of life.† The explanation is that his plans were just the opposite of those pursued in the Crimea—that is to say, he never wasted his men in futile assaults, or hurled them against fortifications bristling with cannon, till his own artillery—an arm in which he was always strong—had demoralised the enemy.

Having removed the women, children, sick, and wounded, Campbell retraced his steps to attack the rebel army concentrated at Cawnpore—his heart saddened, and the lustre of his triumph dimmed by the death of the heroic Havelock. At Cawnpore, General Windham, who commanded the rear guard, had foolishly allowed himself to be outflanked by Tantia Topee, a commander of great skill and courage. Windham's blunder not only gave the enemy possession of Cawnpore, but put the whole English force, whose communications were thus threatened, in the greatest peril. Campbell, by forced marches, came to the rescue on the 29th of November. Having sent on his convoy to Calcutta, he attacked the rebels, under Nana Sahib and Tantia Topee, on the 5th of December; and, on the 7th, there was not a vestige of the 25,000 insurgents composing the Gwalior army to be seen for miles round Cawnpore.‡ As the year 1857 closed, it was felt that the worst of the crisis in India was over.

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap LXXXII.

† At Lucknow, after four days' hard fighting, he had only 122 killed and 414 wounded.

‡ Campbell's retreat from Lucknow to Cawnpore was managed with consummate address. But it was censured. The defence of it is this:—(1), He had to relieve himself from the encumbrance of the women, children, sick, and wounded; (2), He had to save his communications, which Windham's defeat at the Pandoo River had put at Tantia Topee's mercy; (3), He could easily come back and take Lucknow; and (4), He was anxious to make an immediate impression on Rohilkund.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ROYAL MARRIAGE.

Birth of Princess Beatrice—Death of the Duchess of Gloucester—A Royal Romance—**Franco-Russian Intrigues—The Art Treasures** Exhibition at Manchester—Announcement of the Marriage of the **Princess Royal—Prince Albert's** *Views on Royal Grants*—The Controversy on the Grant to the **Princess Royal—Visit of the Grand Duke** Constantine—The Christening of Princess Beatrice—Prince Albert's **Title as Prince Consort Legalised**—The First Distribution of the Victoria Cross—**Opposition to the Order—The Queen's Visit to** *Manchester*—Departure of the Prince of Wales to Germany—**The Queen and the Indian Mutiny—Her Controversy** with Lord Palmerston—Sudden Death of the Duchess of Nemours—**The Marriage of the Princess Royal**—The Scene in the Chapel—On the Balcony of Buckingham Palace—**The Illuminations in** *London*—*The Bride and Bridegroom* at Windsor—The Last Adieus—The Departure of the **Bride and Bridegroom** to Germany

It was when the country was passing through the crisis of Palmerston's "penal dissolution" that a Princess was added to the Royal circle—soon to be diminished by the migration of her eldest sister to a home of her own in a foreign land. The little Princess was born on the 14th of April, and in a letter to King Leopold the Queen says: "She is to be called Beatrice, a fine old name borne by three of the Plantagenet Princesses, and her other names will be Mary (after poor Aunt Mary), Victoria (after Mama and Vicky, who, with Fritz Wilhelm, are to be the sponsors) and Feodore."* On the 19th Prince Albert tells his stepmother that the Queen was already able to leave her room, and her recovery, therefore, could not have been retarded by the political excitement and agitation of the times.

As the month ended, however, sorrow fell on the Royal household. On the 30th of April the Duchess of Gloucester died—the "Aunt Gloucester" to whom the Queen and her husband in their letters make so many affectionate references. This Princess was the last child of George III., and of all his family the best beloved. The story of her life was in itself a romance, the pathos of which accounts for the Queen's frequent allusions to her nobility and unselfishness of character. During her girlhood at Windsor the Princess Mary, as she was called, won the hearts of the people by her quiet, unobtrusive philanthropic work among the poor. She and her cousin, the Duke of Gloucester, fell in love with each other, but when he attained the age of twenty-one their romance was cruelly and abruptly ended. The Princess Charlotte was born, and it was decreed that the Duke of Gloucester must remain single, so that he might marry her if no eligible foreign prince claimed her hand. The Princess Mary and the Duke of Gloucester waited in suspense for twenty weary years—for she refused to encourage any other suitor. In 1814 a rift appeared in this cloud that overhung their lives. The Prince of Orange, it was said, was about

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXV. Feodore was the name of the Queen's half-sister.

to wed the Princess Charlotte, and the ladies of the Court noticed how the pining Princess Mary suddenly began to look bright and happy. But the projected alliance with the Prince of Orange was abandoned, and the Princess Mary began to droop again. A few months, however, put an end to the long probation of the Royal lovers. Leopold of Coburg married the Princess Charlotte, and Court gossips chronicle the fact that when she came down the steps of Carlton House after the ceremony, the Princess Mary rushed forward and fell weeping into her arms. She was married to the Duke of Gloucester in 1816, and it may be noticed that they refused to ask Parliament for any increase of income. During their lives they had devoted themselves to benevolent work, and had not only learned the value of money, but how to make their means serve their wants. Their married life was so arranged that they not only lived on their private incomes, but won a great and well-merited reputation for their wide and generous charity. The sweet and gentle nature of the Duchess, to which the strange story of her life imparted an additional charm, had ever a strong fascination for the Queen.

The triumph of Palmerston at the General Election had an immediate effect upon those Franco-Russian intrigues for the settlement of the Danubian Principalities which had given the Queen some uneasiness The approaching visit of the Grand Duke Constantine to Paris had been commented on severely by the English press, and the Emperor of the French, in writing to the Queen to congratulate her on the birth of the Princess Beatrice, attempted to explain away the significance of the visit. Lord Clarendon suggested that Prince Albert should reply to this letter, telling the Emperor quite frankly why England was jealous of the advances of Russia to France. An alliance between France and England, said the Prince in his letter, could have no basis save the mutual desire to develop as much as possible Art, Science, Letters, Commerce—in a word, everything that is meant by Civilisation. But as for an alliance with Russia, on what basis could that be raised? What interest had Russia in Progress? What was there in common between modern France and modern Russia? A Franco-Russian alliance, therefore, could have no foundation but that of political interest—and hence the prospect of it alarmed the free States of Europe.

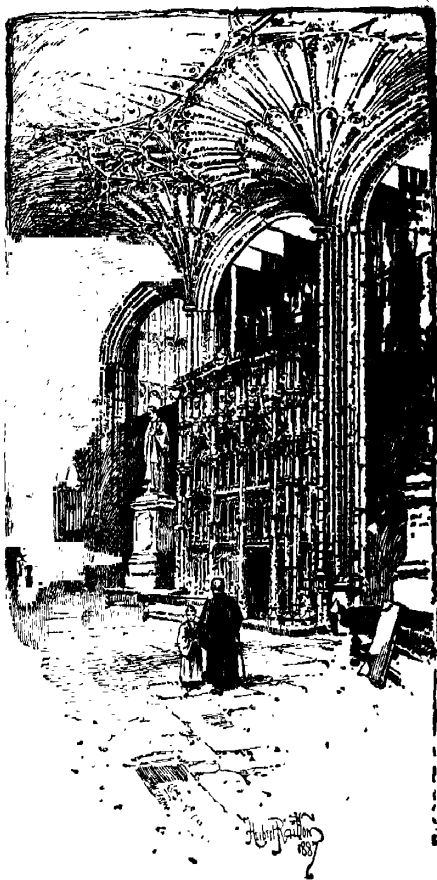
Prince Albert's reception at Manchester, where he opened the great Art Treasures Exhibition on the 5th of May, delighted the Queen. But of all the incidents of his tour, perhaps none pleased her more than the manner in which his speech at the unveiling of her statue in the Peel Park of that city was criticised by the public. In his address he alluded to the devotion of the people to their Queen, and spoke of it as the outcome of their attachment to the Sovereign "as the representative of the institutions of the country." The phrase struck the popular fancy, and to the Queen it seemed the formula of her position and her life. Two days later the Court removed to Osborne, where the Queen gradually recovered from the depression

of spirits under which she had sunk after the death of the Duchess of Gloucester.

On the 16th of May the Prussian *Official Gazette* announced the forthcoming marriage of the Princess Royal and Prince Frederick William, and on the 19th the same announcement was made to Parliament by a Royal Message. In this Message the Queen expressed her confidence that the nation would make a suitable provision for her eldest daughter, and it is worth recording that at the outset the Cabinet were a little uncertain as to the reception which such a Message would meet with. Perhaps that was why Lord Palmerston, in moving the Address in reply to it, took pains to tell Parliament that, quite apart from the personal interest which Englishmen felt in this affair, it held out political prospects "not undeserving the attention of the House." Family alliances tended, he argued, to mitigate the asperities which from time to time spring from diversities of national interests. "Therefore," he added, "I trust that this marriage may also be considered as holding out an increased prospect of goodwill and of cordiality among the Great Powers of Europe."

But in those days the Representatives of the people were more jealous guardians of the public purse than they are now, and on both sides of the House there was a strong feeling against increasing public expenditure. The competition then was in economy—not as now in profuse extravagance. There were three views current on the subject. One was that of Prince Albert, who thought that the time had come when Parliament should settle finally what provision ought to be made for members of the Royal Family on their marriage, so as to avoid the necessity of frequent eleemosynary appeals to Parliament. He held, and as it now seems rightly, that the feeling of the country at the time ran in favour of treating the Queen's children generously. In one of his letters to Baron Stockmar he says, "Seeing how marked was the desire to keep questions relating to the Royal Family aloof from the pressure of party conflict, and to have them settled, I believe it would have been an easy matter to have carried through the future endowments of them all, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's and Palmerston's original plan, which was subsequently dropped by the Cabinet." * Then there was the Ministerial view, which was that the Princess should be voted a dowry and an annuity; and the Radical view, which was that the nation should *not* be burdened with an annuity, but that whatever was voted to the lady should be a lump sum, so that when the vote was passed the Princess would cease to be a yearly charge on the country she was leaving. Mr. Roebuck gave expression to this last view, even before the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid his proposal before the House—which was that the annuity should be £8,000, and the marriage portion £40,000. The majority of the House, however, desired to come to a unanimous vote on the subject, and they laughed at Sir George Lewis's grave citations from Blackstone and his precedents from the reign of George II. Still more

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXVI.

heartily did they laugh when he explained how the Queen had recently been forced to bear very large expenses of a public nature, alluding particularly to the visit to the Emperor Napoleon—"a visit," said Sir George, solemnly, "which was purely for public and State purposes, and not for her individual pleasure." * No doubt the visits of George IV. to Hanover, Ireland, and Scotland were paid for by the State. But it was as ridiculous to cite such a bad precedent as that, as to go back for others to the reign of George III., when Parliament at different times voted a total sum of £3,297,000 to pay the debts of the Royal Family. The truth is, that the Sovereign cannot be held exempt from the ordinary liabilities of exalted rank and station. Every person who accepts a high public office is in the habit, now and then, of drawing on his private income to enable him to discharge his public duties with greater efficiency — in fact, this liability is simply one of the incidents of great estate in every aristocratic country. But, unfortunately, the Queen had on her accession surrendered her Crown revenues to Parliament for a fixed annuity, on the more or less formal understanding that Parliament would provide for her children when they settled in life. So that the House of Commons felt there was really no choice in the matter, save to vote the grant, and if possible, out of respect for the Queen, vote it unanimously.

THE HASTINGS CHANTRY, ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

* As to precedents, the eldest daughter of George II. received a dowry of £80,000, and an annuity of £5,000. But when the Princess Royal, daughter of George III., married, she was voted a dowry of £80,000 without any annuity. The Irish Parliament had to vote her an annuity of £5,000,

Mr. Roebuck withdrew his opposition, but on the report of the vote in Supply, Mr. Coningham, Member for Brighton, entered a protest against the principle of voting annuities to the Royal Family, and moved the reduction of the vote in this instance from £8,000 to £6,000 a year. The motion was lost by 328 to 14. Mr. Maguire and Sir J. Trelawny, supported by Mr. Coningham, then argued that the annuity was enough, and moved that there be no dowry granted. They were beaten by a vote of 361 to 18, and here the matter ended. "We have," writes Prince Albert to Stockmar, "established a good precedent, not merely for the grant itself, but for the way and manner in which such grants should be dealt with."* This opinion he would perhaps have recast had he lived to see the painful position in which the Royal Family have again and again been placed by repeated applications of the precedent.

Just before the Court left Osborne, the Grand Duke Constantine paid the Queen his long expected visit. He arrived on the 30th and left next night, after going with her Majesty to see the fleet at Spithead. His visit was not quite a pleasant one for the Queen and Lord Palmerston. The Grand Duke, to their surprise, spoke with almost cynical candour of the Crimean War; indeed, it was not till his visit that the Queen had brought home to her effectually the murderous mistakes of that campaign. He told her about Menschikoff's blundering, and showed her how Sebastopol was at the mercy of the Allies after the Battle of the Alma, because there were only two battalions in the city; and further indulged in many cheering reminiscences of a similar sort, especially in reference to the attacks on the Redan. But as he had just come from Paris, one wonders if he told his English hosts how it was that the Emperor discovered that the Malakoff was the weak point in the defences of the town.† On the 3rd of June the Court returned to Windsor, and the Queen went to Ascot Races, and admired the beautiful mare, Blink Bonny, which was brought out for her inspection.‡ The first Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace, however, provided a stronger attraction than Ascot for the Queen and her husband, and her visit to it is described in glowing terms by contemporary chroniclers. It was the precursor of these great festivals which have since become world-famous, and on the 17th, when the Queen was present, *Judas Maccabæus* was given by 2,500 performers.

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXVI.

† In the "Journal de Goncourt: Mémoires de la Vie Littéraire," published in 1877, the secret history of the Emperor's instructions to Pélissier is told. The Prussian Military Attaché at St. Petersburg sent to the King of Prussia, through MM. de Gerlach and Niebuhr, the secret details of the campaign. Manteufel, the King's Foreign Minister, desirous of possessing this information which the King kept to himself, bribed certain persons who had access to these letters to copy them. Then the French hearing of the matter bribed Manteufel's agents to let them have copies also. In this way Napoleon III. discovered that the Malakoff was the one vulnerable point in the defences, although the repulse of the 18th of June made most people think it was invulnerable.

‡ This year the great race at Ascot—that for the Gold Cup, which, by the way, was of silver—was won by Lord Zetland's "Skirmisher."

The christening of the Princess Beatrice took place in the private chapel of Buckingham Palace on the 16th of June, and among the visitors and guests the Archduke Maximilian of Austria was one of the most prominent. He had become betrothed to the Princess Charlotte of Belgium, a young and beautiful princess, to whom the Queen was deeply attached. It was a love match, but the lives of the young people, radiant at the outset with sunshine, were darkened at the end by the gloom of an awful tragedy. In an evil moment the Archduke permitted the French Emperor to lure him into his wild project for establishing a Transatlantic-Latin Empire as a counterpoise to the Anglo-Saxon Republic of the West. He was crowned Emperor of Mexico in 1863, and deposed and shot by order of the President of the Mexican Republic in 1867. His unhappy consort passed the rest of her existence in the living death of insanity.

On the 25th of June the Queen conferred on her husband, by Royal Letters Patent, the title of Prince Consort, which, however, had already been given to him by the people, who never called him anything else. Still it had been a popular, not a legal title, and Prince Albert could claim no other precedence than what was accorded to him by courtesy. Moreover, when he went abroad, although he held a kingly position in England, he ranked merely as a younger Prince of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, and foreigners raised difficulties about the precedence that should be given to him. "I should have preferred its being done by Act of Parliament," wrote the Queen to King Leopold, in reference to the legalising of the new title, "and so it may still be at some future period; but it was thought better on the whole to do it now in this simple way"—namely, by Letters Patent.

On the 26th, her Majesty presided over one of the most interesting functions of her reign—the first distribution of the Victoria Cross, or Cross of Valour, to the men who had earned it by personal prowess in war. It is a curious fact that till this period no English sovereign ever decorated an Englishman for being brave. Courage in England is so common and cheap, said Mr. Bright once, that it can be bought easily for less than a shilling a day. Nay, there were some generals, like Colin Campbell, who objected strongly to decorations being conferred for valour—because, as Campbell said, you might as well decorate a woman for being chaste as an English soldier for being brave.* But contact with the French Army had altered the old-fashioned English ideas on the subject,

* A story used to be told of one Scottish regiment that got into sad disgrace because of the contempt with which they treated the Cross of Valour. A goodly number of Crosses were allotted to it, for it had won exceptional distinction. The superior officers, on being asked to nominate recipients, said, "Oh, hand the thing over to the subalterns." The subalterns said, "The sergeants would probably like to have the decorations at their disposal." The sergeants said, "Oh, it would be best to let the men get them," and the men, with grim humour, selected as bravest of the brave, two pioneers, whose duty it had been to go round with the "greybeards" when the regiment was in action, and serve out the regulation ration of whisky or rum, as the case might be. Was this the reason why no member of the Scottish Brigade figures in the *Annual Register's* list of Victoria Crosses given in 1857?

and the spectacle of private soldiers in the Crimea wearing the Legion of Honour on their breasts had created a feeling in favour of some kind of decoration which would be open to all ranks of the army. The Order of the Bath could not be granted for mere bravery—it was granted for bravery combined with exceptional skill and talent. But then, as the private soldier had no chance of displaying any quality in war save courage, it was obvious that the new Order must seek a basis in individual heroism alone. The Queen, struck by the episodical incidents of the Crimean War, was strongly of opinion in 1856 that exceptional deeds of personal valour should have more distinctive recognition than the war medal which every man received, however slight might have been his share in the campaign. In that year, therefore, she instituted, by the Royal Warrant of January 29th, 1856, the Order of the Victoria Cross. The decoration was to be given to soldiers or sailors who had performed some signal act of valour or devotion to their country in face of the enemy—and a small pension of £10 a year was to be attached to the Cross. It was not until late in 1857 that a list of persons qualified for admission to the Order could be drawn up, and when it was submitted to the Queen she resolved to decorate them with her own hands. Public interest in the ceremony on the 26th of June was intense. At an early hour crowds of well-dressed sightseers swarmed into Hyde Park, where a vast amphitheatre of seats, capable of accommodating 12,000 persons had been erected. In the centre stood a simple table, on which were laid the bronze Maltese crosses—their red and blue ribbons being the only patches of colour that caught the eye. In front, a body of 4,000 troops, consisting of the *corps d'élite* of the army—Guards, Highlanders, Royal Marines, the Rifle Brigade, Enniskillens, and Hussars, Artillery and Engineers—was drawn up. Between them and the Royal Pavilion stood the small group of heroes—sixty-two in number—who were to be decorated. At 10 a.m. the Queen, the Prince Consort, Prince Frederick William of Prussia, and a brilliant train, rode into the Park. The Queen, mounted on a gallant and spirited roan, and wearing a scarlet jacket, black skirt, and plumed hat, rode up to the table, but did not dismount. One by one each hero was summoned to her presence, and bending from her saddle, her Majesty

THE VICTORIA CROSS

THE QUEEN DISTRIBUTING THE VICTORIA CROSSES IN HYDE PARK. (See p. 744.)

placed the Cross on his breast with her own hands, whilst the Prince Consort saluted him with grave and respectful courtesy. As each soldier or sailor was decorated, the vast concourse of spectators cheered and clapped their hands—whether he were an officer whose breast was already glittering with stars and orders, or a humble private or Jack Tar whose rough tunic carried no more resplendent embellishment than the ordinary war medal. But of all the cheers none were heartier than those which were given for a man who, when called out, stepped forward arrayed in what was then the grotesque and pacific garb of an ordinary policeman.

The Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, which had been opened in May by the Prince Consort, had become amazingly popular. It was the first of its kind seen in England, and the great difficulty which its organisers had to overcome was the reluctance of private collectors to lend works of art for exhibition. But for the Queen and Prince Albert it is probable this obstacle would never have been surmounted,* and hence it was but natural that her Majesty should desire to visit the collection. Her reception at Manchester, on the 30th of June, was enthusiastic, a crowd of a million people welcoming her, as she said herself, with "kind and friendly faces." The display of Prussian flags, and the complimentary allusions to her husband and to her eldest daughter's approaching marriage, appear to have touched her deeply. At the Exhibition, her Majesty knighted the Mayor, as she observes, "with Sir Harry Smith's sword, which had been in four general actions," and on the 2nd of July she left for Buckingham Palace, where she gave a great musical party in the evening. The next event of importance in the home-life of the Queen was the departure of the Prince of Wales to Königswinter, where it had been arranged he was to carry on his studies. He left in high spirits, and with the Queen's anxious adieus, on the 26th of July, accompanied by young Mr. Frederick Stanley—now Lord Stanley of Preston—General Grey, Sir H. Ponsonby, and his tutors. Mr. Gladstone's son, Mr. C. Wood, son of Lord Halifax, and the present Lord Cadogan, were also selected by the Queen and Prince Consort to join him as companions in his studies.

From this time till the tide of war in India turned in our favour, the Queen's attention seems to have been absorbed by the crisis in our Eastern Empire. Her political work was apparently concentrated in a persistent effort to induce the Cabinet not only to hurry out reinforcements, but to replace them by increasing the establishment at home up to the full limit voted by Parliament, for

* The Queen promptly ordered the Royal Collections to be put at the disposal of the Exhibition. The Prince Consort suggested a plan for appealing to private collectors which had the desired effect. He said that collectors of rank would not shrink from refusing to lend works of Art when it was widely known that their refusal might mar a national purpose; and he advised the appeal to be based on the fact that though England invested more money in Art than any other country, she had done less than any other for Art education, which such an exhibition might easily be made to promote. He even sent them a practical proposal for drawing up a catalogue that would powerfully appeal to the sympathies of collectors, and to his suggestions the success of the undertaking was largely due.

which estimates had been taken. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, in his light and airy way, refused to regard the Mutiny as serious, and persisted in sending out reinforcements in driblets, and then replacing them by driblets of recruits. The Queen very sensibly contended that the force absorbed by the Indian demand should "be replaced to its full extent and in the same kind," whereas the Cabinet was replacing whole battalions by "handfuls of recruits added to the remaining ones." It was in vain that the Minister met her with the usual stock platitudes—that neither the money nor the men could be got. The Queen replied that her project would actually be more economical than the confused and unmethodical devices of Palmerston and Panmure. The East India Company would find the money for the reinforcements, which could be applied to the creation of new battalions. But these could in turn absorb the old half-pay officers reduced from the War Establishment, who would then cease to be a burden on the Exchequer. As to the argument that the men could not be got, the Queen wrote to Lord Palmerston, "This is an hypothesis, and not an argument. Try, and you will see. If you do not succeed, and the measure is necessary, you will have to adopt means to make it succeed. If you conjure up the difficulties yourself you cannot, of course, succeed." One fact may be mentioned as curiously illustrating the shallowness of understanding and feebleness of grasp with which Palmerston approached any great question of State to which Foreign Office *formulæ* could not be applied. He, or some one at his instigation, seems to have tried to frighten the Queen by warning her that the East India Company would object to keep up such a large addition to her army in India. The Queen, however, saw what Palmerston could not see—that the first shot fired in the rebellion had virtually eliminated the Company as a dominating factor in the Indian problem. "The Queen," she writes to Palmerston, "thinks it next to impossible that the European force could again be decreased in India. After the present fearful experience the Company could only send back (home) Queen's regiments, in order to raise new European ones of their own. This they cannot do without the Queen's sanction, and she must at once make her most solemn protest against such a measure. It would be dangerous and unconstitutional to allow private individuals to raise an army of Queen's subjects larger than her own in any part of the British dominions." And at the close of the Memorandum, which she haughtily desires Palmerston to communicate to his colleagues, the tone becomes sharper as she sums up the net result of the bungling military policy of the Cabinet. "The present situation of the Queen's army," she writes, "is a pitiable one. The Queen has just seen, in the camp at Aldershot, regiments which, after eighteen years' foreign service in most trying climates, had come back to England to be sent out, after seven months, to the Crimea. Having passed through this destructive campaign, they had not been home for a year before they are to go to India for perhaps twenty years! This is most cruel and unfair to the gallant men who devote their services to the

country, and the Government is in duty and humanity bound to alleviate their position."*

In August a flying visit to Cherbourg in her yacht convinced the Queen that the growing strength of this port as a place of arms was dangerous to England, and on her return she called the attention of the Cabinet to what she had seen, and demanded reports as to the precise state of the defences on the South coast of England. As usual, nobody could find the required information, and when it was obtained Lord Clarendon told the Prince Consort that nobody could read such an account of our shortcomings without immediately desiring to remedy them. September saw the Court at Balmoral, where the Queen's holiday was sadly overcast by the Indian reports which came pouring in. As the Prince Consort said, in one of his letters to Stockmar, they were "tortured by the events in India, which are truly *frightful!*" The French Emperor's courteous offer to pass our reinforcements through France brought some cheerfulness to the anxious Sovereign, not diminished by the friendly offer of two regiments from Belgium—which was, however, rejected by Lord Palmerston, who had sense enough to see that if England was to win at all she must, as he said, "win off her own bat."

On the 16th of October the Court returned to Windsor, the Queen having spent a night at Haddo House, where she went to visit her venerable friend, Lord Aberdeen. The sudden death of the Duchess of Nemours, first cousin of the Queen and Prince Consort, and wife of the second son of Louis Philippe, now threw the Court into mourning. "We were like sisters," wrote Her Majesty to King Leopold, "bore the same name, married the same year, our children are the same age; there was, in short, a similarity between us, which, since 1839, united us closely and tenderly. Now one of us is gone—passed as a rose, full-blown and faded—from this earth to eternity, there to rest in peace and joy."† The commercial crisis of November caused Parliament to be summoned before the year closed, and December was spent in making preparations for the marriage of the Princess Royal.

When the 19th of January, 1858, came round Buckingham Palace was full of guests—the King of the Belgians and his sons, the Prince and Princess of Prussia and their suites, being among the number. It was a brilliant scene of bustle and excitement, covers for eighty or ninety guests being laid daily at dinner. Four dramatic representations were given by command at Her Majesty's

* It may not be amiss to say that this stinging Memorandum was the Queen's reply to a frivolous communication from Lord Palmerston. In it he met her growing remonstrances by saying that "measures are sometimes best calculated to succeed which follow each other step by step." He further added, rather impudently, that "Viscount Palmerston may perhaps be permitted to take the liberty of saying that it is fortunate for those from whose opinions your Majesty differs, that your Majesty is not in the House of Commons, for they would have had to encounter a formidable antagonist in argument."—Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXVIII.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXI.

Theatre, where, writes the Queen, "we made a wonderful row of royalties, I sitting between dear uncle and the Prince of Prussia," and where the audience cheered the young couple who were to be so soon united with a cordiality that brought tears to their parents' eyes. Balls, dinners, musical parties, celebrated the coming event at the Palace, till the 24th, which is recorded in the Queen's Diary as "poor dear Vicky's last unmarried day . . . an eventful one, reminding me of my own." Charming in its simplicity is the Queen's

THE CRIMSON DRAWING-ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE.

description of the family delight over the wedding gifts; and the tearful "Good-night" of the 24th between the Princess and her parents is too sacred a subject for more than passing allusion. On the 25th, the eventful day of the wedding, the Queen writes, "I felt as if I were being married over again myself, only much more nervous, for I had not that blessed feeling which I had then, which raises and supports one, of giving myself up for life to him whom I loved and worshipped—then and for ever." But the sun shone with happy omen as the morning advanced, and the wedding party, amidst cheering crowds, proceeded to the Chapel Royal at St. James's Palace.

This interesting building had been put to strange uses in its time. It had been in turn a Roman Catholic chapel, a Protestant chapel, a guard-

room, and a store-room, before it ended as a chapel reserved for Royal nuptials. Within its walls Queen Anne had married good-natured George of Denmark, and George III. the shrew of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. It was the scene of the wedding of the ill-fated Caroline of Brunswick and the "First Gentleman of Europe," who, it may be remembered, had to be fortified with brandy ere he could undergo the ceremony. Here, also, William IV. wedded the amiable and gentle Queen Adelaide, and his successor plighted her troth to the husband of her heart. But not even on that occasion was the chapel the scene of a more brilliant pageant than when it witnessed the nuptials of the Princess Royal of England and the son of the Prince of Prussia. The dingy edifice, which Holbein's admirers revere as a triumph of his genius, was now no longer dingy. Hangings of crimson silk, gleaming with gold fringe and tassels, gilded columns and scroll work, gold beadings, and emblazoned shields and ciphers, dispelled the customary gloom from the building. The altar, too, was sumptuously equipped with quaint "services" of gold plate, illustrative of the Augustan age of English Art.

The marriage procession was formed at Buckingham Palace. It consisted of more than twenty carriages, the first detachment of which conveyed the Princes and magnates of the House of Prussia. At a short interval the bridegroom and his suite followed; then the Queen and her family. When it arrived at St. James's Palace the procession was received by the great officers of State, who conducted it to the chapel through the splendid apartments, rich in sombre decorations of Queen Anne's reign.

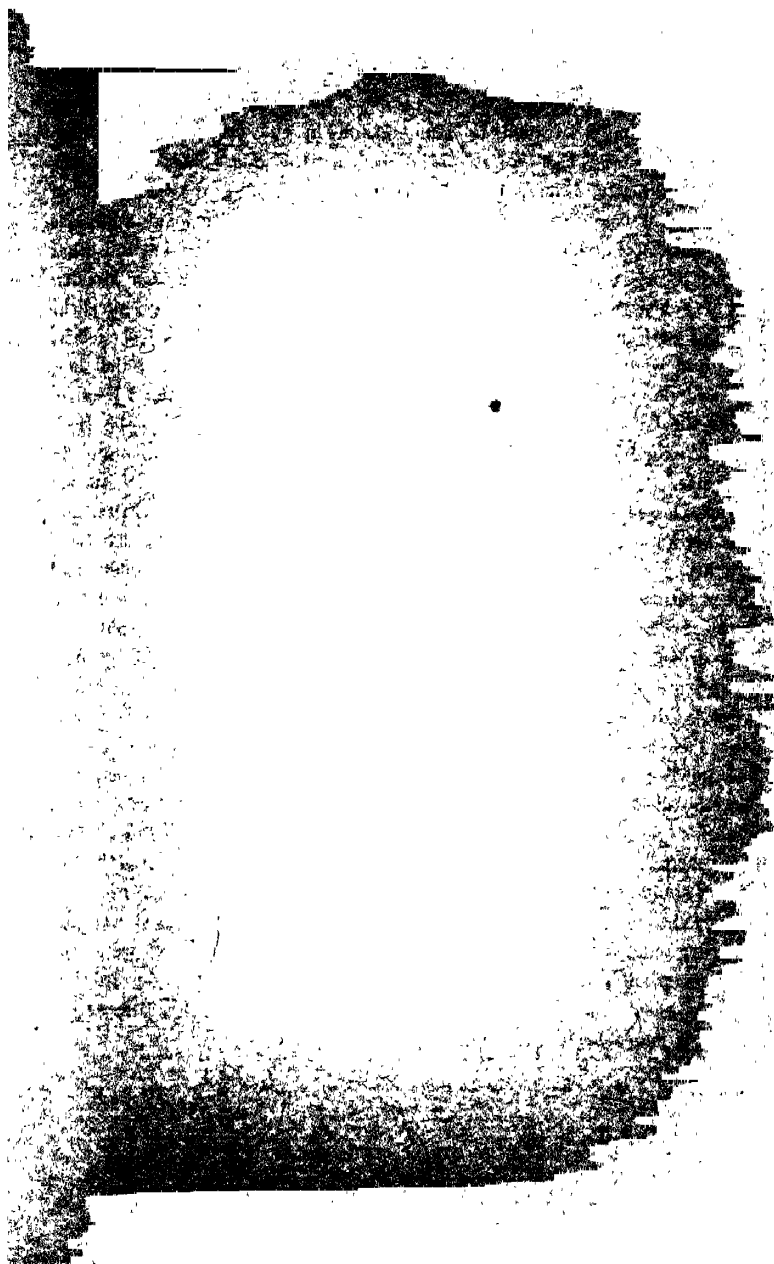
The Prince Consort and King Leopold were radiant in the bravery of Field Marshals' uniforms, "the three girls," writes the Queen, with quick feminine memory for the details of such an occasion, "in pink satin trimmed with Newport lace, Alice with a wreath, and the two others only with bouquets in their hair of cornflowers and marguerites; next the four boys in Highland dress." As for the eight bridesmaids, they "looked charming in white tulle, with wreaths and bouquets of pink roses and white heather;" and "Mama" (the Duchess of Kent) "looking so handsome," says the Queen, "in violet velvet trimmed with ermine and white silk and violet," with "the Cambridges" and all the foreign Princes and Princesses, made up a brilliant party. The wedding procession was, in fact, formed in the Closet—the room in the Chapel which on Court days is reserved for the Royal Family and the families of Peers, "just as at *my* marriage," writes the Queen, "only how small the *old* Royal Family has become!" Lord Palmerston carried the Sword of State "with easy grace and dignity," says the *Morning Post*,* "with a ponderous solemnity," says the *Times*, in their respective accounts of the scene, and the Queen, with the "two little boys" on each side, and followed by her three daughters, walked after Lord Palmerston and the two elder Princes. Amidst

* The *Post* was "inspired" by Lady Palmerston at this period.

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL.

beating drums and blaring trumpets, the procession entered the Chapel, the appearance of the Queen crowned with a glittering diadem, being greeted with a profound and reverential obeisance by the wedding guests as she swept on to her chair of State on the left of the altar. The entrance of the bride with her father and King Leopold sent a flutter of excitement through the throng. When the Princess appeared her face seemed pale, even in contrast with her snowy robe of rich moire antique. She passed the Queen with a deep bow, and as her eyes met those of the bridegroom, her cheeks suddenly flushed to deepest crimson. "My last fear of being overcome," writes the Queen, "vanished on seeing Vicky's quiet, calm, and composed manner." The whole scene indeed recalled her own marriage, and her eyes glistened with tears as the sweet memories of her happy and busy life flitted through her mind. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Chester. The Archbishop was "very nervous," however—much more so than either bride or bridegroom, and the Queen records that he omitted some of the passages in the Service. When the ceremony was over, tender and affectionate congratulations passed between the married pair and their relations. The bride and her mother fell weeping into each other's arms, and for a minute or so their agitation was manifestly beyond their control. The bridegroom then kissed the bride, who, escaping from his embrace, threw herself into the arms of her father, whom she kissed again and again. The Princess of Prussia embraced her son and kissed the Queen most affectionately; but the most touching greeting of all was that which passed between the bridegroom and his father, who seemed quite unnerved with emotion. The Prince clasped his father passionately to his heart, and then, as if recovering self-control, suddenly knelt down and reverently kissed his hand. These congratulations were repeated when the register was signed by all the Princesses and Princes present, including the Maharajah Duleep Sing. Through cheering crowds bride and bridegroom and the splendid train of wedding guests proceeded to Buckingham Palace, where the wedded pair and their parents appeared on the balcony and bowed their thanks to the kindly people who stood huzzaing outside. Then came the breakfast and the parting, which is "such sweet sorrow" to mother and daughter on such occasions. The married couple drove to Windsor, and at the railway station were met by the Eton boys, who dragged their carriage all the way to the Castle. London was one blaze of illuminations that night, and the rejoicings at the Palace closed with a State concert. Nothing pleased the Queen more than the demeanour of the populace. Their demonstrations of loyalty were purely spontaneous and utterly unaffected. So much was this the case that the foreign guests were amazed to find that the Government offices were the only buildings which were not illuminated; in fact, their gloomy darkness alone rendered the general illumination of London a little less brilliant than that which celebrated the Proclamation of Peace with Russia.

On the 27th of January the Court removed to Windsor, where Prince Frederick William was invested with the Order of the Garter, and a dinner-party followed, at which the Duke of Buccleuch gratified the Princess with his reports of the enthusiastic loyalty of the crowds in London, among whom he had moved about *incognito* on the night of the wedding ceremony. Next day the whole family returned to London, and in the evening went to see Sheridan's *Rivals* and the *Spitalfields Weaver* at Her Majesty's Theatre, the Queen being greatly amused, as she herself records, by the drolleries of Wright, the low comedian, in the latter piece. On the 30th loyal addresses from the City of London and all the great towns came pouring in, and what the Prince Consort calls "a monster Drawing-Room" was held. On Monday the 1st of February the Queen writes in her Diary, "The last day of our dear child being with us, which is incredible, and makes me at times feel sick at heart," * and when the next day came round the Queen's fortitude failed her. Mother and daughter sat weeping in each other's arms, and when the "dreadful time," as the Queen calls it, arrived, and they had to go down into the Hall, filled with weeping friends and sad-eyed servants, the scene was touching in the extreme. "Poor dear child," writes the Queen, "I clasped her in my arms and blessed her, and knew not what to say. I kissed good Fritz, and pressed his hand again and again. He was unable to speak, and the tears were in his eyes." But the final parting could be postponed no longer, and the Queen returned to her room in sorrow. Instead of driving from Buckingham Palace to the Bricklayers' Arms Station by the shortest route, the Prince and Princess drove along the Strand, Fleet Street, Cheapside, and London Bridge. The houses and shops were profusely decked with flags, though the decorations were got ready in a hurry. The day was bitterly cold, and snow fell fast. Yet the inclement weather did not deter vast crowds from turning out to bid the newly-married pair "Good speed." When the Prince Consort, who had accompanied his daughter and son-in-law part of the way, returned home, the Queen's grief broke out again. Even the sight of "the darling baby" (Princess Beatrice) saddened her, for, as she writes, "Dear Vicky loved her so much, and only yesterday played with her." As for the Prince Consort, he told the Princess, in one of his letters, that the void she had left was not in his heart only, but in his daily life. In fact, nothing save the cordial and brilliant reception which welcomed her in Germany could have consoled him for the loss of a daughter whom he proudly described to her husband as one who "had a man's head and a child's heart."

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXII.

THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

QUEEN VICTORIA.

BY

ROBERT WILSON.

Illustrated with numerous Portraits, Views, and Historical Pictures.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE PRINCE CONSORT

(After the Photograph by Mayall.)

BALMORAL CASTLE, FROM THE NORTH, LOOKING TOWARDS LOCHNAGAR.

(After a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co., Aberdeen.)

THE

LIFE AND TIMES OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

CHAPTER I.

LORD DERBY'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

A Commercial Crisis—Suspension of the Bank Act—The Fall of Lucknow—Sir Hugh Rose in Central India—Last Days of the Rebellion—The Operations in China—The Queen's Personal Direction of Affairs—Palmerston's waning Popularity—Attacks on Lord Canning—The Orsini Plot—French Menaces to England—The Conspiracy Bill—Defeat of the Ministry—The Second Derby-Disraeli Government—Abandonment of the Conspiracy Bill—The Queen's Opposition to the India Bill—The Oudh Proclamation and Ellenborough's "Secret Despatch"—A Tropical Summer and an Exhausted Legislature—Confirmation of the Prince of Wales—The Queen at Birmingham—The Dispute between France and England about the Principalities—The Queen's Visit to Cherbourg—The Royal Visit to Prussia—The Meeting with the Princess Frederick William—A Royal "Middie"—The Indian Proclamation—The Queen at Balmoral—Donati's Comet—The Controversy over the Indian Army—Abdication of the King of Prussia—The Queen's Letter to the Prince of Wales—France and Portugal—Failing Health of the Prince Consort.

TOWARDS the end of 1857 the commercial credit of the country was severely shaken. The great railway companies in America sank under the burden of debenture debts: when they failed to pay their creditors, the banks were unable to give gold in exchange for their convertible issue of notes, and then private firms of the highest standing rapidly tumbled into insolvency. The effect of these disasters on English commercial credit was most serious. [illegible] in American commerce that had been rashly over-trading on the capital [illegible]

[illegible] fell in rapid succession, dragging down others in their fall. The [illegible] Bank of Scotland stopped payment, and spread ruin far and wide through the districts of which Glasgow is the business centre. The failure of this establishment revealed the fact that gigantic frauds had been perpetrated by the auditors, who had certified the existence of a fictitious surplus of £2,000,000. A panic in Ireland, together with these disasters in Scotland, brought the crisis to a head in England. The sudden demand for gold at the Bank of England alarmed the Government, which, on the 12th of November, suspended the Bank Act limiting the issue of notes.

It has been already mentioned that in 1847, when a similar course was adopted, the mere notification of it restored confidence, and the Bank did not take advantage of the licence granted to it. The crisis of 1857, however, was more serious, for fresh notes in excess of the legal issue were promptly put in circulation.* But the suspension of the Bank Charter Act by the Executive necessitated an application to Parliament for a Bill of Indemnity. Hence Parliament was summoned to meet on the 3rd of December. The Queen was under the impression that fresh light would be thrown on the crisis by the debates in both Houses; but there was really nothing new that could be said on the subject. As the Prince Consort observed in one of his letters, "Long prosperity had made all bankers, speculators, and capitalists careless, and now they are being unpleasantly reminded of natural laws which have been violated, and are asserting themselves." Other matters besides the Indemnity Bill were mentioned in the Royal Speech; but, after passing that measure, Parliament separated on the 12th of January, 1858, to meet again on the 4th of February.

The business of suppressing the Mutiny was carried on vigorously in 1858. After Campbell's victory over the Gwalior army at the end of 1857, he remained for two months at Cawnpore, whilst his reinforcements were coming to him, and the surrounding districts were being swept by flying columns. Then with an overwhelming force of artillery he moved forward swiftly to effect the final capture of Lucknow.† On the 4th of March the last of the siege train reached that city, and operations began in real earnest, ending with the capture of the third line of defence on the 14th of March. The place was virtually taken on the 15th; but most of the rebels had escaped. The Queen of Oudh, with 7,000 men, still clung to the Palace of the Moosee Bágh, and the fanatical Moulvee of Fyzabad yet held the heart of the city. Outram captured the Queen's position, but not the Queen herself, whilst Sir Edward Lugard drove the Moulvee from his stronghold. Campbell's loss was 177 killed and 505 wounded, and of the enemy 3,000 were buried, though no exact account of their wounded could be

* In 1847 the rate of discount had risen to 8 per cent., and the bullion in the Bank had fallen [illegible]. On the 9th of November, 1857, the rate of discount rose to 10 per cent., and yet gold still [illegible] to £2,171,000. The Bank was authorised to increase its issue by £21,000,000.

† [illegible] army consisted of 25,000 men, 16,000 being European troops, the largest number ever [illegible] in India up to that time.

[illegible]. On the [illegible] of March General Grant overtook [illegible] body of fugitives on the road to Seetapoor, which brought operations [illegible] in this region.

The mutineers had now contrived to concentrate at Bareilly, [illegible] Bahadoor Khan, Prince Féroze, of Delhi, the Queen of Oudh, the [illegible] Moulvee, and the Nana Sahib of Bithoor, as leaders. Bareilly, however, [illegible] the fate of Lucknow, the leaders again escaping. The rebel Köer Singh [illegible] hunted out of Báhar and the jungle round Oudh, by Brigadier Douglas, [illegible] much harassing irregular fighting. During May and June the rebels contrived, greatly to the surprise of the Government, to concentrate in force at different places in the most unexpected manner. Driven out of the Upper Provinces, they tried to find refuge in the eastern Gangetic districts, but at every turn they were met and dispersed by flying columns told off to watch them.

It was, however, in Central India that the sword of vengeance was plied most ruthlessly. Sir Hugh Rose, with the army of Bombay and the Hyderabad Contingent, had, early in 1858, begun his march from Indore, hoping to reach Lucknow in time to take part in its capture. He had, however, to devote his attention to the insurgents of Central India, and conduct a campaign over the most rugged and difficult ground. He relieved Saugor on the 3rd of February. He invested the formidable fortress of Jhansi, the Ranee, or Queen, of which was, as Sir Hugh himself said, "the best man of the war." On the 1st of April he defeated, in spite of great odds against him, a rebel army that attempted to raise the siege. On the 3rd he stormed a small breach in the walls, the Ranee effecting her escape into the jungle. On the 4th he carried the citadel, and took possession of the town. The investment was so complete that escape was impossible, and, as at the Secunderbund, the mutineers, to the number of 5,000, were all massacred.*

The Ranee of Jhansi and Tantia Topee had now concentrated an army of 20,000 men at Kalpi, and held an entrenched position at Kuneh. Here, on the 7th of May, Rose defeated them, and his pursuit was so fierce and unresting that hardly a single fugitive escaped. Another rally was made at Kalpi, which was seized on the 23rd of May, the flying Sepoys being cut and shot down by hundreds, no quarter being given or taken. "Soldiers," said Sir Hugh Rose, in his proclamation to the Central India Field Force, "you have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns; you have forced your way through mountain passes and intricate jungles, and over rivers; you have captured the strongest forts, and beat the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever you met him; you have restored extensive districts to the Government,

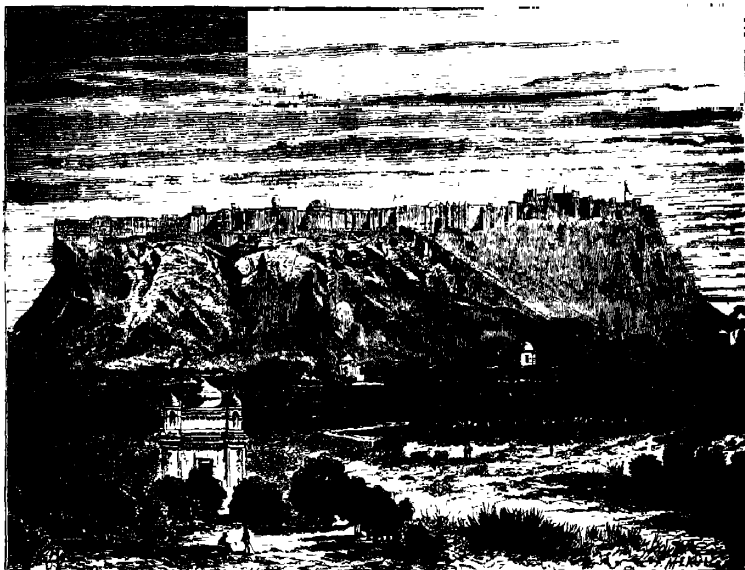
* Sir H. Rose's losses were 38 killed, and 215 wounded. The starving women and children were, however, spared, and, indeed, fed by the English soldiers, out of their own rations. The [illegible] of the garrison was an act of vengeance for the treacherous butchery of the English [illegible] on the [illegible] of June, 1857, had surrendered, on the assurance that their lives would be [illegible] placable Ranee. She, however, ordered them to be killed, as at Cawnpore.

and peace and order now reign where before for twelve months were tyranny and rebellion; you have done all this, and you have never had a check." Led by a dandy, who might almost be termed the Alcibiades of the Indian army, the Central India Field Force had carried fire and sword from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and literally quenched the spirit of the insurrection in blood. But fresh work awaited Rose and his followers. Tantia Topee had organised a conspiracy against Scindia at Gwalior, whose contingent had, early in the Mutiny, revolted from his standard. Instead of waiting for British help, Scindia insisted on striking at the conspirators with such troops as he had still attached to his household. When he attacked the enemy at Barragaom, his followers deserted him, and he had to fly, with a small escort, to Dhólpoor, leaving the great fortress of Gwalior, with its vast stores of arms and munitions of war, to be occupied by the rebels. This gave fresh life to the Mutiny: the Nana Sahib promptly proclaimed himself Peishwa, and took the field with a new army of 18,000 men, strengthened by the superb artillery of Gwalior. But the news of this terrible misfortune did not daunt Sir Hugh Rose. He immediately resumed the command of the Central Field Force, which he had laid down, and made a dash for Gwalior. On the 16th of June he surprised the rebels at Morar, where he waited for one of his brigades, which came up on the 17th. He drove the enemy before him, like chaff before the wind, tearing them to pieces by fierce onsets of cavalry, in one of which a trooper of the 8th Hussars slew the dreaded Ranee of Jhansi, who fell fighting in male disguise. On the 18th the rebel army was in full retreat, and on the 20th Scindia took possession of his capital, the sack of which by the rebels cost him the loss of £500,000 of treasure, jewels, and other property. Nana Sahib's broken army alone kept up a faint semblance of rebellion in Oudh towards the end of 1858.

Nor were British arms less fortunate elsewhere than in India. The operations at Canton, which had been suspended by the Mutiny, were successfully ended at the beginning of the year, a small French contingent acting as our allies against the Chinese. Commissioner Yeh was captured along with the city of Canton, in which Admiral Sir Michael Seymour established a provisional government. But the Imperial authorities affecting to consider the dispute a purely local one between the British Consul and the Imperial Commissioner, refused to come to terms. Lord Elgin accordingly crossed the bar of the Peiho river with a strong naval force, proclaiming his intention of attacking Pekin itself. The Imperial Government, therefore, made haste to conclude the Treaty of Tien-tsin on the 26th of June, which formed a new basis for British commercial intercourse with Eastern Asia.* The interest of the Queen in this achievement

* The Nankin Treaty of 1842 was confirmed. Ambassadors and diplomatic agents were by the new Treaty to be appointed at St. James's and Pekin, and the British Minister was to be received at Pekin without being called on to perform any humiliating ceremony. Disrespect to the British Minister was to be a punishable offence, and Consuls in open ports were to be respected. Chinese Christians were to be

was heightened by the fact that the treaty was brought to her at Balmoral ([illegible] of August), by Mr. Frederick Bruce, Lord Elgin's younger brother and secretary, also brother to Colonel Bruce, governor to the Prince of Wales, and a confidential friend of the Royal Family. A Commercial Treaty with Japan followed, which completed the triumph of Lord Elgin's energetic and adroit diplomacy.

Home and Foreign Affairs, however, brought more trouble and annoyance to

THE FORTRESS OF GWALIOR.

the Queen than the operations of war in the East. In fact, at this period of her career, her Majesty found it more necessary than ever it had been to devote her best energies to the public service. In a conversation with Mr. Greville during the autumnal recess of 1857, Lord Clarendon said that "the manner in which the Queen in her own name, but with the assistance of the Prince, exercised her

protected, and not persecuted by the Government, and British subjects were to have a right of travelling in China under passports. Newchwang, Tang-chow, Taiwan, Chan-chow, and Kiung-chow were to be, with the ports, opened by the Treaty of Nankin free to British subjects British subjects were permitted to employ Chinamen in any lawful capacity, and British ships were to trade on the Yang-Tse river. All questions of right between British subjects were to be decided by British authorities, but Chinese criminals were to be punished by the Chinese tribunals. Other clauses stipulated for a war indemnity to England, for full privileges of protection to British subjects, and for tariff and customs dues on goods carried by British ships. After the Treaty was concluded, the Chinese Emperor evaded the obligation to ratify it, till compelled to do so by force in 1860.

[illegible], was exceedingly good, and well became her position, and was [illegible]tly useful. She held each minister to the discharge of his duty and his responsibility to her, and constantly desired to be furnished with accurate and detailed information about all important matters, keeping a record of all the reports that were made to her, and constantly recurring to them; *e.g.*, she would desire to know what the state of the navy was, and what ships were in readiness for active service, and generally the state of each, ordering returns to be submitted to her from all the arsenals and dockyards, and again weeks and months afterwards referring to these returns, and desiring to have everything relating to them explained and accounted for, and so throughout every department. In this practice Clarendon told me he had encouraged her strenuously. This is what none of her predecessors ever did, and it is in fact the act of Prince Albert, who is to all intents and purposes King, only acting entirely in her name. All his views and notions are those of a Constitutional Sovereign, and he fulfils the duties of one, and at the same time makes the Crown an entity, and discharges the functions which properly belong to the Sovereign. I told Clarendon that I had been told the Prince had upon many occasions rendered the most important services to the Government, and had repeatedly prevented them getting into scrapes of various sorts. He said it was perfectly true, and that he had written some of the ablest papers he had ever read." *

The Queen, however, like the Prince Consort, was uneasy as to the stability of the Government. But she had erroneously formed an opinion, which was indeed shared by many others, that the danger to be apprehended was from the decay of Lord Palmerston's health. "Clarendon," writes Mr. Greville in November, 1857, "told me of a conversation he had recently with the Queen *à propos* of Palmerston's health, concerning which her Majesty was very uneasy, and what could be done in the not impossible contingency of his breaking down. It is a curious change from what we saw a few years ago, that she has become almost affectionately anxious about the health of Palmerston, whose death might then have been an event to have been hailed with satisfaction. Clarendon said she might well be solicitous about it, for if anything happened to Palmerston, she would be placed in the greatest difficulty. She said that in such a case she should look to *him*, and expect him to replace Palmerston, on which Clarendon said he was glad she had broached the subject, as it gave him an opportunity of saying what he was very anxious to impress upon her mind, and that was, the absolute impossibility of his undertaking such an office, against which he enumerated various objections. He told her that Derby could not form a Government, and if she had the misfortune to lose Palmerston, nothing remained for her to do but to send for John Russell, and put him at the head of the Government. She expressed her great repugnance to this, and especially to make him Prime Minister. Clarendon then entreated her to conquer her repugnance, and to be persuaded that it would never do to offer

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., pp. 125, 126.

him anything else, which he neither would nor could accept; that the necessity was to have a man who could lead the House of Commons, and that there was no other but him; that Lord John had consented to take a subordinate office under Lord Aberdeen, who was his senior in age, and occupied a high position, but he would never consent to take office under him (Clarendon), and the proposal he would consider as an insult. For every reason, therefore, he urged her, if driven to apply to him at all, to do it handsomely, to place the whole thing in his hands, and to give him her full confidence and support. He appears to have convinced her that this is the proper course, and he gave me to understand that if Lord John acts with prudence and moderation all the present Government would accept him for their head." *

The real danger, as will soon be seen, which menaced the Ministry was not Palmerston's decaying health, but his waning popularity. The Party of Reform early in 1858 had become convinced that nothing was to be hoped for from him beyond empty and evasive promises. They were therefore, when Parliament reassembled on the 4th of February, simply waiting for a pretext to turn him out of office.† While the Radicals were mutinous, Mr. Disraeli, through the medium of Mr. C. Greville, was intriguing with the younger Whigs ‡ to form a Coalition.§ Palmerston had also incurred much unpopularity by appointing Lord Clanricarde to the office of Lord Privy Seal; in fact, it was known that this appointment would have been laid hold of as a pretext for moving a resolution which might destroy the Ministry. Of course, when Parliament met no division of opinion existed as to the propriety of passing addresses congratulating the Queen on her daughter's marriage. But when, on the 8th of February, resolutions were moved thanking the civil and military officers in India for the ability with which they had dealt with the Mutiny, some of the Tories,‖ let us hope reluctantly, led by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, made themselves the mouth-pieces of the "White Terror" at Calcutta, and opposed a vote of thanks to Lord Canning. His policy had been objected to because it was not sufficiently bloodthirsty; therefore, argued his critics, it was rash to pass a vote of thanks to him. The vote was carried, but it was clear that the Indian policy of the Government would bring trouble on their heads. The Indian government

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., pp. 133, 134.

† Palmerston in defeating Mr. Locke King's motion for leave to bring in a Reform Bill committed a fatal error. The Cabinet originally meant to support the scheme, but to insist on raising Mr. King's £10 county franchise to £20—which would probably have settled the Reform question for ten or fifteen years. As it was, by opposing the measure, and referring Reform to a Cabinet Committee, they disgusted a powerful body of their own supporters, who felt that the Whigs meant to shelve Reform altogether.

‡ Lord Granville and the Duke of Argyll.

§ Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 155.

‖ Mr. Henley, one of the ablest members of the Tory Party, strenuously opposed his leaders on this question, and supported the vote of thanks to Lord Canning.

[illegible] be transferred to the Crown, and as Mr. Vernon Smith, a man of [illegible] capacity, was the Minister responsible for India, the prospect was [illegible] thought by experienced Anglo-Indians to be an alluring one. We ought to wait till we had stamped out the last traces of the Mutiny, it was contended by Lord Ellenborough, before we brought India directly under

LORD CANNING.

the Government of the Queen. Still, Ministers defeated a resolution to postpone their India Bill, and nothing seemed fairer than their prospects, though they were even then (18th of February), on the brink of destruction. The blow came when Palmerston, desirous of conciliating the French Emperor, introduced a Bill to alter the Law of Conspiracy.

The history of this fateful measure is as follows:—Ten days before the marriage of the Princess Royal, a small group of conspirators in England [illegible] out a plan for assassinating the Emperor of the French in the Rue

Lepelletier, Paris, by exploding hand-grenades under his carriage. [illegible] Emperor and Empress escaped, but ten persons were killed, and 15[illegible] [illegible] wounded. The plot had been concocted by Felix Orsini in England. There-fore, the followers of the Emperor, whose fortunes depended on his life, denounced the English nation as Orsini's accomplices. The Emperor himself was so unmanned by the incident, that after he drove home to the Tuileries, he and the Empress, on retiring to their room, wept bitterly over the

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH. (See p. 9.)

wretched prospect before them. His terror probably prevented him from appreciating the fact, that if his own police could not protect him from Orsini, it was not likely that the police of a foreign country would be much more efficient. It may be, too, that the ease with which he had forced Palmerston to accept a humiliating settlement of the Question of the Principalities deluded him into the idea that it would be equally easy to compel him to restrict the freedom of Englishmen, in the interests of the Bonapartist dynasty.* He may also have imagined that England's difficulties in the East

* It is more than probable that had the Tories been in office Napoleon III. would never have dreamt of pressing them, as he pressed Palmerston, to alter the law of Conspiracy so as to harass political refugees in England. In 1853 he sounded Lord Malmesbury on the subject, who told him, with manly firmness and frankness, that "Every country had its own subject on which no [illegible] [illegible]

would render Palmerston's Government more complaisant than the Tory Ministry showed itself on this matter in 1853. His calculations, however arrived at, proved to be correct. The French Government addressed menaces on the subject of harbouring refugees to Sardinia, Switzerland, and Belgium. On the 20th of January Walewski wrote a despatch to Persigny, which he had to communicate to Lord Clarendon, and which not only accused England of deliberately sheltering the assassins of the French Emperor, but also asserted that the English Government ought to assist that of France, in averting "a repetition of such guilty enterprises." Instead of answering this despatch in the high-spirited tone which Lord Malmesbury had taken in his conversation with the Emperor in 1853, a reply of a timid and indefinite character was privately sent through what was called the "usual official channels of personal communication." The substance of it was that the Government needed no inducement to amend the English law of conspiracy, and that the Attorney-General had the matter in hand already. The assumption that the English Government was deliberately aiding and abetting a gang of assassins was an insult which Lord Palmerston, as the exponent of a spirited foreign policy, was expected to resent. His failure to resent it gave his enemies an opportunity of recalling his *Civis Romanus Sum* doctrine, and holding him up to contempt. But at first it was not known that he had shown the white feather in his dealings with the French Emperor. Addresses from the Army, burning with rancorous insults to England, had been presented to the Emperor, and published in the *Moniteur*. The Emperor finding that these insults, which were only intended for home consumption, had been republished in England, where he feared they might inflame popular feeling, instructed an expression of regret to be sent to the British Government. In introducing the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, Lord Palmerston (18th of February), carried the first reading by leading the House of Commons to believe that this Imperial apology was adequate. He did not think it worth while to explain that it had *not* been inserted in the *Moniteur*, where the insults and menaces of the French Colonels had appeared, and that the French people were thus fully under the delusion that their vaporous threats had coerced England into restricting the liberty of her subjects at their bidding. Later on, this deception was discovered. Walewski's despatch, by an inconceivable blunder, was laid before the House, which also found out that it had never been answered with spirit and dignity. The anger of the Representatives of the people then rose to white heat; and when Mr. Milner Gibson moved a resolution of censure, which had been drafted by Sir J. Graham and Lord John Russell on the 19th of February, it was carried by a majority of 19, in a House of 459. Lord Palmerstor and the Cabinet immediately resigned.

made. The Holy Places in the East was that of Russia, the refugees was ours, and it was useless to torment us about an impossibility, for no English Minister could alter the law at present."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. I., p. 392.

At first the Queen, knowing the difficulty of forming a new Government, was reluctant to accept their resignation. She contended—very properly—that it was a bad precedent for a Government to go out on the strength of a vote which was hardly constitutional. The treatment of a despatch was, in her Majesty's opinion, purely a question for the Executive to decide. The House of Commons had but a very dubious right to touch it at all; at any rate, no Ministry was bound by the Constitution to resign because of a Vote of Censure from either House of Parliament on such a question.

There can be no doubt that the Queen's view was the correct one, and it is now known that Lord Eversley, the ablest Speaker who has in her Majesty's reign presided over the House of Commons, actually advised Mr. Speaker Denison to rule Mr. Gibson's motion out of order, on the very grounds which seemed to the Queen to justify Lord Palmerston in ignoring the censure.* On the other hand, her Majesty had to admit the fact that Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon had been maladroit in their handling of the whole affair. They should have answered Walewski's despatch more formally than in a private letter from Clarendon to Cowley. They ought at the outset to have pleaded the constitutional privilege of the Executive, and refusing to produce the despatch in Parliament, have challenged the Opposition to a vote of censure. Moreover, the Queen knew only too well by this time that if Palmerston refused to resign on Mr. Gibson's motion, he would be turned out on one to abolish the office of Lord Privy Seal, Lord Clanricarde's appointment to which had given great offence.† Thus, though it was in some respects objectionable to sanction a Ministerial resignation because the House of Commons censured, not the policy of the Government, but an administrative act of the Executive,‡ the Queen bent to circumstances, and sent for Lord Derby to form a Cabinet. Lord Derby, though he took office, did not desire it, because he could only reign on sufferance. His party, strictly speaking, was in a minority of about two to one in the House of Commons, and his Government would be at the mercy of casual combinations among the factions of the Opposition. He had to fall back on his old Administration (minus Sir E. B. Lytton).§

A painful quarrel between Sir E. B. Lytton and his wife had enlisted

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, entry under date 21st February.

† See Letter of Prince Consort to Stockmar, Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap LXXXIII.

‡ Her Majesty's sanction strengthened the hands of the unconstitutional sections of the Radical and Tory Parties, who in later years connived at the progressive usurpation of the functions of the Executive by the House of Commons, thereby laying the basis for "Home Rule" agitations in discontented Ireland, and in "neglected" Wales and Scotland In the attempt to combine executive with legislative functions the House of Commons has virtually broken down.

§ The Cabinet consisted of Lord Derby, Premier; Lord Chelmsford, Lord Chancellor; Lord Salisbury, President of the Council; Lord Hardwicke, Lord Privy Seal; Lord Malmesbury, Foreign Secretary; Mr. Walpole, Home Secretary; Lord Stanley, Colonial Secretary; Sir John Pakington, First Lord of the Admiralty; General Peel, Secretary of State for War; Mr. Henley, President of the Board of Trade; Lord John Manners, First Commissioner of Works; Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control; and Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Leader of the House of Commons.

considerable public sympathy on the side of the lady, so that his re-election for Hertford was a little doubtful. When offered the Colonial Secretaryship, Sir E. B. Lytton gave Lord Derby a hint on the subject, and Lord Derby, under the impression that Sir E. B. Lytton considered his re-election impossible, induced Lord Stanley to accept the Colonial Office.* Lord Grey would have joined Lord Derby had it not been for his distrust of Mr. Disraeli; and he told Lady Tankerville that Mr. Gladstone would have also joined the new Ministry, "had he been offered the leadership of the Commons."† If Lord Palmerston reckoned on the reluctance of the Queen to trust a Derby-Disraeli Ministry with the conduct of affairs, he fell into a grave error. Mr. Greville, who, like many politicians, held the Derby-Disraeli combination in contempt, admits that during this crisis the Queen's conduct "was certainly curious, and justifies them in saying that it was by her express desire that Derby undertook the formation of the Government. If Palmerston and his Cabinet were actuated by the motives and expectations which I ascribe to them, her Majesty certainly did not play into their hands in that game. When Derby set before her all the difficulties of his situation, and entreated her again to reflect upon it, a word from her would have induced him (without having anything to complain of) to throw it back into Palmerston's hands. But the word she did speak was decisive as to his going on, and there is no reason to believe that she was playing a deep game, and calculating on his favour. Nor do I believe that she would herself have liked to see Palmerston all-powerful. She can hardly have forgotten how inclined he has always been to abuse his power, and how much she has suffered from his exercise of it. Even when he was to a certain degree under control, and although she seemed to be quite reconciled to him, and to be anxious for the stability of his Government, it is difficult to know what her real feelings (or rather those of the Prince) were, and it is more than probable that her anxiety for the success of Palmerston's Government was more on account of the members of it, whom she personally liked, and whom she was very reluctant to lose, than out of any partiality for the Premier himself. To Clarendon she is really attached, and Granville she likes very much; most of the rest she regards with indifference."‡

When the new Ministry took office they soon announced that they would drop the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, and answer the Walewski despatch. The

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol II, p 98. Soon afterwards, however, arrangements were made which enabled Sir E. B. Lytton to take the Colonial Office, Lord Derby going to the India Office.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 99.

‡ Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 214. The evidence of Mr. Greville in this instance is that of an unwilling witness. He still affected, like most independent political thinkers in 1858, to treat a Derby-Disraeli Cabinet as a burlesque Ministry. For example, he never condescended to attend as Clerk of the Privy Council after Lord Derby took office, but allowed his deputy to do duty. When this was pointed out to Lord Derby, he only laughed, and said "he had not observed his (Greville's) absence, as he never knew whether it was John or Thomas who answered the bell."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 153

temper of the English people was such as to render it impossible, after what had been said on both sides, to proceed with Lord Palmerston's Bill. Moreover, Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone had put themselves at the head of 140 Members pledged to use all the forms of the House of Commons for

VIEW IN WINDSOR CASTLE: THE INNER CLOISTERS, LOOKING WEST.

the purpose of obstructing any measure of the sort, and the case was one where obstruction by keeping open a sore between two nations would soon render it an unhealable wound.* As for Walewski's despatch, Mr. Milner Gibson's

* Moreover, there was just a chance that Ministers might be beaten, which would necessarily have brought back Lord John Russell, a prospect to which Whigs like Lord Clarendon looked forward with horror, because he would come back with a Reform Bill. See a private letter from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Cowley in The Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 100.

[illegible] had censured Lord Palmerston's Government for not answering it, so Lord Palmerston's successors, who had supported that motion, were bound to reply to it. Their difficulties were complicated by the foolish behaviour of De Persigny, the French Ambassador. He was a strong partisan of Palmerston's, and he went about London drawing-rooms denouncing the Tory Government in the most violent terms. Nay, he made a practice of communicating to Lord Palmerston everything which passed between himself and Lord Malmesbury in their official conversations, and Lord Palmerston did not scruple to use information obtained by this dishonourable violation of diplomatic rules; nor did he shrink from making himself De Persigny's accomplice in these questionable transactions. Lord Malmesbury felt himself so completely embarrassed by such proceedings that he caused Lord Cowley to privately inform the French Emperor that he must in future decline to transact business through De Persigny. Lord Malmesbury said plainly, that he must communicate directly through Lord Cowley or Count Walewski in Paris, for De Persigny at this time not only carried his confidential conversation to Palmerston, but Palmerston actually instructed him how to embarrass the English Government in attempting to resist dictatorial pressure from France. Lord Malmesbury's spirited protest was well-timed and highly effective. * Acting through Lord Cowley, Lord Malmesbury arranged with Count Walewski a form of reply to the despatch which would adequately meet the demands of the English people, and yet give the French Government an opportunity of honourably repudiating any intention of wounding British susceptibilities. On hearing of this, Persigny, who had pledged himself to restore Palmerston to power by forcing the Tory Government to pass the Conspiracy Bill in a week, resigned. To his surprise and disgust his resignation was accepted, and Marshal Pélissier, Duke of Malakoff, was sent to England in his place. This was another triumph for the Tory Ministry, because Palmerston had reckoned on Walewski appointing Moustier, French Ambassador at Berlin, to the Court of St. James's when Persigny resigned, and as Moustier was, like Walewski, virtually a Russian agent, fresh troubles would soon have been manufactured for Lord Malmesbury. Napoleon III., however, insisted on sending a personal representative, who from his Crimean services would not be unacceptable to the Queen and the English people. He, therefore, selected Pélissier, † who, though ignorant of diplomacy, was not likely to fall into Persigny's indiscretions, and whose appointment was received by the Queen as a token of renewed goodwill on the part of France. This attempt of Palmerston's to drive

* See The Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., pp. 101, 106, 151, and 152, for evidence bearing on this grave charge against Palmerston and Persigny.

† The Peelite leaders sneered at the appointment. Mr. Greville calls Pélissier "a military ruffian, as ignorant of diplomacy as of astronomy."—Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 181. The Palmerstonians objected to him because his ignorance of diplomacy rendered it difficult for them to intrigue with him for the purpose of embarrassing the Government of their own country.

a Ministry from office by getting a Foreign Government to menace it with hostility,* having ended in ignominious defeat, he and his party soon showed how bitterly they resented the failure of their conspiracy with the French Emperor and his Ambassador against English liberty. When Mr. Disraeli announced the settlement of the quarrel with France in the House of Commons, on the 13th of March, the Opposition received it sullenly, and immediately raised a bitter attack on Lord Malmesbury for not procuring the release of the English engineers who were imprisoned in the *Cagliari*.† Their arrest was illegal, and Lord Malmesbury, as soon as he obtained the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, not only procured their release, but liberal compensation for the annoyance to which they had been put.

Where the Government broke down was in attempting to deal with the future administration of India; and it is a fact that had they but listened to the Queen's advice, who strongly opposed their policy, they would have avoided a defeat which served to convince the people that the evil reputation of the Derby-Disraeli group for legislative incapacity was only too well founded. The Tories had opposed Palmerston's India Bill, transferring the government of India to the Crown, so they were forced to bring in one of their own. Palmerston's Indian Council consisted of nominated officials of high rank and ripe experience. The Tory Bill, which was devised by Lord Ellenborough, introduced into the Council a fantastic elective element. Four out of the Council of eighteen were to be chosen by holders of Indian Stock, and by Indian military and civil servants of ten years' standing, and five were to be elected by the commercial constituencies of London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and Belfast. The Queen warned the Cabinet that these provisions were fatal to their Bill. The selection of the constituencies was arbitrary, and other cities would in time agitate for representation on the Council. The turmoil of democratic elections was not likely to influence for good Imperial policy in a country about which the electors could at best know little. But the Cabinet held that the electoral clauses would secure the Radical support necessary to carry the Bill, and the Queen, reluctant to bring about another Ministerial crisis, left the matter in the hands of her Ministers. But when Mr. Disraeli, on the 26th of March, introduced the Bill, to his surprise, the Radicals

* A few days after the formation of the Derby-Disraeli Ministry, De Persigny told Clarendon that the Tory Government "had prepared for themselves an *héritage de rupture* by the concurrence of their Party in the vote that had driven Lord Palmerston from power."—Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXIV. "The first time I met him (Persigny) at the Foreign Office," writes Lord Malmesbury, "he literally raved, laying his hand on the hilt of his sword (he was in Court dress), and shouting '*C'est la guerre! c'est la guerre!*' during which scene I sat perfectly silent and unmoved, till he was blown, which is the best way of meeting such explosions from foreigners."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 106.

† The *Cagliari* was a Sardinian ship fitted out to carry a revolutionary expedition to [illegible] Calabria. She was seized by the Neapolitan Government, and her two English engineers, Messrs. Watt and Park, were imprisoned.

[objected] as strongly as the Queen to the electoral clauses. Mr. Roebuck [complained] that they gave a sham colour of democracy to what was really a [despotic] Government. Mr. Bright said they "savoured of what was generally [called] claptrap." Anxious, however, to keep the Tories in power, lest Lord Palmerston and his followers might return to office, the Radicals refused to embarrass Mr. Disraeli* on this point, and urged the Government to reconsider it during the Easter recess. Most assiduously did Lady Palmerston endeavour to induce Lord John Russell to coalesce with Lord Palmerston during the recess for the purpose of defeating the Ministry on the India Bill; but her intrigues were in vain. On the contrary, Lord John determined to bring in a series of Resolutions on which the Ministry might base a Bill, and when Parliament re-assembled on the 12th of April he confidentially communicated them through Mr. Edward Horsman to Mr. Disraeli, who had himself resolved to adopt the same course. Mr. Disraeli was only too willing to be thus extricated from a difficulty by one of the leaders of the Opposition. But the House of Commons considered that as the India Bill was now removed from the arena of party strife, it would be wisest to let the Government prepare the Resolutions. This was done, and the debate on them began on the 30th of April, and went on favourably.

The Budget, though it showed a deficit of £4,000,000, which was met by a tax on bankers' cheques, and by equalising the Irish spirit duty, gave the Ministry no trouble. The acquittal of Dr. Bernard in April, who had been arrested by Lord Palmerston's Government on a charge of conspiring with Orsini to murder the French Emperor, embarrassed Lord Malmesbury, for the jury who tried Bernard refused to convict in the teeth of clear evidence of guilt. But Napoleon III., recognising that the action of the jury was simply the "retort courteous" to Walewski's maladroit demand that an English Government should alter English laws at the bidding of a foreign autocrat, wisely ignored the incident, and accepted Pélissier's view of it, which was that "one must be callous to this sort of thing, and let the water run under the bridge."† Then the tide of Ministerial success suddenly turned, and the Cabinet was nearly wrecked by the indiscretion of its most brilliant but erratic member, Lord Ellenborough, who had succeeded Mr. Vernon Smith at the Indian Board of Control.

In 1857 Lord Canning had incurred the odium of panic-stricken Englishmen at Calcutta, because in his repressive measures he mingled justice with severity. In June, 1857, when he gagged the Native press, he gagged the English press as well. In August, when disarming Calcutta, he compelled

* Mr. Greville hints that the Radicals were subsequently angry at Lord John Russell for helping Mr. Disraeli out of his difficulty with the India Bill. On this point he seems to have been misinformed. See Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

† The phrase was one used by Pélissier to the Prince Consort. See Martin's Life of the Prince Consort.

Europeans, as well as Natives, to take out licences to carry arms, and in July he issued orders to stop the indiscriminate slaughter of mutineers, distinguishing between the cases of those whose guilt was of varying degrees of intensity. A storm of abuse accordingly broke over his head, and the English in Calcutta petitioned for the recall of "Clemency Canning." The British army in India, with its reinforcements, was but a handful of men among millions. Indiscriminate proscription of the Natives, such as was clamoured for, would

THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO BIRMINGHAM: THE PROCESSION PASSING ALONG NEW STREET. (See p. 20.)

have driven the whole of India into mutiny; in other words, it would have cost England her Indian Empire. The Queen and the Cabinet, however, supported Canning, and matters went well with him for a time. But in the spring of 1858, when Lucknow fell, another attack was made on him from a different point of view. He had drawn up a proclamation confiscating the lands of all landowners in Oudh save those who had been loyal to England, and those who would immediately return to their allegiance and help to put down the rebellion. Lord Ellenborough, ignoring the saving clauses in the proclamation, sent Canning a "Secret Despatch," bitterly condemning the apostle of "clemency" as a heartless tyrant, and even casting doubts upon the title by which Oudh was held by England. He permitted the Secret Despatch to

be made public; and, what was still worse, Mr. Disraeli, with singular lack of patriotism, proclaimed in the House of Commons that the Government disapproved of Canning's policy. Such a declaration, made at such a moment, was almost as mischievous as if the Government had telegraphed out to India, that they desired the Natives to organise another revolt.

The Queen's indignation at the conduct of both Ministers was not diminished by the fact that neither of them had waited to receive Canning's despatch, explaining at length the reasons for his policy. Notices of resolution, censuring the Ministry, were given in both Houses, and one member of the Cabinet (Lord Malmesbury) wrote personally to Lord Canning, begging him, on behalf of his colleagues, not to quit his post. The defeat of the Government, in fact, was only averted by the sacrifice of Ellenborough, who, to "save his colleagues, volunteered to play the part of Jonah." * Mr. Gladstone was offered his place by Lord Derby, but on his refusing to join the Government, Lord Stanley became Ellenborough's successor, Sir E. B. Lytton going to the Colonial Office. Yet in view of Mr. Disraeli's denunciation of Canning's policy, even Ellenborough's resignation would not have saved the Ministry, had it not been that the Radicals and Peelites, along with Lord John Russell, refused to carry the matter farther, because, as they frankly said, they did not desire to let Palmerston and his faction return to power.†

On the 17th of June the India Bill, based on the resolutions of the Government, and vesting the sole dominion of India in the Crown, was introduced by Lord Stanley, and it passed into law on the 2nd of August.

Another measure was passed in July, though opposed rather venomously by the Tories in the House of Lords—namely, the Bill providing that either House might resolve that henceforth Jewish members of Parliament might omit from the Parliamentary Oath the words, "and I make this declaration on the true faith of a Christian." This ended a long and bitter controversy. On the 26th of July Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild came to the table of the House of Commons, and was sworn on the Old Testament, the House having agreed to resolutions in terms of the new Act. ‡

* Walpole's History of England, Vol. V., p. 128; Holmes' History of the Indian Mutiny, p. 454; Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 118.

† The Talookdars of Oudh were not freeholders, but Crown vassals—in some cases hereditary—who really farmed the Crown rents as middlemen between the cultivators and the State. As a matter of abstract right, Canning's proclamation, declaring the soil of Oudh to be the sole property of the British Government, could not be impugned. Nor could its policy as regards rebel Talookdars be disputed. Still, it is but fair to say that Outram thought the original draft too sweeping, and that it might prejudice many claims which it would be prudent to recognise. Canning allowed Outram to soften the Proclamation, and it was so discreetly acted on by Outram and his successor, Mr. Robert Montgomery, that the powerful local aristocracy of Oudh were speedily pacified. There was, therefore, just a grain of truth in Ellenborough's objections to the original draft.

‡ A Resolution of this sort, however, was valid only for the current Session. Hence it had to be renewed every Session a Jew came to be sworn. In 1860 a new Act substituted a standing order for a Resolution, so that Jews could be sworn without any preliminary proceedings. Even this last relic of

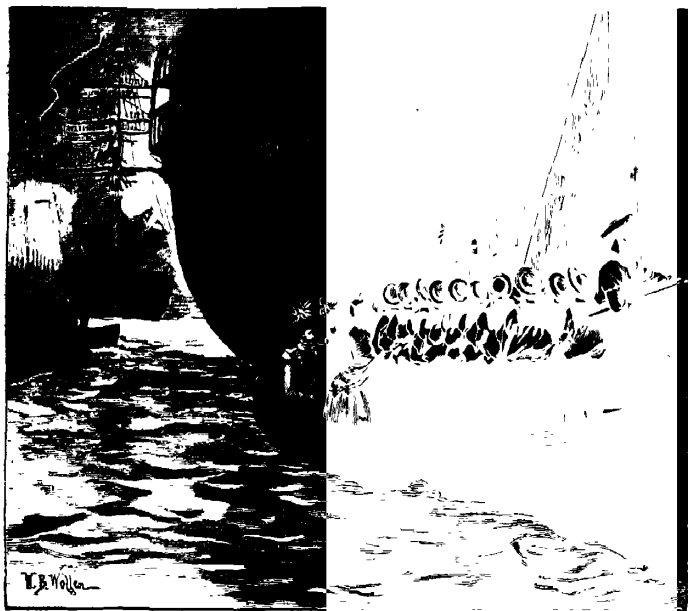
The exceptional heat of the summer soon exhausted the energies of legislators. Mephitic odours from the Thames even caused some to demand that the Houses of Parliament should be shifted to another site. "We have," writes Lord Malmesbury, on the 27th of June, "ordered large quantities of lime to be thrown into the Thames; for no works can be begun till the hot weather is over. The stench is perfectly intolerable, although Madame Ristori, coming back one night from a dinner at Greenwich, given by Lord Hardwicke, sniffed the air with delight, saying it reminded her of her 'dear Venice.'" Perhaps this nuisance induced the House of Commons to pass with unlooked for rapidity a Main Drainage Bill, which was to prevent sewage from being turned into the Thames as it passed through London. All intrigues set on foot to reconcile Lord Palmerston to Lord John Russell,* and the Radicals to both, failed, so the Tory Ministry successfully weathered the storms of faction, and closed the Session, on the whole, with credit, on the 30th of July.

The family life of the Court had been brightened early in the year by the cordial welcome which the Queen's eldest daughter had received in her new home in Prussia. Projects for a visit to her and her husband were formed by the Queen and the Prince Consort, which public duty compelled them to abandon month after month. On Maundy Thursday the Prince of Wales was confirmed at Windsor, having acquitted himself well during his examination by the Archbishop. After a fortnight's tour in Ireland, it was arranged that he should live in the White Lodge, Richmond Park, and prepare for his military examination, his companions being Lord Valletort, eldest son of Lord Mount-Edgecumbe, Major Teesdale, R.E., one of the heroes of Kars, Major R. Loyd-Lindsay (afterwards Lord Wantage), V.C., and Mr. Gibbs, the Prince's tutor. In May a visit from the beautiful Queen of Portugal charmed all hearts, and during the Whitsuntide holiday, when the Prince Consort went to pay a flying visit to Coburg, the Queen solaced her loneliness by visiting Prince Alfred at Alverbank, a cottage opposite the Isle of Wight, where he was pursuing his naval studies. Delightful letters came to the Queen from Babelsberg, describing the married happiness of her daughter, who received the Prince Consort there, and from whence he returned to London on the 8th of June.

On the 14th, her Majesty paid her promised visit to Birmingham, and to Lord Leigh at Stoneleigh Abbey. It was smiling summer weather when she drove from Coventry through Shakespeare's country to her host's house, where

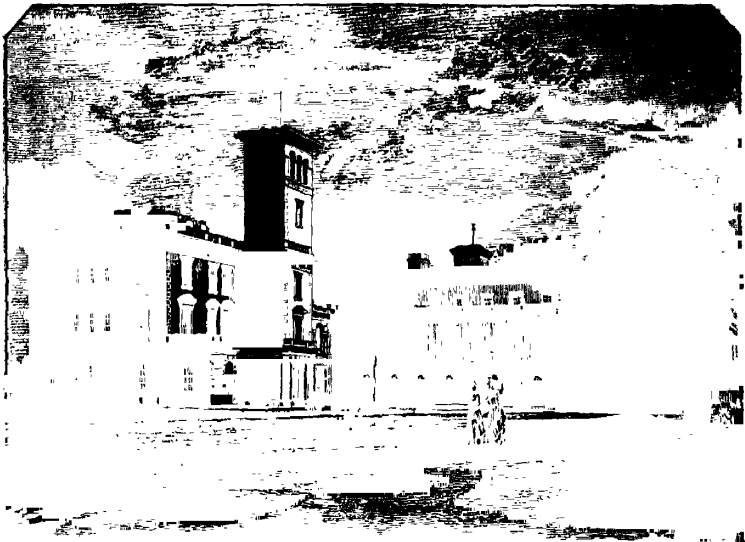
bigotry was swept away by the Act 29 & 30 Vict., c. 19, which deleted the words "on the true faith of a Christian" from the Parliamentary Oath. See Sir Erskine May's (Lord Farnborough's) Parliamentary Practice, Sixth Edition, pp. 189—192.

* In May they were induced to shake hands at Mr. Ellice's ("Bear" Ellice) house. But Lord Malmesbury says that when the incident was discussed at Lady Palmerston's, Lady William Russell observed, "They have shaken hands, and embraced, and hate each other more than ever."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 120.

She was delighted with her reception. Next day she went by train to Birmingham, when, wonderful to relate, the sun shone through a smokeless though sultry atmosphere. As for the arrangements for her reception, she writes, "all was admirably done—handsomer even than Manchester. The cheering was tremendous." Loyal addresses were presented at the Town Hall, where, seated on an extemporised throne, her Majesty knighted the Mayor.

VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH AT CHERBOURG (See p. 22.)

The Royal Party next proceeded to Aston Hall and Park, "now to be converted," writes the Queen, "into a People's Museum and Park, and to obtain which the working people had worked very hard, and subscribed very largely." Here six of the working men associated with the managers of the proceedings were presented to the Queen, who conversed with them affably, and then proclaimed the Park open. "Quite a pattern lady!" "What a darling!"—such were among the exclamations, writes the Queen, with which she was greeted by the crowd. After visiting many places of interest in the district, the Queen returned to Buckingham Palace on the 16th, greatly impressed with the welcome she had received from the most democratic and republican community in England. This visit had a marked political influence. It gave a great though unseen impetus to the movement for Reform, and many thoughtful

Conservatives now began to suspect that there was less danger in giving votes to the loyal artizans of Birmingham, than to the lower middle class whom the Whigs desired to enfranchise.

In May the Emperor of the French had sent the Queen an invitation to come and inspect the fortifications at Cherbourg. At this time the friction between France and England had been somewhat increased by a divergence of view between the two countries as to the settlement of the Danubian Princi-

OSBORNE HOUSE.

(*From a Photograph by J. Valentine and Sons, Dundee.*)

palities. England, by opposing their union, had irritated France. France, by refusing to admit that the engagements entered into by Napoleon III. at Osborne in 1857 bound her to support the English view, had annoyed England.* It was, however, thought that the Queen's personal popularity in France, and her influence with the Emperor, might bring about friendlier relations between the Governments, and the Ministry pressed her to accept the Imperial invitation. Writing on the 5th of August, the day after the Queen's arrival at Cherbourg, Lord Malmesbury, who was one of her party, says, "It blew hard in the night, but subsided towards morning. The Queen not ill. The approach to Cherbourg

* After much diplomatic squabbling, a Conference settled the point on the 10th of August, by establishing the same institutions in both Principalities, both with separate Ministries and Parliaments. The first thing the Provinces did was to vote their own union under Prince Couza—a mortification for England, against the probable occurrence of which her careless diplomatists had not stipulated.

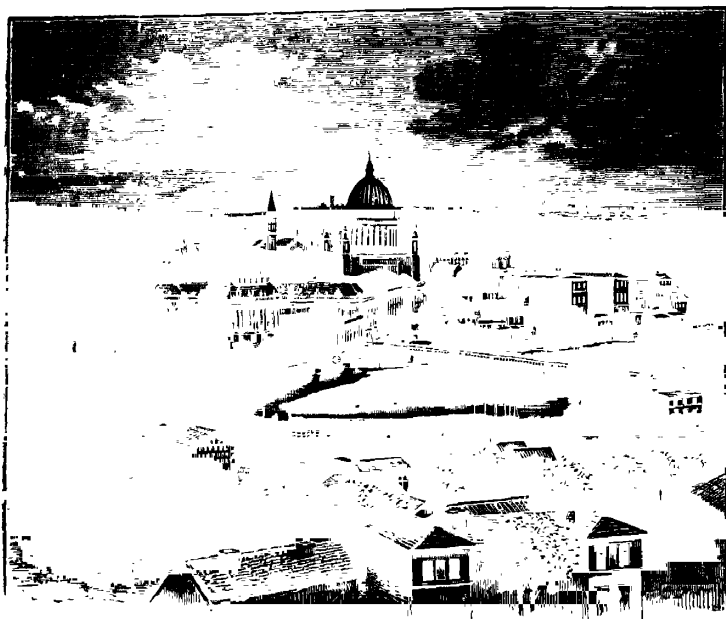
very fine. Arrived there at 7 p.m. At 8 the Emperor and Empress came on board the Royal yacht without any suite. Nobody was admitted. Marshal Pélissier, who went in without any invitation, was immediately turned out by the Emperor." What passed at this interview, however, was an embarrassing inquiry about the feeling against France in England. "We smiled," writes the Queen of herself and her husband, "and said the feeling was much better, but that this very place caused alarm, and that those unhappy addresses of the Colonels had done incalculable mischief." The grand effect of the saluting cannon seems to have impressed the Queen, and, says Lord Malmesbury, "when the Emperor left the Queen's yacht, the electric light was thrown on the Emperor's barge, following it the whole way into the harbour; the light shining only on the barge, whilst all around remained in darkness." The Emperor, adds Lord Malmesbury, "was very friendly in his manner; but both he and the Empress could not digest some of the articles in the *Times* which had been offensive, especially against her, and I tried to make them understand what freedom the Press had in England, and how independent it was of all private and most public men." As for the Queen, she says in her Diary that, after this grave visit she "went below," and "read and nearly finished that most interesting book 'Jane Eyre.'" On the morrow thunderous salutes smote her ears as she was dressing, and when she went on deck the harbour was literally swarming with craft brave with gala array. "Next morning," writes Lord Malmesbury of this day's proceedings, "the Queen, Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, Sir John Pakington, and myself breakfasted at the Préfecture. After which the Royal Personages drove over the town. . . . . Returned to the Royal yacht, and accompanied the Queen to dinner on board the *Bretagne*. Among the officers at dinner was General Macmahon." Here the Queen was rendered very nervous because Prince Albert had to make a complimentary speech in reply to the toast of her health, for at that moment every eye in Europe was on Cherbourg, and every ear straining for echoes of Royal and Imperial conversations on which might hang the dread issues of war. "I shook so," writes the Queen, "that I could not drink my cup of coffee."* All went off well, however, and the kindliest words on both sides were spoken. The display of 25,000 francs' worth of fireworks ended a brilliant but fatiguing day. August 6th was devoted to leave-taking, amidst a complimentary cannonade, and the Queen got home in time to greet

* Her Majesty was not the only one of the guests who had been shaken "An absurd occurrence," writes Lord Malmesbury, "took place when Sir John Pakington, as First Lord of the Admiralty, landed Lord Hardwicke and Admiral Dundas in his barge As he steered her, he kept time with the men as he would if he had been rowing on the Thames, bending his body backwards and forwards, and as he approached the pier, not having given the order 'Way enough,' the boat with her whole force struck the mole, and the two admirals and the whole crew fell sprawling on their backs. The rage of the two former, after recovering themselves, was vented with uncontrolled expressions on the unfortunate First Lord, amidst the laughter of the spectators, who were standing on the pier."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*. Vol II., pp. 129, 130.

Prince Alfred on his birthday at Osborne. "The evening," she writes, "was very warm and calm. Dear Affie was on the pier, and we found all the other children, including Baby (Princess Beatrice), standing at the door." A visit of inspection to Prince Alfred's birthday presents, a little birthday fête and dance on the terrace, adds the Queen, formed "a delightful finale to our expedition."* But the visit was a mistake, though, as the Ministry insisted on it, the blame was theirs alone. It produced an abundant crop of alarms and attacks in the press on the menacing preparations for war which had been seen at Cherbourg. It caused the Queen to have a controversy with Lord Derby, who would pay no heed to her appeal to provide a counterpoise to the threatening stronghold which she had inspected.

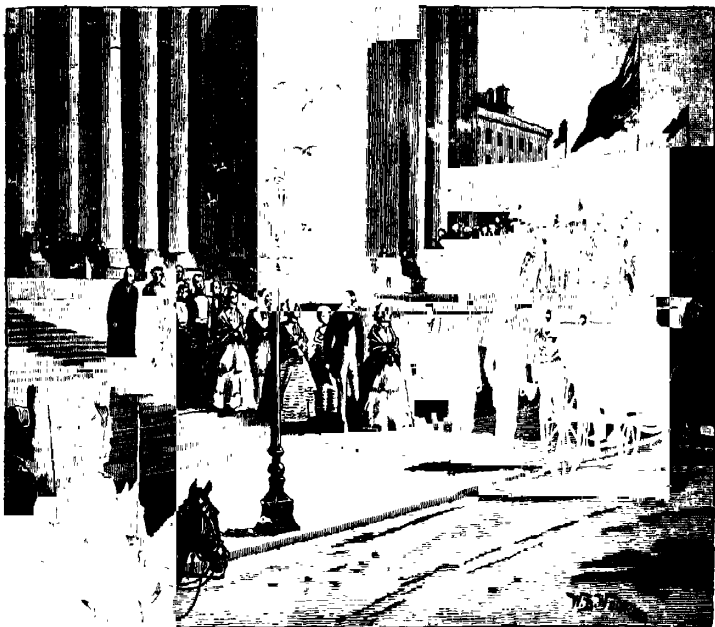
A visit—long promised and long looked for—to the Prince and Princess Frederick William of Prussia followed. Her Majesty's suite arrived at Potsdam on the 11th of August, and on the same evening the Queen and Prince Albert arrived at Babelsberg, where they were received with a warmth of welcome by their Prussian relatives that made the Queen, as she herself says, feel as if she were at home. The meeting between her and her daughter brought a moment of supreme delight to both. Each day spent in the happy circle of the Prince and Princess of Prussia seems to have knit the heart of the Queen closer to the family of which her eldest daughter was so obviously a cherished member. Every day some fresh mark of attention was paid to the Queen and her husband by their hosts, who seemed to exhaust their ingenuity in devising expedients for making her visit pleasant to her. Though this visit was purely a private one, the people gave her as cordial a reception as the Court, until at last her Majesty began to feel sad at the approaching termination of such a charming holiday. But on the 28th of August the last day came, and, writes the Prince Consort, "the parting was very painful." The Queen and the Princess Royal wept in each other's arms, though her Majesty says, with a pathetic reference to the conflicting duties of sovereignty and womanhood, "all would be comparatively easy were it not for the one thought that I cannot be with her at that very critical moment when every mother goes to her child." † Dover was reached on the 31st, from whence the Queen went on to Portsmouth, and thence to Osborne, where they found Prince Alfred, who had passed his examination—especially the mathematical part of it—with great distinction, eager to tell them he had been appointed to the *Euryalus*. He was waiting for his mother, writes the Queen, "in his middie's jacket, cap, and dirk, half-blushing, and looking very happy. He is a little pulled down from these three days' hard examination, which only terminated to-day. . . . We felt very proud, for it is a particularly hard examination." ‡

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXVII.
† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXVIII.
‡ Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXXXVIII.

Only one anxiety had intruded itself during the Prussian tour—the issue of the Queen's Proclamation to the Indian people on assuming the government of India. She objected strongly to the draft of it which was submitted to her, and begged Lord Derby to write one out for her in "his own excellent language," keeping in view "that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which

POTSDAM

her future reign is to redeem." Such a Proclamation should, says her Majesty, emphasise the ideas of generosity, benevolence, religious toleration, liberty, and equality before the law. What offended her deeply in the draft was a menace reminding the Indian people that she had "the power of undermining" native religions and customs. Her Majesty, writes Lord Malmesbury by her directions, "would prefer that the subject should be introduced by a declaration in the sense that the deep attachment which her Majesty feels to her own religion, and the comfort and happiness which she derives from its consolations, will preclude her from any attempt to interfere with native religions." The name of the official personage who drew up this blundering and exasperating Proclamation, which the Queen had the good

sense and good taste to cancel, need not be mentioned. It is but just to Lord Derby to say that when the Queen's objections were telegraphed to him he examined the document, and so completely agreed with her Majesty that he re-wrote the Proclamation in a manner that anticipated her detailed instructions. A few additions were made to it by the Queen, and when it was issued it was hailed with delight by the Natives as the Magna Charta of India.

On the 6th of September the Queen and Prince Albert proceeded to Leeds

THE QUEEN LEAVING THE TOWN HALL, LEEDS. (See p 2[illegible].)

to open the splendid Town Hall which the people of that borough had built, and where they were welcomed by the most picturesque Mayor in England, who in his robes and bearing, wrote the Queen, was "the personification of a Venetian Doge." Needless to say then that, after the Hall was opened, Mr. Mayor Fairbairn was knighted. The Royal Family next sped northwards to Balmoral, where Prince Albert brought down his first stag on the 14th, and where the whole household gazed nightly at Donati's comet, which blazed with peculiar brilliancy in the clear and "nimble air" of the Highlands. Among the superstitious mountaineers it was held to be a portent of war and pestilence. At Balmoral the Queen became involved in a discussion with her Ministers as to the future of the Indian Army. Who was to command it—

the Queen through the British Commander-in-Chief, or the Queen through the Secretary of State in Council, as successors to the old East India Company and Board of Control? Her Majesty stoutly contended that the union between the British and Indian Armies should be completed by their being placed under the same supreme authority—namely, the Commander-in-Chief in India. The Indian Council grasping at patronage, however, held that though the Commanders-in-Chief in the Presidencies should be subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief in India in respect of the Queen's troops under their order, over the Native troops in their presidencies their authority must be supreme. Lord Clyde took the Queen's view of the matter, and so did General Peel, War Secretary, and also the Prince Consort, and in 1860, when the controversy ended, it was her view that prevailed. Towards the end of the Balmoral holiday the Queen and her husband were greatly delighted to find that their much-loved friend, the Prince of Prussia, had finally been chosen Prince Regent in succession to his brother, the king, who had become too infirm in mind and body to hold the reins of Government. The Prince Regent (afterwards German Emperor) and Prince Albert were not only warm friends, but were in close confidential correspondence on public affairs, and the Queen and her husband alike looked to him as the only possible deliverer of Prussia from Absolutist Administrations dominated by Russian ascendency. Their counsels had a powerful influence on the Prussian Regent's policy at the outset of his career, when he dismissed the Manteuffel Ministry, and initiated an era of moderate constitutional progress in his country. Indirectly, they conferred a marked benefit on Great Britain at the same time. The foreign policy of Prussia, which had up till now seemed to be antipathetic to England, changed. Without abating any of their zeal for their respective interests, the Foreign Offices of the two countries found it much easier than it had been to work together in matters of general interest. This cordiality between the Courts of Berlin and St. James's was promoted by the kindness which the Prince Regent bestowed on the Prince of Wales when, in November, he proceeded to Berlin to visit his sister. He returned, not only bearing with him a confidential letter from the Prince Regent to his father, but with it the Order of the Black Eagle, which had been, greatly to his delight, bestowed upon him. He had just completed his eighteenth year, and had been promoted to a colonelcy in the army. Colonel Bruce was now his governor—his tutor, Mr. Gibbs, having retired. The Prince had, in fact, become emancipated from pupilage, and Mr. Greville referring to this event says in his "Memoirs," "I hear the Queen has written a letter to the Prince of Wales announcing to him his emancipation from parental authority and control, and that it is one of the most admirable letters ever penned. She tells him that he may have thought the rule they adopted for his education a severe one, but that his welfare was their only object; and well knowing to what seductions of flattery he would eventually be exposed, they wished to prepare and strengthen his mind

against them, that he was now to consider himself his own master, and that they should never intrude any advice upon him, although always ready to give it him whenever he thought fit to seek it. It was a very long letter all in that line, and it seems to have made a profound impression on the Prince, and to have touched his feelings to the quick. He brought it to Gerald Wellesley in floods of tears, and the effect it produced is a proof of the wisdom which dictated its composition." *

A fresh cause of disagreement had, however, now arisen with France. The seizure of a French slaver, called the *Charles-et-Georges*, by the Portuguese authorities at Mozambique, tempted the French Government to demand its surrender, and an indemnity whilst her status was *sub judice.* Coercion was threatened by the appearance of a French squadron in the Tagus, and an offer on the part of Portugal to submit to arbitration was refused. Englishmen in these circumstances gave vent to much indignation against a revival of the old brutal methods of Bonapartism in dealing with a small Power, and this indignation was shared by the Queen, though it was prudently veiled, her personal relations with the Portuguese Court being of an unusually cordial character. Lord Malmesbury was also well known not only to be a partisan of the French alliance, but a personal friend of the French Emperor. This led many to suspect that the British Government had played into the hands of France; and Lord Malmesbury's policy was, in truth, so spiritless in defence of Portugal, that the Portuguese, fearing to waste time in appealing for the good offices of England, yielded to the overbearing menaces of France. At the same time, it is quite clear, from a sentence in one of the Prince Consort's letters to Baron Stockmar, that the Court, on the whole, approved of the Foreign Secretary's policy, which, at all events, kept the country clear of war. The loyal reception of the Queen's Proclamation in India on the 17th of October, and the end of the rebellion in Oudh, gladdened the closing months of 1858. Over these, however, the first symptoms of the Prince Consort's failing health projected the slowly-advancing shadow, that was so soon to shroud the remainder of the Queen's career in widowed sorrow.

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II, p. 213.

CHAPTER II.

THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION.

Napoleon's New Year's Reception—The Secret *pacte de famille*—Victor Emmanuel and the *Grido di Dolore*—The Queen's Views on the Italian Movement—The Queen's Letter to Napoleon—Meeting of Parliament—Cavour Threatens Napoleon—Appeal of Prussia to the Queen for Advice—Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill—Lord John Russell's Amendment—Defeat of the Government—An Appeal to the Country—The Queen Criticises Austria's Blunders—War at Last—The General Election—Reconciliation of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell—Fall of the Derby-Disraeli Administration—The Palmerston-Russell Ministry—Austrian Defeats and French Victories—The Peace of Villafranca—Palmerston Duped—Illness of the Duchess of Kent—The Budget—The Queen and Palmerston—Triumph of the Queen's Policy—The Holiday at Balmoral—Dancing in the New Year.

Not easily will the world forget the New Year's Day of 1859. "I regret," said the French Emperor to Baron Hubner, the Austrian Ambassador, at the reception at the Tuileries, "that the relations between our two countries are not more satisfactory; but I beg you to assure the Emperor (of Austria) that they in no respect alter my feelings of friendship to himself." Taken in connection with the rumoured results of Continental intrigues, but one interpretation could be put on these words. The restlessness of France was to be appeased by a war for the deliverance of Italy from the Hapsburgs, and the bombs of Orsini had forced the Emperor to be faithful to his forgotten engagements to his old comrades among the Carbonari. The Emperor's own story was that he felt convinced there could be no peace in Europe unless the Territorial Settlement of 1815 was revised. He professed to have aimed at effecting that object by the regeneration of Poland. The Crimean War having, however, proved this scheme to be futile, his policy was thenceforth directed to the deliverance of Italy from Austrian servitude. In either case the waters of diplomacy would be troubled, and it would be easy to fish out of them something that might partially compensate France for what she lost in 1815. But the truth was that, at his secret interview with Count Cavour, at Plombières, in the autumn of 1858, the Emperor had entered into an engagement to defend Piedmont, if attacked by Austria, and to establish under the Sardinian Crown a Kingdom of Northern Italy, the price for this aid being the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. At this meeting the marriage of Prince Napoleon to the Princess Clothilde, daughter of the King of Italy, was discussed, but not definitely arranged. The announcement of the coming marriage was, however, made to the Queen by the French Emperor on the 31st of December, 1858. On the 23rd of January, 1859, the formal request for the Princess Clothilde's hand was made. On the 30th the wedding was celebrated, and on the 3rd of February the Prince and Princess Napoleon returned to Paris. On the evening before the marriage, Napoleon III. was said to have signed a *pacte de famille*,

promising aid offensive and defensive to Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel pledging himself to cede to France Savoy and Nice, in return for territorial acquisitions in Lombardy.* Thus the French Emperor was bound to Sardinia as with "hoops of steel," when the European crisis in 1859 became acute, and Lord Malmesbury imagined that he could compose it by diplomacy.

VICTOR EMMANUEL.

After the Imperial declarations to Baron Hubner, Victor Emmanuel, on the 10th of January, in his Address to his Parliament, had said, "While we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of suffering (*Grido di dolore*) which comes

* This important secret pact was not unknown to the British Government. It came into Mr. Kinglake's possession, and at Lord Palmerston's request he gave a copy of it privately to Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, who represented the Foreign Office in the House of Commons. The text was revealed by Lord Malmesbury. The Princess Clothilde made a grim joke upon her loveless and ill-fated marriage—"Quand on a vendu l'enfant, on peut bien vendre le berceau."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., pp. [illegible], 221, 223.

to us from so many parts of Italy." Austrian troops forthwith began to swarm into the passes of Tyrol, and to form on the line of the Ticino. Russia encouraged France to the utmost, and from conversations with Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon during their visit in autumn to Compiègne, the French Emperor felt convinced that the powerful party in England, led by Palmerston, would give him that moral support which the Queen and her Ministers denied him.* The Courts of St. James's and Berlin were cold friends to the cause of Italian freedom. To them any war which upset the Settlement of 1815 was like the letting out of waters. The victory of either party could bode no good for Prussia, under whose leadership the Queen was even then hopeful that Germany would yet form a united Empire. The triumph of the Hapsburgs would strengthen their position in Germany, and as Herr von Bismarck said, this must mean that "our Kings will again become Electors and vassals of Austria."† The victory of France, on the other hand, would tempt Napoleon III. to seize Belgium and the Rhine Provinces.

In Germany public opinion was, on the whole, pro-Austrian. In England, popular feeling, stimulated by the Liberal Party, was decidedly Anti-Austrian. The view of the Tory Ministry was that of Lord Malmesbury, who thought that it was as wicked to dispute the right of Austria to her Italian provinces, as to question that of England to Ireland. Frenchmen, again, were as little inclined to go to war for "an idea" in Lombardy as in the Crimea.

It would be tedious to follow the tangled skein of intrigue that finally ended in war. At the outset the advantage lay with Austria, because if she had struck quickly and sharply she might have crushed Sardinia, ere France could have come to her rescue. Protracted negotiation deprived Austria of this advantage, so Napoleon III. welcomed the proposal of England to find a diplomatic solution of the Italian Question—all the more readily that his failure to obtain pledges of absolute neutrality from England and Prussia, caused him to waver from his purpose. It was in the hope that he might be induced, when in this state of mind, to insert a pacific clause in his address to the Chambers, that the Queen, on the 4th of February, wrote to him suggesting this course,‡ in a letter thanking him for his congratulations on the birth of the Princess Royal's son. Napoleon's reply was friendly but evasive. He professed great friendship for England, and respect for treaties, but virtually reserved to himself the right to interpret them in his own interests. So matters stood at the beginning of the Session of 1859.

Parliament had been called together on the 5th of February. Ministers were undoubtedly discredited by a popular suspicion that they were using the influence of England to buttress up Austrian tyranny in Italy. The impartial

* The intrigue between Lord Palmerston and Napoleon III. at Compiègne, in November, gave great and justifiable offence to the Tory Ministry, and was regarded with disapproval by the country.

† Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 236.

‡ Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XC.

impotence of Lord Malmesbury's policy, as subsequently revealed in his despatches, however, showed that these suspicions were unfounded. The question of Reform had been stirred during the autumnal recess by Mr. Bright. But his violent attacks on the propertied classes had roused the fiercest antagonism, and probably did more to retard than advance the cause he had at heart. Yet the Government could not afford to dispense with the support of the Party of Parliamentary Reform, and so Mr. Disraeli's determination to deal with the question was intimated in the Queen's Speech. Lord Granville, Lord Palmerston, and Lord John Russell, though speaking less hopefully than Mr. Disraeli of the efforts of the Government to preserve peace, alike deprecated a war for the expulsion of Austria from North Italy, where her position was secured to her by the Treaty of 1815. But they argued that she had no right to go beyond that Treaty, and that the presence of Austrian and French armies in Central Italy, on which they imposed a government that was hateful to the people, was most dangerous to the peace of the world. The Emperor's speech to the French Chambers, as the Prince Consort said, was "meant to look peaceful"—but that was all. "Not a word," wrote Lord Malmesbury "is said about Treaties, but a good deal about the interests and honour of France." * Indeed, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour fancied they detected in it signs of wavering. The former threatened to abdicate, and the latter to resign, after disclosing to the world the secret compact of Plombières and the *pacte de famille*, signed on the eve of the Princess Clothilde's marriage. This threat, together with Cavour's Mephistophelean allusions to the vengeance of the Carbonari, invariably brought the Emperor back to his original resolve, and defeated the efforts of British diplomacy to avert war. Meanwhile, the Prince Regent William had been pressed by the French Emperor to hold aloof from Austria. Rival parties in Prussia were trying to drag him in contrary directions, and at last he appealed confidentially to his friends, the Queen and the Prince Consort, for advice, saying, "I anxiously await your answer, for it will be decisive for us." † It is important to study this correspondence, because at the time the Queen and Prince Consort were denounced in many quarters, where French influence was at work, for intriguing through the Courts of Berlin and Brussels to get up a great German League against the liberties of Italy. England, replied the Prince Consort, would not now go with France, no matter how far Austria put herself in the wrong. Prussia would be well advised, thought the Prince, to take the same line. In the meantime, let German public opinion, of which Napoleon stood much in awe, on the question, be elicited by encouraging the freest discussion in Germany, and when the crisis came, let that opinion guide Prussia. Prussia and the German States, the Prince Consort thought, should adopt an attitude of armed neutrality—ready to strike a blow for the protection of the Rhine provinces before a victorious France could quite clear her hands of

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 155.

† See Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XC.

defeated Austria. Prussia and Germany, argues the Prince in another letter, owe no duty to Austria in respect of Italy. But Austria owes them a duty as a German State bound to assist in the defence of Germany from French aggression. Ere Prussia sided with Austria, an Austrian army must be ready to advance on the Rhine, and Germany must be permitted to exercise a distinct influence on Austrian policy in Italy. The Prince Regent of Prussia treated the Prince Consort's views as "decisive," and, as will be subsequently seen, by acting on them he not only increased the influence of Prussia in Germany, but virtually brought the war between France and Austria to a sudden close. In the meantime, Parliament, with great generosity and patriotic spirit, refused to embarrass Ministers by debating the Italian Question, and at the request of the French Emperor, Lord Cowley was sent to Vienna to mediate between France and Austria.

On the 28th of February Mr. Disraeli expounded his Reform Bill, the adoption of which compelled Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley to retire from the Cabinet. The great blunder of the Whig Reform Bill of 1832 was that it excluded the working classes—without whose support the Bill could never have been forced on the Crown—from political power. The object of a practical Reform Bill was therefore simple. It was to lower the franchise, so as to give votes to the working classes, and then readjust the distribution of power in the constituencies in terms of this reduced franchise. Mr. Disraeli, however, produced a fantastic scheme, in which every concession given with the right hand was taken back with the left. The county franchise was reduced to £10, but then as a set-off the freeholders in towns were no longer to vote for the counties. The franchise in towns was not reduced, but a series of what Mr. Bright called "fancy franchises" was created, with a view to render the representation of "interests" predominant.* Certain constituencies were to have additional members, and some small boroughs with two members were to lose one. Nobody was satisfied with the measure, so Lord John Russell on the 10th of March gave notice that he would move an amendment to the motion for the Second Reading, condemning the disturbance of the freehold franchise, and demanding a greater extension of the suffrage than Mr. Disraeli contemplated. All sections of the Opposition were able to vote for the resolution. Lord John Russell, who imagined he enjoyed a monopoly of the question of Reform, and that nobody should deal with it but himself, wanted to carry the Resolution and reject the Bill. Lord Palmerston was willing to vote for the Resolution and go on with the Bill. "I do not," he said, "want them [the Ministry] to resign. I say to them, as I think Voltaire said of a Minister who had incurred his displeasure, 'I won't punish him; I won't send him to prison; I condemn him to keep his place.'" Mr. Gladstone refused

* Votes were given to persons who had £10 a year in Bank Stock or the Funds or a deposit of £60 in a Savings Bank, or a pension from the State of £20 a year, and to University graduates, members of the learned professions, and certain schoolmasters.

to support the Resolution, because he said he wanted the question of Reform settled, and it would be quite possible to re-model the Bill in Committee, and Mr. Roebuck took the same view. Mr. Bright, however, thinking that any settlement arrived at in 1859 would be too favourable to the territorial interest, supported the Resolution in order to quash the Bill. Sir James Graham, who

THE GUARD-ROOM, ST JAMES'S PALACE (*From a Photograph by H. N. King*)

had drafted the Resolution, made by far the most statesmanlike speech in the debate. He argued that it was of no use to lower the borough franchise unless it were reduced so that no further reduction could be demanded, and suggested that the municipal rating franchise would be the best to adopt. On the 1st of April the Government by this coalition of factions was defeated by a vote of 330 to 291, and, undeterred by Lord Palmerston's threat to stop supplies, Mr. Disraeli on the 4th of the month intimated that the Ministry would appeal to the country.

Partisans of the Government had attempted to make capital out of the disturbed state of the Continent, and had spoken as if it were wicked to oppose a bad Reform Bill at a time when Lord Malmesbury was mediating between armed nations. As a matter of fact, Lord Malmesbury was only permitted to amuse himself with futile mediation, which was to be protracted till France was ready to attack Austria, and Austria was lured into an attack on Piedmont, that would give France an excuse for fulfilling the secret compact with Cavour at Plombières. When Lord Cowley returned from Vienna he brought the assent of Austria (1), to withdraw her troops from the Roman States; (2), to support a reforming policy in Italy; and (3), to promise not to assail Sardinia. His mission would have been successful had not Napoleon in the meantime manufactured failure for it. He gave a hint to Russia which caused her to propose a Congress for the settlement of all questions at issue between France and Austria, and Lord Cowley's plans were put out of the field. A Congress, by protracting negotiations, exposed Austria to the exhausting drain of her armaments, whilst France was perfecting her arrangements for falling upon her. Time, too, might bring about a change of Ministry in England, where the substitution of a warm ally like Lord Palmerston for a Tory Cabinet whose sympathies were, if anything, in favour of Austria, would be an advantage to France.

It was in these circumstances that the Queen reluctantly consented to a dissolution, when Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby convinced her that they could not, after Lord Palmerston's insolent speech, honourably go on with their Reform Bill. In fact, they pointed out that, even if they resigned, the Whigs would have to dissolve Parliament themselves in a few months to carry, against the opposition of the House of Lords, their own alternative measure of Reform, to which they were pledged. "The Congress truly does not dance," observes the Prince Consort, in one of his shrewd letters to Stockmar. The fact is, that whenever Cavour heard of it, he warned the Emperor that if he played false, he (Cavour) would return to Turin, place his resignation in Victor Emmanuel's hands, proceed to the United States, and not only charge the Emperor with luring the Sardinian Government into a ruinous warlike policy by promises of assistance, but that he would publish documentary proofs of his charges to the whole world. As Prince Albert said, Napoleon had "sold himself to the devil," and "Cavour can do with his honour what he pleases."* Hence, France would no longer support a proposal that Sardinia should disarm, and when Austria proposed simultaneous disarmament all round, the Emperor's reply was, that the forces of France were not yet on a war footing. At last, Napoleon assented to this project, on condition that Sardinia and the other Italian States were heard in the Congress, which left the issue in the hands

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XCII.

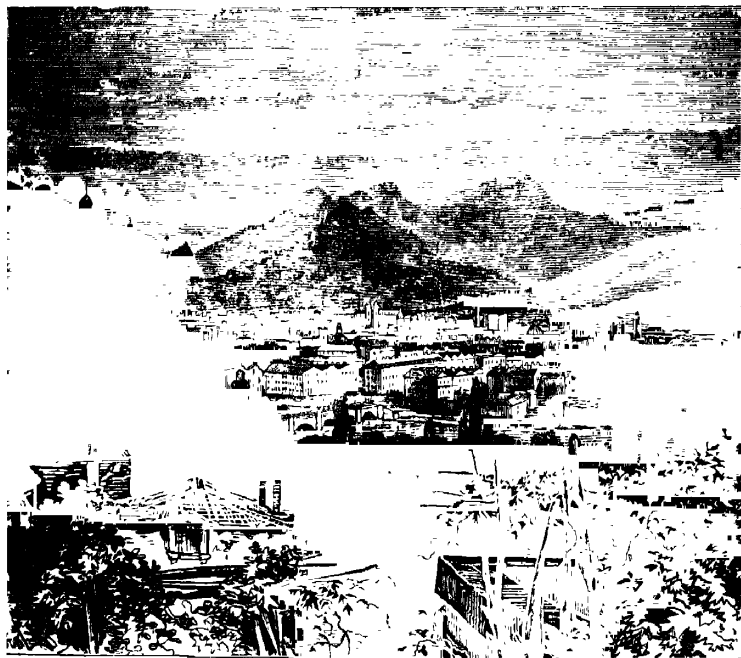
of Austria. The tension of the situation was now extreme, and telegrams came pouring in every hour to the Queen, whose nerves were sorely strained by the excitement of the crisis. Just before the dissolution, explanations of a somewhat unsatisfactory nature were given in both Houses of Parliament on the 18th of April, and next day (the 19th), Austria took the fatal and aggressive step which, as the Queen predicted, would turn public opinion against her. Instead of accepting the Congress, as France and Sardinia had accepted it, she called on Sardinia to disarm within three days, otherwise an Austrian army would march on Turin. Had Austria attacked at once she might have crushed her enemy before France could come to her aid. She hesitated and was lost. The effect of Count Buol's ultimatum on England was electric. The Ministry, despite its pro-Austrian sympathies, hastened to protest against the invasion of Sardinia, and the Queen, in a letter to King Leopold, reflected the opinion of the people, when she said "though it was originally the wicked folly of Russia and France that brought about this fearful crisis, it is the madness and blindness of Austria that has brought on the war now." * But this "madness and blindness" would not have deterred Austria from allowing the small Italian States to have a consultative representation at the Congress, had she been sure that a friendly Ministry would be in power in England. She, however, was afraid to weaken her position on the eve of Lord Palmerston's possible return to office.† On the 29th Austrian troops crossed the Ticino. "All Italy is up," writes Lord Malmesbury in his Diary: a feeble effort on his part to patch up negotiations for a Congress was rejected by France, though accepted by Austria, and the game of war began in earnest. In England, Ministers were blamed for having encouraged by their sympathy the obstinacy of Austria, which led her to break the peace. As a matter of fact, Lord Malmesbury's efforts had been directed to pacify the combatants, to localise the war, and to prevent the German States, whose people were clamouring to be led to the conquest of Alsace, from joining in the fray.‡

The General Election resulted in a gain of twenty-nine seats to the Tory Party, but this still left them in a minority whenever all sections of the Opposition chose to combine against them. The Liberal Party, tired of dissension, put pressure upon the two leaders by whose long rivalry it had been

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XCIII.

† Lord Palmerston's organs in the Press were, during this controversy, virtually official organs of the French Emperor, and were embarrassing ministers with factious opposition. Lord Malmesbury, writing in his Diary on the 21st of February, observes, "Lady Tankerville says that Lady Palmerston told her that the attack upon the Foreign Policy of our Government, for which her husband had given notice to-morrow, was made in compliance with the Emperor's wish!"—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 158.

‡ Lord Malmesbury warned Prussia that England could not approve of her going to war with France, and would give her no assistance in protecting the German coast against an attack by a French or a Franco-Russian fleet.—See Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, pp. 204, 205.

...ed, for the purpose of reconciling them, and accordingly Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell—after being urged by his brother, the Duke of Bedford—agreed that either would serve under the other. At a meeting in Willis's Rooms, on the 5th of June, the union of all sections of the Party was consummated, and an Amendment to the Address, declaring their want of confidence in the Ministry, was drafted and agreed to. Parliament met on the 6th of June. Next night Lord Hartington in the House of Commons moved

TURIN.

this Amendment, which, after a debate lasting over three nights, was carried on the 10th of June by a majority of thirteen in a house of 643. The Government resigned, and the Queen, who was not particularly anxious to entrust either Lord John Russell or Lord Palmerston with the Premiership, invited Lord Granville to form a Ministry. Lord Palmerston very generously consented to serve under Lord Granville, but Lord John Russell refused. He had agreed to serve under Palmerston if he were appointed to the Foreign Office, but under Lord Granville he must at least be Leader of the House of Commons. As Lord Palmerston would not accept a peerage, and as it was impossible to ask him to abandon the Leadership of the Liberal Party in the

Lower House which he had held so long, Lord Granville retired from the field. The Queen then sent for Lord Palmerston, who formed a Ministry consisting of Lord John Russell, Lord Campbell, Sir G. C. Lewis, Sir George Grey, Sir Charles Wood, the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Elgin, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Cardwell, the Duke of Somerset, and Mr.

LORD GRANVILLE.

Milner Gibson. A place—the Presidency of the Board of Trade—was offered to Mr. Cobden, which he declined. The first five represented the Whigs; the next six represented the Peelites; Messrs. Gibson and Cobden were selected to conciliate the Radicals; and there could be no doubt that, tested by individual capacity, the combination was one of the strongest ever formed. The Queen deeply regretted the exclusion of Lord Clarendon from the Cabinet, and Mr. Greville says that Lord John Russell's selfish determination to take the Foreign Office kept Clarendon out. This is hardly just. Lord Clarendon's

pro-Austrian sympathies, and his opposition to Palmerston's foreign policy, rendered him ineligible for office at the time. The change was attended by one unpleasant incident. The substance of the Queen's conversations with Lord Granville found their way into the press, and her Majesty's indignation at this betrayal of her confidence was not concealed. It was clear that some of those with whom Lord Granville had been in negotiation had not kept faith with him, and in the House of Lords (17th of June) he expressed his regret, without, however, divulging the name of the culprit who had betrayed him.

The war in the North of Italy had in the meantime been raging furiously. An uninterrupted series of defeats led Austria to the crowning disaster of Solferino (June 24th), and forced her to take refuge in the Quadrilateral. The losses of the French army had been heavy, and a weary struggle before the famous Four Fortresses was not inviting. The victory of Magenta had forced Prussia to mobilise her forces, and Solferino decided her to adopt a policy of "armed mediation"—the object of which was to concert with England and Russia terms of peace reconciling Austrian rights with Italian liberties, and forcing these terms on the combatants. In the end of May the Queen, depressed by the reverses of Austria, had been anxious that England should take her side, but had fortunately been dissuaded from pressing her views on the Government by Lord Malmesbury, who told her plainly that "the country would not go to war even in support of Italian independence, and there would not be ten men in the House of Commons who would do so on behalf of Austria."* For the German States intervention was, however, hardly avoidable, and so the French Emperor prudently began to negotiate for peace.

On the 6th of July Persigny submitted to Lord John Russell a proposal that England should ask for an armistice on terms which the Emperor was willing to grant, but which the Austrian Ambassador, Count Apponyi, rejected. England also declined to sanction them because, in Lord Palmerston's opinion, they ignored the wishes of Italy. † The Emperor then signed an armistice with the Austrians for seven days on the 8th of July, and arranged for a meeting with the Austrian Emperor on the 11th. On the 10th Persigny insidiously renewed his negotiations for the "moral support" of England in the new turn of affairs. Lord Malmesbury, who had the story from Persigny, says he "went to Lord Palmerston and said that the time was come for mediation, and suggested conditions, namely, Venice and its territories to be taken from Austria, not annexed to Sardinia, but made into a separate and independent State. There were other conditions, but this was the principal one. ‡ That Lord Palmerston agreed to this, and rode down to Richmond to tell Lord John Russell, who was equally delighted; and that the proposal was adopted by

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 184.

† Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 160.

‡ The surrender of Lombardy and the Duchies to Sardinia was one.

them and sent to the Queen, who was at Aldershot, which occasioned some delay. That her Majesty refused her consent, saying the time was not yet come to make these proposals, as the fortresses were not yet taken. That, however, in the meantime, Persigny had telegraphed the consent of the English Government to his master, who immediately asked for an interview with the Emperor of Austria, showed him Persigny's despatch, saying, 'Here are the conditions proposed by England, and agreed to also by Prussia. Now listen to mine, which, though those of an enemy, are much more favourable. So let us settle everything together without reference to the neutral Powers, whose conditions are not nearly so advantageous to you as those I am ready to grant.' The Emperor of Austria, not suspecting any reservation, and not knowing that the Queen had refused her consent to these proposals, which, though agreed to by her Government, were suggested by Persigny, evidently to give his master the opportunity of outbidding us, and making Francis Joseph think that he was thrown over by England and Prussia, accepted the offer, and peace was instantly concluded." * There cannot be any doubt that the Queen, though unaware that Persigny was merely intending to use Palmerston as a dupe, was right in refusing her consent to these sham proposals. The Emperor of Austria, it is known, would not have accepted them. But in that case "moral support" of them, recklessly promised by Palmerston, might have laid us open to the charge of having abandoned our strict and scrupulous neutrality. By the Peace of Villafranca, which was arranged at the meeting of the Emperors, Venice was left as an Austrian State, but was to enter an Italian Confederation, presided over by the Pope; Lombardy was ceded to France, who might cede it to Sardinia, and the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be restored. The verdict of the Parisian *flaneurs* was that "France had made a superb war, and Austria a superb peace." Victor Emmanuel ground his teeth with rage when he found he had to accept this arrangement, adding, after his signature, the significant words, "I ratify this convention in all that concerns myself." Cavour placed his resignation in the King's hands, and left the camp for Turin, after a stormy interview with the French Emperor. "Arrêtez-moi, et vous serez forcé de retourner en France par le Tyrol," he said, when Napoleon threatened to put him under arrest for his insolent language. Palmerston, in a letter to Persigny, protested against the arrangement with impotent rage.† The Prince Consort, however, cynically observed that the Italian Question was not quite settled yet, and that a Confederation with the Pope at the head of it was only "a bad joke." The Queen soothed Lord Palmerston, in his bitter disappointment, by pointing out to him that his ally had now legalised in Italy that very Austrian influence which it was the object of the Palmerstonian policy to expel, but, she added, as Lord Palmerston had not protested against the war, he could not protest against the peace, unless it were considered wise to "make it appear as if to persecute Austria were

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., pp. 200, 201.

† Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. II.

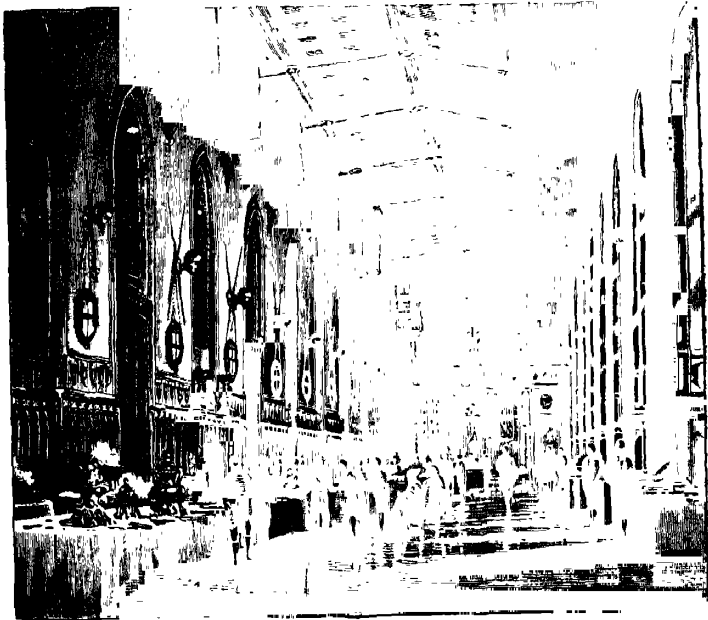
a personal object with the First Minister of the Crown." To Lord John Russell she wrote in terms that must have been as gall and bitterness to Palmerston, who had, in defiance of her objections, consented to give "moral support" to Persigny's sham proposals for peace. The Emperor Napoleon, she observed, by his prudence and victories, had created for himself a formidable position. "It is remarkable," she adds, "that he has acted towards Austria now just as he did towards Russia after the fall of Sebastopol. But if it was our lot then to be left alone to act the part of the extortioner, while he acted that of the generous victor, the Queen is doubly glad that we should not now have fallen into the trap to ask from Austria, as friends and neutrals, concessions which he was ready to waive." *

Still, her Majesty did not regard the anxious events of the year with unmixed regret. It was a gratifying fact that the Indian Mutiny had been suppressed, and on the 14th of April the thanks of Parliament were voted to those who had saved our Indian Empire. The Queen, in conveying her personal thanks to Lord Canning, laid before him her project for founding the Order of the Star of India. A visit from her eldest daughter had brightened her birthday festivities—saddened though these were by the illness of the Duchess of Kent, who had been attacked by erysipelas. The Government had begun to strengthen the defences of the country, and the spontaneous uprising of the people, which originated the Volunteer Movement, placed at her disposal the nucleus of a superb defensive army, to the organisation of which the Prince Consort now began to direct his attention. Mr. Gladstone's Budget, too, though it necessitated a ninepenny income-tax † to meet exceptional naval and military expenditure, was passed ungrudgingly by Parliament, though, of course, it increased the popular antipathy to the French Emperor which the Peace of Villafranca had excited.

In vain did Napoleon III. endeavour to induce England to propose a Congress or a Conference for the purpose of settling the Italian Question in a manner that would allay Italian discontent. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell would have fallen into this trap also, but for the tenacity with which the Queen urged her objections to their policy. Walewski fortunately admitted to Lord Cowley that the French and Austrian Emperors had agreed not to submit the Peace they had made to a Congress. "Two emperors," wrote the Queen to Lord John Russell (20th July), "who were at war with each other have suddenly concluded personally a peace, and we have before us merely the account of one of them through his Minister. This Minister's account admits that his master pledged his word on

* The Queen apparently did not know that, owing to the use which Napoleon had made of Palmerston's indiscreet approval of Persigny's proposals, the Emperor of Austria was under the impression that we had been willing to act as extortioners. On the 12th of July, a day before the Queen wrote her letter to Lord John Russell, the Austrian Emperor wrote to Napoleon III., thanking him for informing him that England supported Persigny's terms. Lord John Russell, in a despatch (July 27), found it necessary to undeceive the Austrian Government on this point.

† It was raised from 5d. to 9d.

certain points, but thinks it not binding if England will propose its being broken. This is a duty which honour forbids us to undertake." The Cabinet then so far yielded to the Queen's reasoning that they agreed to hold aloof from the whole business, till the arrangement between the two Emperors was embodied in the Treaty of Zurich. A debate in the House of Commons (8th August) showed that Parliament, on the whole, approved of this course. On

ST. GEORGE'S HALL, WINDSOR CASTLE.

the 13th came the prorogation of the Legislature, which enabled the Queen and her husband to make a short excursion to the Channel Islands.

A grave conflict of opinion now arose between the Queen and Lord John Russell. Lord John, like Lord Palmerston, was desirous of re-arranging the affairs of Italy in terms of an understanding with France. In other words, he was desirous of neutralising the Treaty of Zurich by getting one of its signatories to join him in breaking those of its conditions which were favourable to the other signatory. No doubt it was difficult to persuade the Central Italian States to abide by a treaty that handed them back to the oppressors whom they had got rid of. But the problem of reconciling the people to their petty despots was one which the Queen argued should be solved, not by England, who did not create it, but by France and Austria, who did.

Again, after some controversy, she succeeded in overruling fresh plans for intervention which Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell had mooted,* and thus matters were left when the Court reached Balmoral on the 31st of August. Hardly had the first week of her holiday passed by when the Queen discovered that Palmerston had broached his project for annexing the Italian Duchies to Sardinia in a private letter to Walewski, who, however, frankly said such a proposal would prevent Austria from signing any treaty, and thus lead to a renewal of the war. She wrote to Lord John Russell condemning Palmerston's indiscretion, and pointing out that Walewski himself suggested that annexation of Savoy to France would be the natural compensation for annexing the Duchies to Sardinia—a compensation which would be odious to England, but which would be justified on the ground, that Palmerston's policy rendered it necessary. But Tuscany and Romagna desired annexation to Sardinia, and Napoleon accordingly suggested that a Congress should be summoned to consider the matter. Lord Palmerston agreed to this project, and though the Queen did not oppose Palmerston, she did not conceal her opinion that the object of the Congress was to induce England to do for the Italians what Napoleon had promised but had failed to do. She, however, induced the Cabinet to warn Napoleon that England would not take on herself his self-imposed duty to his clients in the revolted States. They, in the meanwhile, calmly carried on their government in the name of the Sardinian king, and in open defiance of the compact of Villafranca.

Save for these anxious diplomatic perplexities, the Balmoral holiday was a highly enjoyable one, notable for long mountain excursions, of which the Queen's ascent of Ben Macdhui was one of the most striking. The Prince Consort's address to the British Association at Aberdeen was well received, and it was followed by a Highland gathering of philosophers at Balmoral, whose *fête* was, however, marred by tempestuous weather. On the journey south the Queen opened, on the 14th of October, the great waterworks at Loch Katrine for the supply of Glasgow—works on a scale of magnificence not unworthy of the Roman Empire. After a pleasant, but brief sojourn in Wales, the Queen and her husband reached Windsor on the 17th, pleased to find that the Prince and Princess Frederick William proposed soon to visit them. They came on the 9th of November—when the birthday of the Prince of Wales was celebrated—and stayed till the 3rd of December. The last month of the year was spent at Osborne, till Christmastide came round, when the Royal Family removed to Windsor, where, writes the Prince Consort in his Diary, "we danced in the New Year."

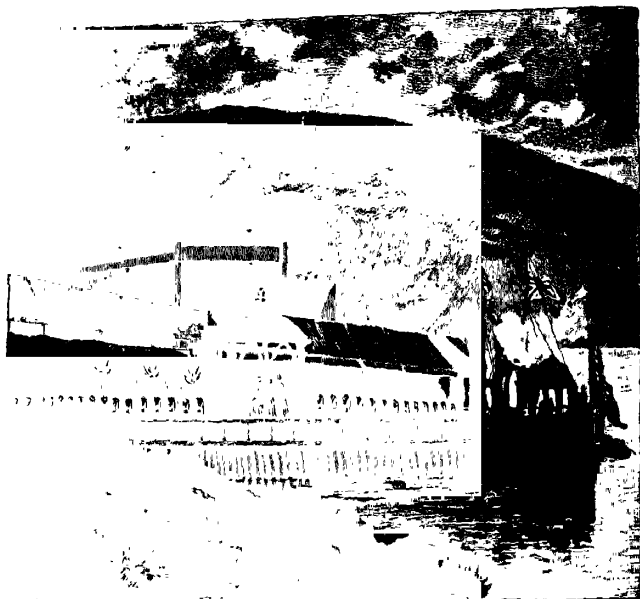
* Palmerston contended in the end of August that these plans came within the decision of the Cabinet not to meddle with the Italian question till after the Treaty of Zurich had been signed. The Queen held that they did not, and on a Cabinet meeting being hastily summoned to settle the point, the decision went for the view of the Queen.

CHAPTER III.

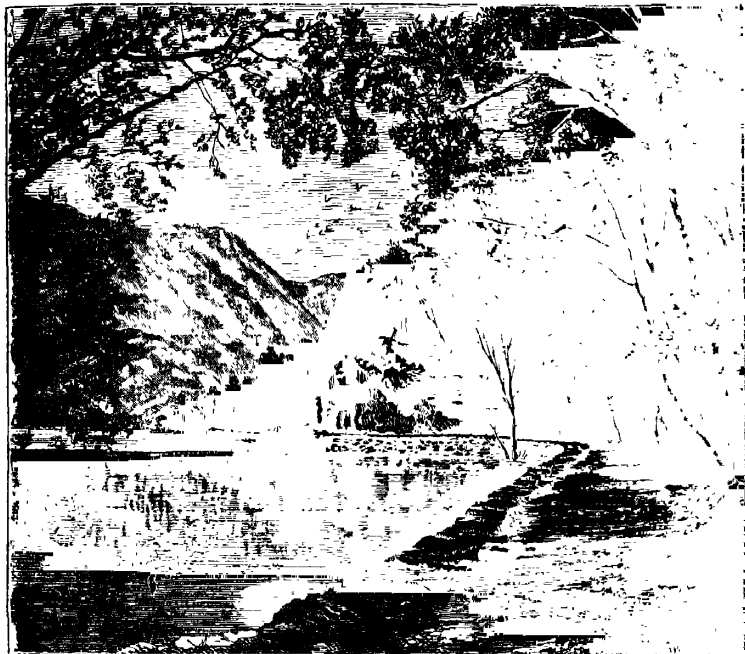
THE COURT AND THE CABINET.

The Queen's Distrust of French Policy—Her Conferences with Lord Clarendon—The French Pamphlet on "The Pope and the Congress"—Palmerston's Proposal of an Alliance Offensive and Defensive with France—Intriguing between Palmerston and Persigny—Recall of Cavour—Affairs in China—Mr. Cobden's Commercial Treaty with France—Cession of Nice and Savoy to France—The Anglo-French Alliance at an End—Lord John Russell's Reform Bill—Threatened Rupture with France—Russia Attempts to Re-open the Eastern Question—Garibaldi's Invasion of the Two Sicilies—Collapse of the Neapolitan Monarchy—The Piedmontese Invade the Papal States—Annexation of the Sicilies to Sardinia—Meeting between Napoleon III. and the German Sovereigns at Baden—A New Holy Alliance—The Mahometan Atrocities in Syria—The Macdonald Scandal—Palmerston's Fortification Scheme—The Lords Reject the Bill Abolishing the Paper Duty—The Volunteer Movement—Reviews in Hyde Park and Edinburgh—The Queen at Wimbledon—The Prince of Wales's Tour in Canada and the United States—Betrothal of the Princess Alice—The Queen and her Grandchild—Serious Accident to the Prince Consort—Illness of the Queen.

Although the new year (1860) opened brightly for commercial England, the political outlook was far from cheerful. The Cabinet and the Queen were by no means in harmony on Foreign affairs, and Ministers were themselves far from being agreed as to a Reform policy. Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Milner Gibson were violently anti-Austrian. They were so eager to win credit for establishing a free kingdom in Northern Italy, that they were easy dupes in the hands of the French Emperor, whose design it was to achieve this end, so that whilst the credit should be his, the risk should be theirs. The Queen, on the other hand, was profoundly distrustful of French policy. She persisted in seeing in it nothing save a scheme for getting England to "pull the chestnuts out of the fire" for France. Her view was that the Italian people were now masters of the situation. Their old rulers could not be restored save by force, which Napoleon did not dare to use, and which Austria, weakened in her finances, and menaced by a Hungarian rising, was also afraid to apply. The solution of the Italian question in the opinion of the Queen might be safely left to the natural course of events, and the duty of England was done when she frankly expressed her sympathy with the Italian struggle for constitutional freedom. Napoleon, however, after promising to make Italy "free from the Alps to the Adriatic," could hardly leave her to free herself as she was doing. His engagements to Austria on the other hand rendered it difficult for him to interfere actively. But it would have suited his convenience admirably if he were able to interfere with an ally, and on the basis of a proposal which originated with England, for then he might be able to offer a plausible excuse for not abiding by the pact of Villafranca. The game of diplomacy during this period was played, by France insinuating projects of interference to Lord Palmerston, so that they might seem to have originated with him, and by Lord Palmerston putting them into Lord John Russell's mind, so that Lord John, who was at

the Foreign Office, might seem to the Queen to be the originator of them. There is reason to believe that the Queen quite understood her Prime Minister's tactics. Mr. Greville gives a graphic sketch of her relations to her Ministers during this period of controversy, in his record of a conversation which he had with Lord Clarendon about a confidential visit he paid to Osborne in the previous summer. "The Queen," writes Mr. Greville, "was delighted to have him (Clarendon) with her again, and to have a good long

THE QUEEN OPENING GLASGOW WATERWORKS AT LOCH KATRINE.

confidential talk with him, for it seems she finds less satisfaction in her intercourse with either Palmerston or Lord John. The relations of these two are now most intimate and complete. Palmerston, taking advantage of Russell's ignorance of Foreign Affairs, used to suggest a project to him. Russell would bring this before the Cabinet as his *own*, and Palmerston would support it as if the case was quite new to him." At Osborne Clarendon "was unfortunately attacked by gout, and confined to his room. He was sitting there with Lady Clarendon, when Lady Gainsborough came in and told him that she was desired by the Queen to beg he would, if possible, move into the next room [the lady-in-waiting's room] and establish himself there; that the Queen would come in, when all the ladies present were to go away and leave

her *tête-à-tête* with him. All this was done, and she remained there an hour and a half talking over everything, pouring all her confidences into his ears, and asking for his advice about everything. He said he had endeavoured to do as much good as he could, by smoothing down her irritation about things she did not like. As an example, he mentioned that while the Prince was with him a box was brought in with a despatch from Lord John which the Prince was to read. He did so with strong marks of displeasure, and then

VIEW ON LOCH KATRINE: THE WALK BY THE SHORE.

read it to Clarendon, saying they could not approve of it, and must return it to Lord John. Clarendon begged him not to do this; that it was not the way to deal with him, and it would be better to see what it contained that was really good and proper, and to suggest emendations as to the rest. He persuaded the Prince to do this, advised him what to say, and in the end Lord John adopted all the suggestions they made to him. On another occasion the Queen had received a very touching letter from the Duchess of Parma, imploring her protection and good offices, which she had sent to Lord John, desiring he would write an answer for her to make to it. He sent a very short, cold answer, which the Queen would not send. She asked Clarendon

to write a suitable one for her, which he did, but insisted that she should send it to Lord John as her own. She did so, Lord John approved, and so this matter was settled." *

An "inspired" pamphlet on the "Pope and the Congress" had appeared in Paris, pointing to a re-arrangement of the Italian Provinces, that not only alarmed Austria, but caused her to decline to enter the Congress altogether, unless France would disavow her complicity with such schemes. The moment, therefore, was opportune for a fresh combination, and the Emperor's new plan was one to settle the Italian Question by a triple alliance between England, France, and Sardinia, which would guarantee the latter Power against all foreign intervention in Italy. At a meeting of the Liberal Cabinet this insidious project was broached by Lord Palmerston† on the 3rd of January, who was willing to enter into it even at the risk of war. The compact was long an affair of mystery, but light is thrown on it by a letter from Lord Derby to Lord Malmesbury (January 15th, 1860), in which Lord Derby says, "I return the well-known handwriting enclosed in your letter of the 13th. The information there given tallies with what I have received from other quarters, among others from Madame de Flahault, whom I met at Bretby. The offer of a *commercial treaty* was, however, coupled, though she did not tell me so, with the proposal of an alliance, *offensive and defensive*, with France, and a joint guarantee of the independence of Central Italy! Cowley came here specially to urge the adoption of these two measures; but my latest intelligence is that they were debated in the Cabinet on Tuesday last, strenuously urged by Palmerston and J. Russell, who had confidently assured the Cabinet of their success, acquiesced in by Gladstone, by the double inducement of his Italo-mania and his Free Trade policy, but on discussion rejected by a majority of the Cabinet." ‡

The enlightened obstinacy with which the Queen pressed her objections to this wild scheme caused it to be abandoned, and for the courage and tenacity with which she maintained her position at that crisis England can never be too grateful. She foresaw, what Palmerston ignored, the inevitable conflict between Prussia and France, which she hoped and believed would lead to the unification of Germany, and one almost shudders to think of the position Great Britain would have occupied in 1870, had this offensive and defensive alliance with France been consummated in 1860. Her Majesty had permitted herself to be dragged by Palmerston into a war with Russia "for an idea," with France as an ally. She could not forget the harsh lesson which that blunder had impressed on her. She could not forget, as easily as did Palmerston, how that alliance left England with little control over her action in war, and still less control over the settlement of the peace which was forced on her by the

* Greville Memoirs, Third Part, Vol. II., p. 270.

† Ashley's Life of Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 174.

‡ Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 213.

sudden desertion of her ally. Thwarted at this point, Napoleon and Palmerston renewed the attack at another. Persigny came to Lord John Russell with a suggestion that Austria and France should both pledge themselves not to interfere in Italy unless under a European mandate in case of anarchy, and he proposed that this arrangement might be made "the basis of an agreement between France and England." The Queen's answer was crushing. "If," she wrote, "France and Austria will both abstain from interfering in the affairs of Italy, it will be much the wisest course; but the Queen cannot see why this should require an agreement to be entered into between France and *us*, who ought not to interfere at all."*

As a matter of fact, Austria formally intimated she had no intention of interfering, and French troops in Rome and Lombardy were the only foreign troops at the time on Italian territory. But the recklessness of Palmerston's intrigues with France cannot be justly appreciated, unless it is kept in view that Napoleon was now entering into another arrangement for settling the Italian Question. At Plombières he had promised Cavour to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic on condition that Sardinia would cede Savoy and Nice to France. This bargain Cavour repudiated when the Emperor failed to make his word good at Villafranca. On the 16th of January Victor Emmanuel recalled Cavour to the head of affairs, and a new compact was made by which Sardinia would cede Nice and Savoy, as the price of Napoleon's consent to her annexation of the revolted Duchies. It is hardly necessary to say that had Lord Palmerston, who was in ignorance of this compact, contrived to entangle England in alliance with France, the storm of indignation which swept over England when the cession of Nice and Savoy was intimated would have brought about the fall of his Ministry. But when Parliament opened on the 24th of January, and when Mr. Disraeli, in speaking to the Address, elicited very plainly the strong feeling of the House against compromising engagements with France, Lord Palmerston was fortunate in being able to say that his Government "was totally free from any engagement whatever with any Foreign Power upon the affairs of Italy." He did not deem it necessary to add that for this stroke of luck the Cabinet owed him no thanks.

The points in the Queen's Speech which attracted attention after the Italian Question were the hostilities with China and the Commercial Treaty with France, which Mr. Cobden had negotiated during the fall of the preceding year. The Treaty with China was to have been ratified at Pekin. But when our Ambassador attempted to proceed thither he found the Peiho river blocked, and the Chinese forts not only opened fire, but repulsed our squadron. A joint expedition was fitted out in conjunction with France to avenge this defeat, and compel the Chinese Government to ratify the Treaty at Pekin, and complaints were made that Parliament had not been consulted before the

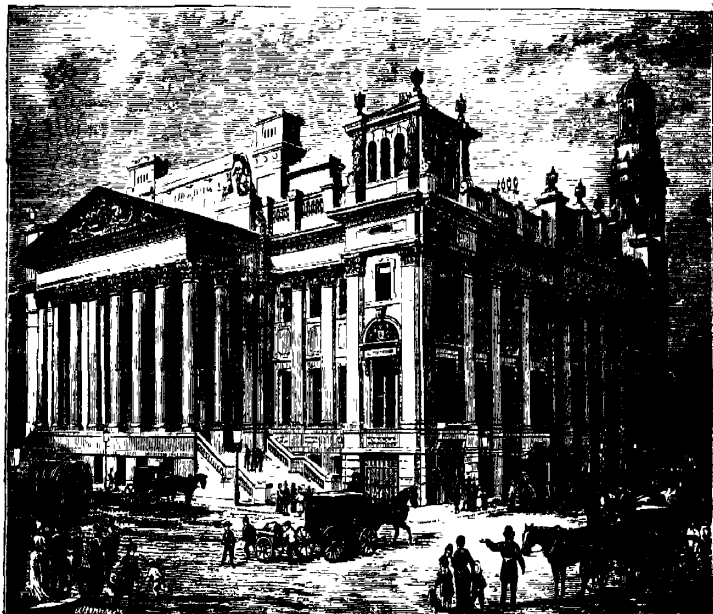
* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XCVII.

joint expedition had been decided on. The history of Mr. Cobden's Commercial Treaty has been told at great length elsewhere,* so that we need do no more than say it was signed on the 29th of January. Manchester immediately hailed Napoleon III. with the same effusive admiration that it bestowed on Peel in 1846. The English press, foreseeing an era of extended trade and permanent peace, ceased its attacks on the French Emperor, and complimented him so violently, that M. Baroche told Mr. Cobden its flattery would make the Treaty unpopular in France. The Treaty was at this stage merely the skeleton of a reciprocal fiscal arrangement. England gave France coal and iron duty free. England further agreed to reduce import duties on French wines and various articles of French manufacture. France, on the other hand, engaged not only to limit her customs duty to thirty per cent. on the value of English goods, but by the 13th Article she agreed to convert *ad valorem* duties into specific duties by a supplementary convention. The extent to which, under this Article, duties were reduced would of course measure the usefulness of the Treaty.

The Treaty, along with the changes in taxation which it would involve, was explained by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on the 10th of February. His Budget estimates showed a deficit of over £9,000,000, to meet which he not only continued the tea and sugar duties, but levied an Income Tax of 10d. in the pound on incomes over £150 a year, and 7d. on incomes under that amount. One part of his scheme was to abolish the Paper duty, but in this he was thwarted by the House of Lords. The French Treaty compelled him to lower the duty on French spirits and wines, and to abolish duties on manufactures not subject to excise in England. He struck 370 articles out of the Tariff list, and reduced and readjusted those that he retained, which were forty-eight. "The whole of our recent fiscal history," according to a high authority on financial questions, "is a complete vindication of the policy of remitting and reducing duties, so that nothing should remain on the tariff which did not contribute a substantial sum to the revenue, and in order that it might do so, should bear no duty high enough to preclude its passing into general consumption. By the remissions of 1860 that ideal was nearly attained. As an example of how the remissions worked, I may mention that the imports of French wines increased at once by 127 per cent. on the reduction of the duty. On the whole of the articles on which the customs duties were repealed in 1860 the immediate increase on the import duty was 40½ per cent., although the year 1861 was in some respects a highly unfavourable one in which to judge of the purchasing capacity of the nation." † This brilliant and successful policy, however, was opposed bitterly by the Tories and a few Peelites, like Sir James Graham; and some Whigs, like Lord Clarendon,

* Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXVI.

† The National Budget, by Alexander Johnstone Wilson. London: Macmillan: 1882, p. 90.

even condemned the policy of the Treaty as unsound.* The Queen was not sanguine about the matter, and the Prince Consort saw in the Treaty only a device for giving France the supply of coal and iron which she needed to compete with England in the markets of the world, whereas England surrendered valuable sources of revenue, without any adequate compensation. The strongest point against the Treaty was made by Lord Derby. He complained in the House of Lords that though the arrangement was based on

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, MANCHESTER.

the assumption that there would be peace between France and England, the general policy of the Cabinet, as tested by Mr. Gladstone's estimates, assumed that war between the two nations was imminent. On a motion in the House of Commons asserting that it was not expedient to diminish sources of revenue or add a penny to the Income Tax, the whole policy of the Treaty and the Budget was challenged, and the opposition to both defeated by a majority of 116. The theoretical objections to commercial treaties generally were overcome by Mr. Gladstone's argument that by making a small sacrifice of revenue England gained a vast extension of her export trade. But the real difficulty, of course, lay in fixing the limits of the duties under the 19th

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 216. Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXIX.

Article of the Treaty. A Commission was sent to Paris, on which Mr. Cobden agreed to serve, for the purpose of beating down the duties from the thirty per cent. maximum to a minimum of as nearly as possible ten per cent., and it was while this Commission was haggling with the French Commissioners that Cobden found himself thwarted by the secret hostility of the Foreign Office, and embarrassed by the bellicose policy of the Cabinet, which naturally produced ill feeling in France. He resented this action so bitterly, that he could not bring himself to accept from the Government the slightest reward for his services as a negotiator after he had carried out his mission with triumphant success.*

At the same time, it is only fair to say that the conduct of Napoleon at the time was singularly indiscreet. He made it plain that he was about to annex Nice and Savoy, although when he went to war in Italy he had protested that he did not seek for extension of territory. The Central Italian States, however, by voting through their assemblies in favour of annexation to Sardinia, furnished the French Emperor with an excuse for annexations, which were only necessary to recompense France for her expenditure of blood and treasure in the war with Austria. It was obvious that a great Italian kingdom would now be created in North Italy, and the Emperor held that he could not leave in its hands the passes by which France might be invaded. To secure his Alpine frontier, then, the Emperor insisted on taking Savoy and Nice. The provoking matter was this: the suggestion that the Central States should by a new vote in their Assemblies declare their intentions as to their future came from England. "We are asked," wrote the Queen, in a sharp letter to Lord John Russell, "to make proposals about Italy, 'to lay the basis for a mutual agreement with France, upon that question, and to enable the Emperor to release himself from his engagements with Austria.' In an evil hour the proposal is made, and is now pleaded as the reason for France seizing on Savoy. . . . Sardinia is being aggrandised at the expense of Austria and the House of Lorraine, and France is to be compensated. If the passes of the Alps are dangerous to a neighbour, the

* In a letter to Mr. Bright he says, "To form a fair judgment of this reckless levity and utter want of dignity and decency on the part of the Prime Minister, just turn to the volumes of the life of the first Lord Auckland, who was sent by Pitt to negotiate the Commercial Treaty with France in 1786. I have not seen the book, but I can tell you what you will not find in its pages. You will not read that in the midst of those negotiations Pitt rose in the House, and declared that he apprehended danger of a sudden and unprovoked attack on our shores by the French king; that (whilst history told us we had 84,000 men voted for our Navy to the 31,000 in France, and whilst we had 150,000 riflemen assembled for drill) he, Mr Pitt, pursued the eccentric course of proposing that the nation should spend £10,000,000 on fortifications, and that he accompanied this with speeches in the House in which he imputed treacherous and unprovoked designs upon us on the part of the monarch with whom his own Plenipotentiary was then negotiating a Treaty of Commerce in Paris. On the contrary, you will find Pitt consistently defending, in all its breadth and moral bearings, his peaceful policy, and it is the most enduring title to fame that he left in all his public career."—Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXIX.

weaker power must give them up to the stronger!"* The Queen, in fact, feared that on the same pretext the French Emperor might be led to demand a rectification of his Rhenish frontier, a demand which she knew must lead straight to a disastrous European war. A discussion raised by Lord Normanby in the House of Lords on the 7th of February stirred up the forces of public opinion against France. As for Cavour, he was helpless. The consent of France to the enlargement of Sardinia could not be bought save by the cession of Nice and Savoy, and so they were ceded to France, despite Cavour's reluctance, on the 24th of March.

But the Commercial Treaty was not the only project of the Government which English mistrust of France imperilled. The Ministry was pledged to bring in a Reform Bill, and at a time when folk were brooding over the growing restlessness of France, there was little chance of carrying it. On the 1st of March Lord John Russell expounded his scheme to the House of Commons for reducing the franchise from £10 to £6, and taking twenty-five seats from small constituencies returning two members, and giving them to large constituencies deserving increased representation. The scheme fell flat in the House of Commons and in the country. It was cautiously attacked by Mr. Disraeli, who, though he declined to oppose the Second Reading, suggested that the Bill should be withdrawn. The supporters of the Ministry had no love for the measure, because if passed it involved a dissolution. The Second Reading was taken without a division, but before the stage of Committee was reached Lord John Russell withdrew the measure, and thus the question of Reform was shelved for several years to come. Lord John at last admitted that he had been mistaken in supposing that there was any widespread enthusiasm for Reform in the country. He, however, failed to see that the withdrawal of the Bill rendered Palmerston's tenure of office a little precarious, for the party of Reform, knowing it could expect no more from him, had no strong motive for supporting him any further against the Tories.

In the meantime France was beginning to hint that Prussia should play the part of Sardinia in Germany. The consent of France, of course, could be obtained on the same terms as those which Cavour paid for it—the cession to France of territory on the Rhine. Clearly, it was argued, Napoleon would give Europe no rest till he had rectified the frontier assigned to France in 1815, after the fall of the First Empire. Very soon it became necessary to proclaim that England had no part in these schemes, and when, on the 26th of March, Lord John Russell declared in the House of Commons that there was no longer an exclusive alliance with France, the Queen congratulated him on what was really the triumph of her own policy. According to her view, a belief that this alliance existed made the European Powers at all times chary of cooperating with England. Unfortunately, Lord John Russell's speech irritated

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XCVIII.

public opinion in France, and the recriminations of the Press in both countries caused Persigny to warn Palmerston that war between them would soon be inevitable. Count Flahault and Lord Palmerston held a conversation on the subject, in which they discussed the chances of war in the frankest manner—

GENERAL GARIBALDI

each vaunting the undeniable superiority of his country in battle.* Count Flahault is supposed to have been impressed with Palmerston's demonstration that victory in such a struggle must rest on English banners, and to have succeeded in soothing down the angry feeling against England, which then raged at the French Court. The real reason why all danger of a rupture passed away was that Persigny's favourite argument—namely, that war with England meant the

* Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 190.

destruction of the dynasty—prevailed. Moreover, Napoleon saw plainly that as every European Power was afraid of France, and as no European Power had anything to dread from England, Europe in a war between England and France would not be on the side of the latter Power. But no sooner did France suggest that the Treaty arrangements of 1815 might be rectified, than Russia

THE CURFEW TOWER, WINDSOR CASTLE

hinted that the same process might be applied with advantage to the Treaty of 1856. The old pretext for opening up the Eastern Question—namely, the oppressiveness of the Turkish Government—lay ready to Russia's hands. The English Cabinet, in reply to Russia's communications on the subject, insisted that the plots of foreign intriguers in Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Servia were really at the root of the miseries of the people. Russia, in raising this question, had assumed that France would help her. But Napoleon's eyes were fixed not on the Danube but on the Rhine; so Russian hopes of aid from France were doomed to disappointment. The next move on the European chess-board justified the anticipations which the Queen held out after Lord

John Russell's speech of the 24th of March. Finding that England no longer leaned solely on France, Austria and Prussia suggested that they should come to an understanding with England, by which they bound each other to oppose every future disturbance of frontiers in Europe—a step, however, which her Majesty shrank from taking. At her suggestion, the Cabinet agreed to a compact that each of the Powers should give the others warning of any projected disturbances of territory as soon as they were heard of, and frankly discuss their bearings; and of these disturbances one was already imminent in Southern Italy.

"Naples," Lord Malmesbury writes in his Diary on the 17th of March, "is in a dreadful state. The tyranny of the present king far exceeds that of his father, and the exasperation is so great that a revolution may take place at any moment. But events in the north of Italy have much to say to these feelings, and naturally encourage the Neapolitans to imitate them." In fact, Francis II. had obstinately refused to make the slightest concession to the popular party in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Heedless of the revolution in North Italy he upheld in all its baneful integrity the arbitrary system of his father, King "Bomba." Hence in April an insurrection broke out, as Lord Malmesbury predicted, in Palermo and Messina with the avowed object of joining Sicily to the new kingdom of Northern Italy. On the 5th of May General Garibaldi, who, after the cession of his native province of Nice to France, had renounced all connection with Cavour, sailed from Genoa with 2,000 men to succour the Sicilian insurgents. "'Italy and Victor Emmanuel!'" he said in his proclamation, "that was our battle-cry when we crossed the Ticino; it will resound to the very depths of Etna." Landing at Marsala, he proclaimed himself Dictator in the name of the King of Sardinia, and Cæsar's *Veni, vidi, vici*, might well be the record of his triumphal march to the north. On the 27th he captured Palermo, and then the Island of Sicily soon passed under his control. Every road was swarming with patriotic volunteers eager to join Garibaldi's army, and the Royal troops, disgusted with the cowardice and incapacity of their leaders, were wavering in their allegiance to the King. They made a final stand at Melazzo, after which they took refuge in the citadel of Messina, where they remained undisturbed at the end of the year. "If we succeed," wrote Garibaldi to Victor Emmanuel, "I shall be proud to adorn your Majesty's crown with a new and perhaps more brilliant jewel, but always on the condition that your Majesty will resist your advisers should they wish to cede this province to the stranger, as they have ceded my native city, Nice." The bitter allusion to Cavour's policy, which had converted Garibaldi into a Frenchman against his will, is a sufficient answer to those who have alleged that Cavour was acting at this time in concert with Garibaldi. The most that can be said is that he knew privately that a revolutionary attack on the Sicilian monarchy was contemplated, and finding it to his account to preoccupy Francis II., then threatening interference

in the revolted Roman States, he did not consider it necessary to prevent Garibaldi's departure from Genoa.* But all the European Governments believed that Cavour was secretly in league with Garibaldi, and they pretended to see in the revolution of the Sicilies an attempt at piratical self-aggrandisement by Sardinia. Sardinian ambition must be curbed, said the diplomatists; and so Cavour soon found himself surrounded by embarrassments. Russia hinted at armed intervention for the protection of the Neapolitan Bourbons. France, in a paroxysm of virtue, deprecated any extension of Sardinian territory. England implored Sardinia to take no hand in, and lend no countenance to, the revolution in the Sicilies, lest France should demand more compensations in Genoa and the Island of Sardinia itself. When Lord John Russell pressed this view on the Cabinet of Turin he was probably ignorant of the fact that Cavour, when he signed the compact ceding Savoy to France, said, bitterly, "Et maintenant vous voilà nos complices!" ("Now you are an accomplice"). France had, in fact, been paid in full for her neutrality; and though Cavour issued a platonic protest against the conquest of the Sicilies in May, it was obvious that Victor Emmanuel would never risk his Crown by actively impeding in any part of Italy the movement for national independence.

The Court of Naples at this crisis seemed paralysed with panic. In August Garibaldi advanced virtually unopposed, and captured the capital, the King, with 50,000 troops, retreating to Capua and Gaeta.†

Italy, said Mr. Disraeli, in one of the debates in Parliament, "was in a state far beyond the management of, and settlement of Courts and Cabinets," and whilst diplomatists were debating how she could be kept in bondage, she had freed half of her territory by one daring but decisive stroke. Flushed with his easy victory, Garibaldi now declared he would hold South Italy till the whole peninsula was free—till Austria was expelled from the north-east, and the eagles of France were chased from the pinnacles of the capital. This

* Count Vitzthum illustrates the relations between the Republican conspirators and the Italian Court by the following anecdote:—One day an English gentleman visited Cavour, who was surprised to find he knew a great deal about the intrigues of Victor Emmanuel's Government. He exclaimed, "How is it that you, a stranger, are acquainted with secrets which I thought were only known to *one* man besides the King and myself—namely, the Republican exile, Mazzini?"—"St. Petersburg and London in the years 1852–1864. Reminiscences of Count Charles Frederick Vitzthum von Eckstaedt, late Saxon Minister at the Court of St. James's." Longmans and Co. (1887).

† Count Vitzthum hints that the mysterious collapse of the Royalist armies in the Sicilies was due to foul play. He says of Garibaldi, "His jugglery, thanks to the inaction of Europe and the melancholy condition of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, met with unexpected success. One example will suffice. A few weeks after Garibaldi's entry into Naples, a former Neapolitan General was arrested at Paris. He had, without knowing it, paid out some forged banknotes. The examination showed he had received them from Garibaldi as a bribe. People knew after this how the latter bought his victories." Vitzthum seems to have disliked Garibaldi, and his opinion on the matter is not conclusive. One would like to have better evidence than the confession of an utterer of forged notes that he got them from Garibaldi. Even if the story be true, it only points to what was one justification for the Sicilian insurrection—the complete demoralisation of the servants of the State.

[agi]tation forced the hands of France and Sardinia. Cavour and Napoleon [ag]reed that intervention in the Papal States and in Naples could not be post-[po]ned.* Victor Emmanuel, therefore, summoned the Pope to dismiss the foreign levies he had organised for the purpose of forcing his revolted subjects to return to their allegiance. His Holiness refused, and then Cialdini and Fanti overran Umbria and the Marches, crushed the Papal army, and forced Lamoriciere to surrender the fortress of Ancona. Carefully avoiding a collision with Austria and with the French army of occupation in Rome—a condition attached to the neutrality of Napoleon III.—the Piedmontese troops marched on to complete the conquest of the Sicilies, where the King still held out at Gaeta and Capua. When this had been effected the kingdoms, by a popular vote, decided on annexation to Sardinia, and Europe acquiesced in the interests of law, order, and monarchical institutions. Garibaldi, on handing over the Sicilies to Victor Emmanuel, retired to Caprera, refusing all reward or recompense for his splendid services to his country, and appealing to Italy to be ready to renew the struggle for freedom in Venetia next year. But the prevailing feeling was that a final settlement of the Italian Question had not yet been arrived at, and would never be arrived at whilst Austria held Venetia and the French occupied Rome. Knowing well that the hold of Austria on Venetia was weakened by disaffection in Hungary, the Emperor of Austria promulgated a general constitution for the Empire, with separate charters for the various provinces. The scheme, however, broke down, because it failed to satisfy the popular demand for the restoration of the rights of Hungary as they existed in 1848.

* Cavour's invasion of the Papal States was inevitable, though the pretext was flimsy. His subtle justification will be found in his masterly despatch of the 12th of October, reviewing the affairs of Italy, in which he dwelt on the advantage of substituting for the discredited dynasties, an Italian Kingdom that would "rob revolutionary passions of a theatre where previously most insane enterprises had chances, if not of success, at least of exciting the sympathies of all generously-minded men." In a word, his case was that Sardinian intervention could alone prevent the national movement from degenerating into sheer anarchy. Fear, lest Garibaldi might be induced by Mazzini's partisans, who had surrounded him, to set up a Republic, led the European Courts to condone by passive acquiescence a despatch which postulated the inherent right of a people to depose an hereditary monarch. France withdrew her Minister from Turin by way of formally discountenancing the invasion, which, however, had been secretly arranged at an interview between Napoleon and Cavour at Chambéry. England alone avowed her approval of Cavour's policy, in a despatch which Lord John Russell sent to Sir J. Hudson on the 27th of October, but of which he kept the Queen and his colleagues in ignorance. The feeling of the country being with Lord John, the Queen and Lord Palmerston did not find it expedient to resent the affront. The truth is, that Lord John had previously written a despatch (31st August) menacing Sardinia if she attacked Austria in Venetia, and admitting the right of Austria to hold Venetia, which had enraged the Radicals. So by way of conciliating them he wrote the despatch of the 17th of October, recanting the absolutist doctrines he had promulgated in August. But personally, Lord John was notoriously a partisan of the national movement in Italy. "Sir J. Hudson," writes Lord Malmesbury, "told me that Lord John virtually encouraged the King (Victor Emmanuel) to invade Naples, by asking his *aide-de-camp* at Richmond whether the King was not *afraid*. This was quite enough to send Victor Emmanuel *anywhere*."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 237.

Early in the summer a remarkable incident in European politics happened that profoundly agitated the Queen. The French press had suggested that, provided France was compensated by an extension of frontier on the Rhine, Prussia might, with her consent, play in Germany the *rôle* assumed by Sardinia in Italy. When Lord John Russell publicly abandoned the French alliance, the

POPE PIUS IX

Queen suggested the substitution for it of an arrangement between England, Prussia, and Austria, to the effect "that each should make known to the other two any overture or proposition, direct, or indirect, which either of the three may receive from France tending to any change of the existing state of territorial possessions in Europe, and that no answer should be given to such overture or proposal until the Government to which it may have been made shall have had an answer from the other two to the communication so made."*

* See the Queen's letter to Lord Palmerston (3rd June) quoted in Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CII.

[illegible] when the French Emperor suggested to the Prince Regent of Prussia that they should meet in friendly conference together at Baden on the 16th of June. The Prince Regent of Prussia met the French Emperor, not alone, but in company with the Kings of Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover; the Grand Dukes of Baden, Saxe-Weimar, and Hesse Darmstadt; and the Dukes of Nassau and Saxe-Coburg Gotha, and the Prince of Hohenzollern. This, says the biographer of Prince Bismarck, was a "demonstration for the integrity of German soil,"* and it compelled the French Emperor to suddenly change his plan, which had been to suggest that Prussia should seize Savoy and Hanover, and let France rectify her frontier on the Rhine. This design could not be avowed at such a meeting, so Napoleon contented himself with assuring the Prince Regent of Prussia that he had no intention of dissevering any territory from Germany—and giving for the first time his reasons for violating the pledges of Milan and annexing Nice and Savoy. The Prince accepted Napoleon's assurances, saying that he could immediately restore confidence to Germany by communicating them to the German sovereigns then in Baden. He also transmitted to the Prince Consort a private account of the interview, which quite relieved the anxiety which the conference had caused the Queen.†

Following closely on this conference came a letter from the French Emperor to Persigny for Palmerston's perusal, in which he strove hard to reconstruct his English alliance, but to which no other reply was given than that England gave France credit for good intentions, and would remain her friend so long as she did not disturb the peace of Europe.‡ Garibaldi's invasion of the Sicilies had alarmed Austria. French conspirators, it was said, were already busy in Hungary and Russian Poland, and Venetia might be attacked at any

* Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 263.

† Another part of Napoleon's scheme at Baden was to suggest the partition of Turkey by way of compensating Austria for the loss of Venetia, an old idea of Talleyrand's. Russia, however, objected to the Danubian provinces of Turkey being given to Austria, so the proposal was not made. The whole scheme would have thus been—the annexation of Rhenish territory to France, of the northern German States to Prussia, of the Danubian provinces to Austria, and of Venetia to Italy.

‡ This letter (which was published) was written without the knowledge of the French Ministry. It was prompted by certain suspicions which had been expressed as to the Emperor's good faith in interfering again in the Eastern Question. In June Europe was shocked to learn that the Druses, who were Moslems, had massacred thousands of the Christian Maronites in the Lebanon. The Turks had abetted these atrocities, their defence being that the Maronites were meditating a rebellion. On the 9th of July Moslem fanatics, aided by Turkish troops, also butchered the people in the Christian quarter of Damascus—3,500 males being slaughtered. The Consulates of France, Austria, Russia, Holland, Belgium, and Greece were sacked, their inmates finding a refuge in the house of Abd-el-Kader. Fuad Pasha, the Imperial Ottoman Commissioner, punished the guilty parties, but the French Emperor also insisted on sending out troops to keep order in the country. This proposal was jealously regarded by England, but it was agreed to after much negotiation—France furnishing 6,000 men, and the other Powers as many more up to 6,000 as might be necessary, six months being fixed as the term of the occupation. The Emperor resented our suspicions as to his motives in occupying Syria, and in his celebrated letter to Persigny defends their disinterestedness.

[illegible]

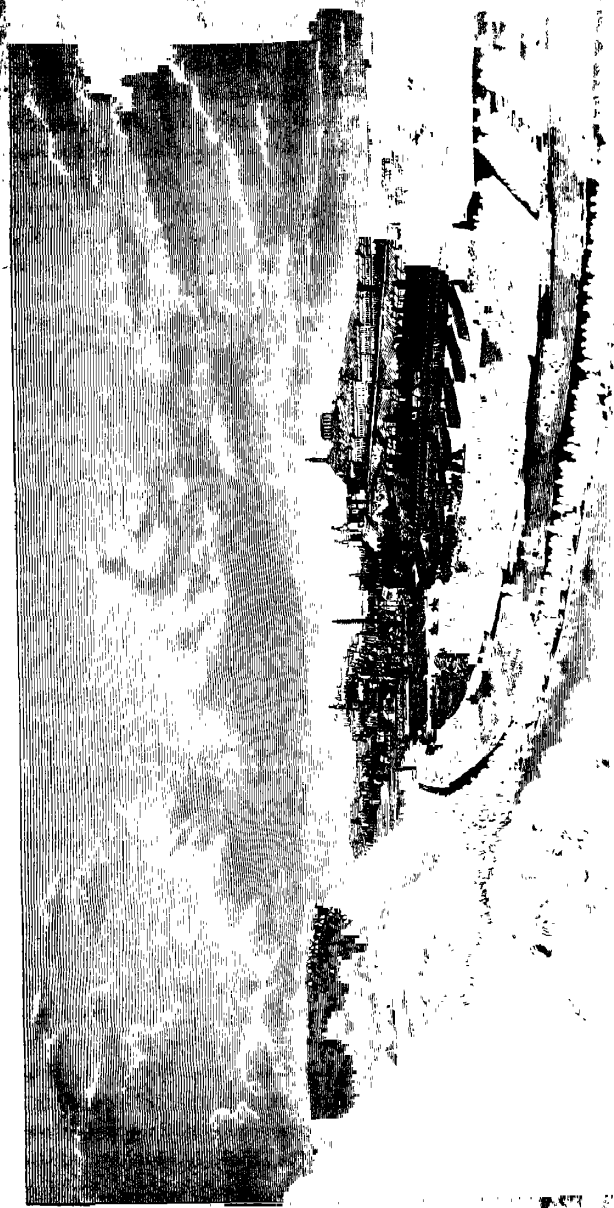
[illegible] In these circumstances the attitude of Prussia was [illegible] supreme concern to Austria. The unrest of Poland rendered it [illegible] for Russia to help Austria. Could she hope to induce Prussia to [illegible] coercing her mutinous subjects? The meeting of the Emperor of Austria and the Prince Regent of Prussia at Töplitz was watched with intense interest by the Queen, who knew how fatal it would be for Germany if Prussia suffered herself to be entangled in the non-German affairs of Austria. The Austrian Emperor, however, did not ask for Prussian aid in the event of Venetia being attacked by France or Italy, unless, as he hoped, Prussia "after negotiations," saw in such an attack a common danger. The real danger to Prussia was that Austria, after getting a promise of assistance, might provoke France to attack Italy; but as a matter of fact, the Prince Regent kept clear of all engagements with Austria at this interview, about which so much mystery was raised at the time. According to the private account of it given by the Prince of Prussia to the Prince Consort, it only led to an exchange of ideas, and to certain vague promises on the part of the Emperor Francis Joseph, that he would grant reforms to his provinces.* After the fall of the Neapolitan dynasty had been brought about, the French Emperor let it be known that whilst he approved of the creation of a strong Italian kingdom, he would not defend Italy if she attacked Austria. It was, indeed, the knowledge of this fact which enabled Cavour to hold the Italian Revolution in hand, for even Garibaldi was not so reckless as to rush into war against Austria without allies. Still, the Austrians put little faith in Napoleon's assurances, and on the 25th of October a meeting between the rulers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia was held at Warsaw to discuss the situation.

The rumour which immediately flew round was that the Holy Alliance was to be revived, that the three Powers were to combine for the revision of the Treaty of 1856, and, having isolated England, to coerce all struggling nationalities, and defend Austria in Venetia and Hungary. This rumour was quite unfounded. The Powers did agree, however, that if Austria, attacked in Venetia, proved victorious and re-conquered Lombardy, she could not be asked beforehand to give back Lombardy to Italy, though the fate of that province might properly be determined by a Peace Congress. The Prince Regent of Prussia insisted that England must be kept informed of all their

* "It is high time," wrote the Prince Consort to the Prince Regent of Prussia. "It seems to me one of his chief difficulties consists in the fundamental difference between his and the people's way of looking at things. He proposes to make concessions as acts of grace; they, on the other hand, ask to have a legal *status*, and institutions not dependent on the good- or ill-will of the Sovereign. They had most of them Documentary Rights, as they were called, in the Middle Ages, and as the Revolution of 1848 had overthrown everything, the Emperor was wrong, when it had been put down, not to return to a state of things based on law and right, instead of, as it were, legitimising the Revolution by proclaiming himself as its heir."—Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CIV. Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 264, contains a curious letter of Prince Bismarck's on this interview, showing how utterly misinformed he was as to its purport.

[illegible] a Congress. But at this meeting there was a [illegible] [illegible] to England because of Lord John Russell's despatch of the [illegible] of October, and the Russian Czar pressed forward Prince Gortschakoff's [illegible], which was that by conciliating France, a quadruple alliance might be formed against the progress of revolution, which Lord John Russell was supposed to have stimulated. The objection of the Prince Regent of Prussia—who, like the Austrian Emperor, thought that France ought to give new guarantees against raising revolutionary disturbances in Europe—to act save in concert with England, was, however, fatal to Prince Gortschakoff's schemes. Prussia, in fact, held obstinately to the opinion that the friendship of England was of vital importance to the defence of Germany against French encroachments. These facts are worth noting, for they explain the just indignation of the Queen against a series of attacks on Prussia which at this inopportune moment began to appear in the *Times*. They preyed on the mind of the Prince Consort to such an extent that the Queen asserts his health gave way, which but served to add to her sorrows and anxieties.

Yet it is but just to say that the *Times* was not entirely to blame. The conduct of the Prussian Government in a matter of painful dispute between the administrations of the two countries was far from satisfactory. In September a certain Captain Macdonald quarrelled with the railway authorities at Bonn about a seat in a railway carriage. He was violently dragged from his place and cast into prison with arbitrary brutality. The Public Prosecutor, in dealing with his case, had publicly accused English residents and travellers in Germany of being notorious for "rudeness, impudence, and boorish arrogance;" and as the Queen and her husband were, a few days after that speech was delivered, themselves tourists in Germany, the Public Prosecutor's insolence was felt to be peculiarly obnoxious. The Queen herself, in an entry in her Journal made during her German tour, says, "Saw Lord John on the subject of a vexatious circumstance which took place about three weeks ago—namely, a dispute on the railway at Bonn, and the ejection and imprisonment (unfairly, it seems) of a Captain Macdonald, and the subsequent offensive behaviour of the authorities. It has led to ill blood and much correspondence; but Lord John is very reasonable about it, and not inclined to do anything rash. These foreign Governments are very arbitrary and violent, and people are apt to give offence and to pay no regard to the laws of the country."* Baron Schlenitz, says the Prince Consort in a letter to Stockmar, "took it [the dispute] very lightly;" whereas, on the other hand, Lord Palmerston demanded that the judge who sentenced Captain Macdonald to imprisonment should be dismissed, and reparation made to the Captain, otherwise diplomatic relations would be broken off with Prussia. But the Prussian Government kept this irritating business open for several

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CVI.

VOLUNTEER REVIEW IN THE QUEEN'S PARK, EDINBURGH.

(From the Print published by Messrs. McFarlane and Erskine, Edinburgh.)

[illegible] they did not settle the affair till May, 1861, and then the [illegible] could not be altogether blamed if its criticisms of Prussian [illegible] were somewhat caustic.

Springing from the unrest of Europe we find in 1860 a great popular movement in England in favour of national defence. This found expression in two forms—in Palmerston's Fortification Scheme and the rapid increase of the Volunteer Force. Both schemes were watched by the Queen with the closest attention, and both were furthered by her to the utmost of her power, though one of them very nearly shattered the Ministry. In an article on the History of 1852-60, Mr. Gladstone comments on the silent conflict that went on during 1860 between the policy that found expression in the Commercial Treaty with France, and that which was typified by the Fortification Scheme of Lord Palmerston.* The annexation of Nice and Savoy alarmed the country, and convinced even Lord Palmerston that the French Emperor had a fixed idea that it was his mission to rectify the frontier assigned to France in 1815. This might lead him to cast a hungry eye on Belgium, where already French intriguers were busy. As Mr. Tennyson sang, in the poem the publication of which in the *Times* of the previous year evoked the Volunteer Force, the word went round:—

> "Form! be ready to do or die!
> Form! in Freedom's name and the Queen's!
> True, that we have a faithful ally,
> But only the Devil knows what he means."

France was increasing her army and her navy. The Report of a Royal Commission on National Defences had early in the year recommended the construction of fortifications to protect our arsenals and places of arms. The Cabinet resolved to spend £9,000,000 in carrying out these works, the money to be raised by a loan to be repaid in twenty years.

The vast fiscal changes involved by the Treaty were based on the supposition that France would be at peace with us. Yet the Fortification Scheme clearly rested on the assumption that France would soon involve us in war. In defence of this contradictory policy Mr. Gladstone writes, "like the builders of the Second Temple, grasping their tool with one hand and the sword with the other, we with one hand established commercial relations with France of unexampled amity and closeness, while with the other we built ships, constructed fortifications, and founded volunteers with a silent but well-understood and exclusive view to an apprehended invasion from France."† He goes on to say that the augmentation of our forces in 1860 had the advantage "of strengthening the position of England in the councils of Europe with respect to the reconstitution of Italy." But, at the time, he was by no means

* *The English Historical Review*, No. 6, April, 1887, pp. 296—298.

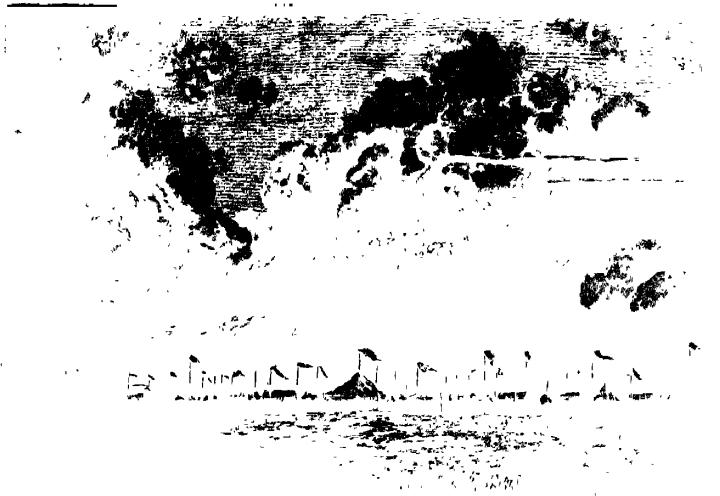
† *The English Historical Review*, No. 6, April 1887, p. 297.

[illegible] opposed to this military expenditure. Lord [illegible] Queen that Mr. Gladstone was threatening to resign if it were [illegible], adding that, however much that was to be regretted, "it would [illegible] lose Mr. Gladstone than to run the risk of losing Portsmouth or [illegible]." He was not satisfied in fact that the danger was so great as Palmerston [illegible] the Party of Panic imagined. He did not like the mode of raising the [illegible] which was proposed. "The struggle in the forum of his conscience," [illegible] Mr. Morley, "was long and severe;" * but finally he decided he could [illegible] more for the taxpayers' interest by remaining in the Cabinet and [illegible] it than by resigning office; and trivial concessions were made to him which allayed his scruples. The Prince Consort, writing on the 31st of July to Baron Stockmar, says, "Gladstone continues in the Ministry, but on the condition that he shall be free next year to attack and denounce the fortifications, to the construction of which he this year gives his assent and the money. Palmerston laughingly yielded this condition to him." Accordingly, on the 23rd of July, a resolution was carried in the House of Commons authorising £2,000,000 to be raised on annuities terminable in thirty years—this sum being enough to cover the expenditure possible within the year. Lord Palmerston, in speaking to the resolution, attacked France with great spirit, though it is unlikely that if France had really evil designs at the time on England, she would have given the Government even a year's grace in which to begin their costly coast-fortification. One reason why Mr. Gladstone was hostile to a Fortification Scheme was that it upset all his financial arrangements. It created a feeling against sacrificing revenue, of which so much had already been surrendered to carry out the French Treaty.

It was soon evident that the proposal to abolish the Paper Duty was unpopular in Parliament, and when it passed the third reading by a majority of nine only, Lord Palmerston warned the Queen, who was on the side of the minority on this occasion, that the House of Lords would probably reject it. The Cabinet was not united on the subject, for Lord Malmesbury states that he was deputed to tell Lady Palmerston that the Opposition meant to reject it, "for which she thanked us." Nay, he was deputed to go further, and promise her their support in the event of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Milner Gibson and Lord John Russell resigning either over the failure of the Paper Duty scheme, or over the withdrawal of the Reform Bill. When both events became inevitable, the Cabinet was severely shaken, and all through the early days of June it was expected that it would be broken up. When the Lords rejected the Paper Duty Bill, Mr. Gladstone threatened to resign unless the Government and the House of Commons censured them for meddling with a Bill relating to taxation. The Peers, however, though they have not the right to initiate Bills dealing with taxation, have always claimed the right

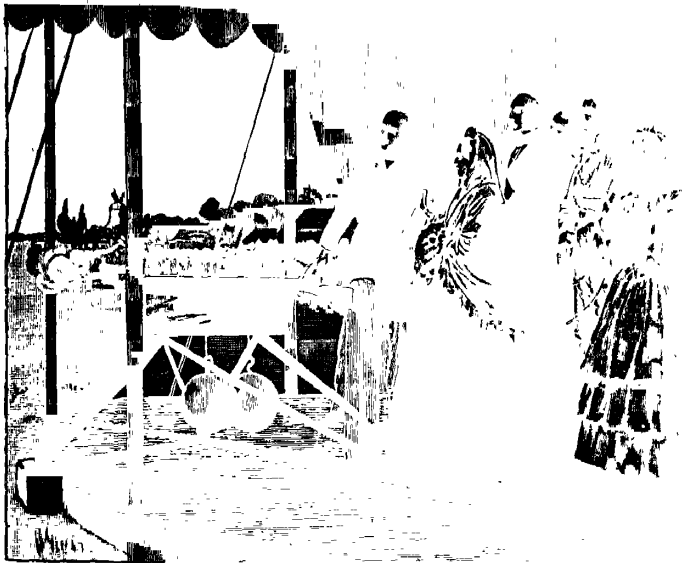
* Mr. John Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXIX.

of rejecting them, and the Commons' Privilege Committee in their Report of the 29th of June admitted this right. However, to pacify Mr. Gladstone and the Radicals, Lord Palmerston introduced a series of Resolutions on the 6th of July in a speech which Lord Derby said was "the best tight-rope dancing he ever saw."* These Resolutions affirmed once more the exclusive right of the House of Commons to impose and remit taxes, and to frame Bills of Supply, but did not challenge the claim of the Peers to reject them—and they were carried by a vote of 177 to 138.

The feeling of mistrust against France had given a strong impetus to the

THE VOLUNTEER CAMP, WIMBLEDON.

Volunteer movement in the country, and in 1860 this found vent in the great review of the citizen army in Hyde Park, and the formation of the National Rifle Association at Wimbledon. The review was held on the 23rd of June, and 20,000 men from all parts of the country attended. The Queen appeared on the ground at four o'clock in the afternoon with the King of the Belgians, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur, the Prince Consort riding beside her carriage. In two hours it was over—belying the Duke of Wellington's historic doubt whether we had a general who could get so many men into Hyde Park and out again without "clubbing" and confusion. Lord Malmesbury says, "I went to Mr. Disraeli's house in Grosvenor Gate to see the sight, which was very fine. The enthusiasm of the men and spectators exceeded all description. There were 20,000 Volunteers, all young men between eighteen and thirty.

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., pp. 230—231.

[illegible] through their evolutions with the greatest steadiness [illegible], and at the final advance in line, when they halted within a short [illegible] of the Queen, and the bands had ceased playing 'God Save the [illegible],' [illegible] raised a cheer that might be heard for miles. This was taken up [illegible] spectators, and the scene was so exciting that the Queen was quite [illegible], and I saw many people the same."* On the 7th of July her Majesty [illegible]

THE QUEEN AT WIMBLEDON. (See p. 65?)

the first meeting of the National Rifle Association on Wimbledon Common, under the first sunny summer sky of a peculiarly bleak season. Mr. Whitworth† had adjusted one of his rifles so neatly that when her Majesty pulled the trigger and fired the first shot at 400 yards she scored a bull's-eye.‡ Her own

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p 230.

† This great inventor and armourer had been offered £10,000 a year for life by Napoleon III. if he would go to France and manufacture his new cannon exclusively for the French. The offer was refused from patriotic motives, which was perhaps the reason why the British Government never could be got to behave as fairly to Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Whitworth's guns as to those produced by the engineers in the employment of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Armstrong at Elswick.

‡ The growth of the Volunteer Force was striking. The army sneered at it, and, in [illegible] 1859, it was in a sickly condition. In March, 1860, to the surprise and delight of the [illegible]

conferring the Champion Markemanship of England on the winner, was carried off by Mr. Edward Ross, of the 7th North York Rifles, with a score of twenty-four points—the greatest possible score being sixty. The public interest in the meeting, which was, in a sense, a great volunteer picnic, was indicated by the fact that the admission money (1s. a head) taken in six days from visitors amounted to £2,000.

Later in the season (7th of August) a grand review of the Scottish Volunteers was held in the Queen's Park, Edinburgh, where the smooth plain on which Holyrood stands picturesquely surrounded by hills and crags, forms a natural amphitheatre admirably adapted for the popular enjoyment of a military pageant. All Scotland, so to speak, swarmed into Edinburgh, to be present at the scene, and contingents even from the Orkneys and Shetlands and the "storm-tossed Hebrides" were represented in the ranks of the great citizen army of the northern kingdom. It was said at the time that Scotland—always a military nation—must have a mania for volunteering, because she sent more troops to the review than passed the Queen at Hyde Park. The Queen herself remarked this fact, and her suite, who had seen the display in Hyde Park, were struck with the superior *physique* and drill of the men, though somewhat surprised that the Highland costume was worn by so few even of the Highland Regiments. The Queen was accompanied by her mother, the Duchess of Kent, then living at Cramond, near Edinburgh, the Prince Consort, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur. The Prince Consort rode on the right of her carriage, and the Duke of Buccleuch, as Captain of the Royal Body-Guard of Scottish Archers—a corps consisting entirely of nobles and gentlemen, who have the exclusive right of watching over the Royal person north of the Tweed—rode on the left hand. The programme was the same as at Hyde Park, but the surroundings and the enthusiasm of the troops and the myriads of spectators who covered the hillsides, made the spectacle more impressive. "It was magnificent," wrote the Queen to King Leopold; "finer decidedly than in London."

Many interesting family events rendered the year 1860 memorable to the Queen. Of these, one of the most important was the tour of the Prince of Wales in Canada—a visit which had been promised during the Crimean War, in answer to a deputation which had invited the Queen to go to the Colony,* and, without avail, begged her to appoint one of her sons Governor-General.† In spring it was decided that the Prince should proceed to the Far West

grown to be 70,000 strong, and at a levee she held for volunteer officers, 2,500 were presented to her. Before the end of the summer the force had increased to 180,000 men, and at the close of the year it had grown to be 200,000, and this, too, in spite of the fact that the recruits had to make their first acquaintance with military duties in a spring and summer notable for stormy and inclement weather.

* Canada had fitted out a regiment of infantry for the war.

† William IV. was pressed hard by his illegitimate son, the Earl of Munster, to make him Governor-General of Australasia. He always refused, for dynastic reasons—alleging that it was not prudent to create princely viceroys.

under the care of the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and when the news reached America, Mr. Buchanan, President of the United States, invited the Prince to visit the Republic, promising him such a warm welcome as would be most pleasing to the Queen. The invitation was accepted, but it was intimated that on his tour the Prince would drop all Royal state and travel under one of his Scottish titles—Baron Renfrew. On the 2nd of August his Royal Highness received a hearty greeting from the people of St. John's, Newfoundland, the rough fishermen and their wives being especially enthusiastic in their loyalty. On the 7th, at Halifax, he was pelted with flowers by cheering crowds till, the Duke of Newcastle said, their carriage was rapidly filled up with bouquets; in fact, all through Canada the welcome given to the Queen's son for the Queen's sake was cordial in the extreme. One of the most picturesque incidents of the tour was the visit to Niagara by night, the Falls being illuminated by Bengal lights. These were first of all placed between the Falls and the rock over which they tumble, and turned as if by magic the vast sheet of water into a mass of incandescent silver, the boiling river itself gleaming with phosphorescent tints, and the spray rising high in the air as a thick luminous cloud. Then when the white lights were changed to crimson, the Falls and rapids were transformed into a seething lurid river of blood, and the spectators were awed into silence by the terrific grandeur of the scene. When the Prince crossed to the United States the people there strove to outdo the Canadian welcome. It was laughingly said that he would be lucky if he got out of the country without being asked to "run for President" next year, and the accounts which the Queen received of the splendid reception at Chicago deeply moved her. At Cincinnati and St. Louis the crowds were still greater and more enthusiastic, though quieter and more staid in demeanour than those in Canada. On the 3rd of October the Prince visited President Buchanan at Washington, and in company with him stood uncovered before the tomb of Washington—who had wrested the independence of the continent from his great-grandfather. In New York no monarch of ancient or modern times could have received a warmer ovation from his own people, and the reception at Boston, if less effusive, was not less cordial. The Duke of Newcastle, in reporting on the results of the tour, attributed its success first, to the growing feeling of goodwill that was springing up between Americans and Englishmen —a feeling, alas! to be soon rudely disturbed by the ungenerous support which the aristocratic classes gave to the secession of the Southern Slave States, and secondly, added the Duke, to the "very remarkable love for your Majesty personally, which pervaded all classes in this country, and which has acted like a spell upon them when they found your Majesty's son actually among them." The Prince of Wales, in fact, embodied for the American people the romance of their ancestral past—and their hearts warmed to him from the moment he set foot on their territory. The President also wrote to the Queen, telling her how the Prince had passed through the ordeal of the

always dignified, always frank, always affable, so that he "conciliated, wherever he has been, the kindness and respect of a sensitive and discriminating people."* The Queen in her reply said that her son could not sufficiently extol the great cordiality with which he had been received, and

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.

she went on to say, "Whilst as a mother I am most grateful for the kindness shown him, I feel impelled to express, at the same time, how deeply I have been touched by the many demonstrations of affection towards myself personally which his presence has called forth."† The Duke of Newcastle had taken grave responsibilities on him in connection with the visit, and, as Dr. Acland told Mr. Charles Sumner, it was therefore for him a personal triumph. The Queen

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CVIII.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, *ibid.*

was evidently of the same opinion, because, on his return, she testified her appreciation of the tact with which the Duke had managed the tour by conferring on him the Order of the Garter. A similar visit paid by Prince Alfred to Cape Town evoked similar expressions of goodwill from the colonists. Writing to Stockmar the Prince Consort speaks of the curious coincidence which, in almost the same week, caused one brother to open the great bridge across

FROGMORE HOUSE.

(From a Photograph by J. Valentine and Sons, Dundee.)

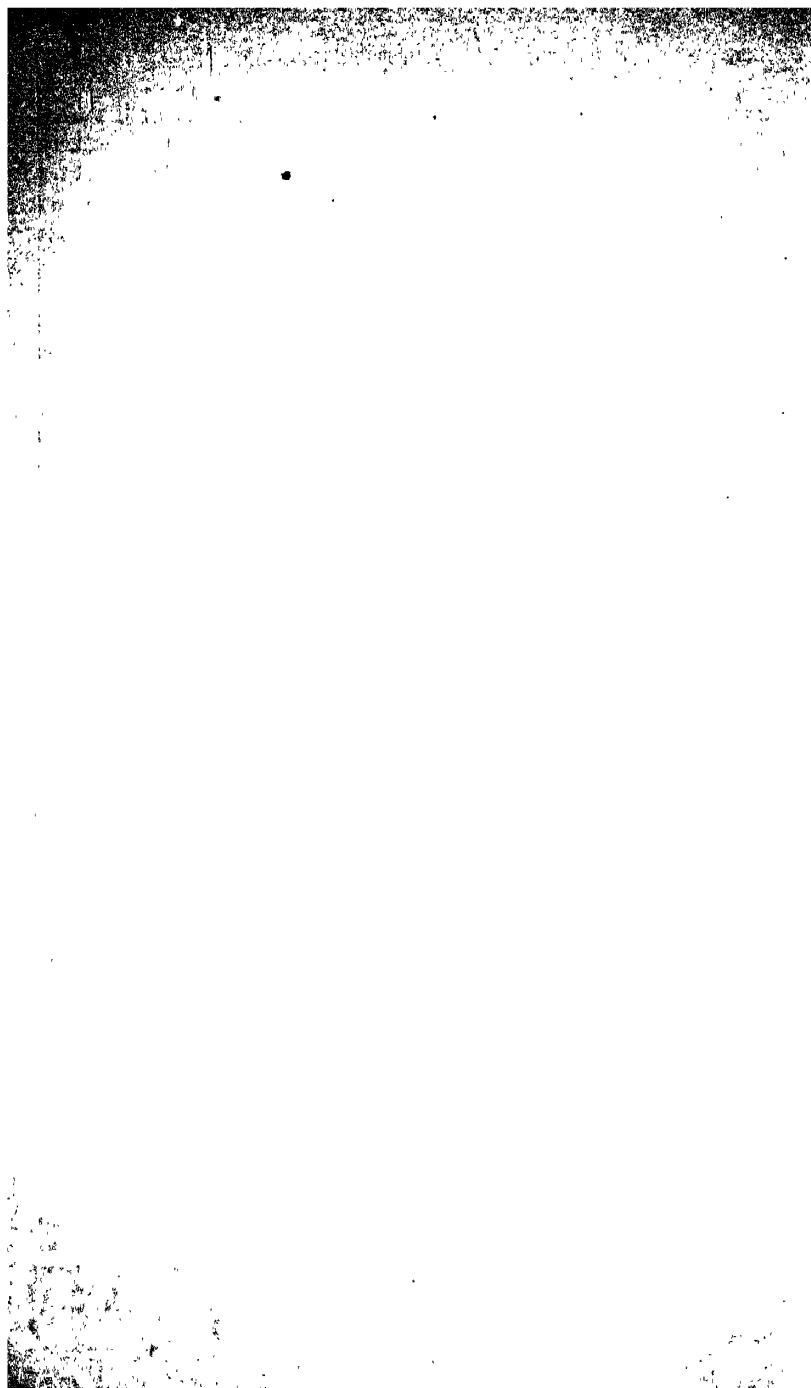
the St. Lawrence, and the other to lay the foundation stone of the breakwater in Cape Town harbour at the other end of the world. "What a cheering picture," he writes, "is here of the progress and expansion of the British race, and of the useful co-operation of the Royal Family in the civilisation which England has developed and advanced." *

Early in May the Royal Family were visited by Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt, between whom and the Princess Alice "a natural liking" had grown up, which was destined to ripen into a warmer feeling. "The Queen and myself," observes the Prince Consort in a letter to Baron Stockmar, "look on as passive spectators, which is undoubtedly our best course as matters at

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CI.

[illegible] stand." It was, however, an open secret that they favoured the [illegible]. In the following November, Prince Louis came to Windsor as a [illegible] suitor for the hand of the Princess. In her "Leaves from a Journal" the Queen herself tells the story of the wooing on the 30th of November. "After dinner," she says, "while talking to the gentlemen, I perceived Alice and Louis talking before the fireplace more earnestly than usual, and when I passed to go to the other room, both came up to me, and Alice in much agitation said he had proposed to her, and he begged for my blessing. I could only squeeze his hand and say 'Certainly,' and that we would see him in our room later. . . . Alice came to our room—agitated but quiet. . . . Albert sent for Louis to his room—went first to him, and then called Alice and me in. . . . Louis has a warm, noble heart. After talking a little we parted, a most touching, and, to me, sacred moment."

The autumnal sojourn at Balmoral was shortened by the Queen's decision to visit Germany, where she had now a little grand-daughter added to the Royal circle. On the 22nd of September the Queen, Prince Consort, and Princess Alice left Buckingham Palace for Gravesend, Lord John Russell being Minister in attendance. The flat scenery of the Scheldt, which was speedily reached, struck her Majesty as being in ugly contrast to the romantic grandeur of the Aberdeenshire mountains. At Verviers the tour was saddened by the news of the death of the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, the Prince Consort's stepmother. At Aix-la-Chapelle the Prince's valued friend, the Prince Regent of Prussia, and his brother, Prince Frederick Charles, met them; and at Frankfort they were joined by the Princess of Prussia and Prince Frederick William. As they neared Coburg the Queen says she felt quite agitated when her husband began to identify each scene and spot with his life in his old home, now darkly shadowed by mourning. The Princess Frederick William was here, however, and brought "the darling little grandchild" for the Queen's inspection—"such a darling little love," writes her Majesty—"a fine, fat child, with a beautiful white, soft skin, very fine shoulders and limbs, and a very dear face, like Vicky and Fritz, and also Louise of Baden. He has Fritz's eyes and Vicky's mouth, and very fair, curly hair." A meeting with Stockmar, then old and feeble, but fresh in heart and spirits, also enhanced the enjoyment of the visit. After a fortnight's residence, the Queen writes, "Our English people are enchanted with everything, with the beauty of the country, and of the palaces, the quiet simplicity of the people, &c." On the 1st of October the Prince Consort narrowly escaped being killed. The horses of his carriage ran away with him, and to save his life he had to jump out when he saw that a collision with a barrier across the road was inevitable. He was bruised badly, though not seriously injured. The Queen however, was much alarmed. "Oh! God," she writes, "what did I not feel! I could only, and do only, allow the feelings of gratitude, not those of horror, at what might have happened, to fill my mind;" and in testimony of her

THE QUEEN AND HER LITTLE GRANDSON, PRINCE WILHELM OF PRUSSIA. [illegible]

gratitude she established a foundation, called the "Victoria-Stift," in Coburg. The "Victoria-Stift" consisted of the investment of 12,000 florins ([illegible]) in the names of the Burgomaster and chief clergyman of Coburg. Every year, on the 1st of October—the anniversary of the Prince's escape—the interest from this sum is divided among certain young men and women to help them in their occupations and assist them to earn a livelihood. Old family friends and all picturesque places in the neighbourhood were visited; and the Queen's grandchild, the little Prince Wilhelm of Prussia, seems to have been a source of never-failing delight to her Majesty. But on the 9th of October the enjoyment of these quiet days came to an end, and the Queen and her husband left a spot endeared to them by many sweet remembrances. This fortnight, writes the Queen, "with its joys and sorrows, and the fearful episode of my dearest Albert's accident, will be for ever deeply engraven on my heart." On the return journey they were joined by the Prince Regent of Prussia, who travelled with them to Mayence. Rain spoiled the beauties of the Rhine; but when Coblentz was reached the Princess of Prussia was waiting to solace the Royal Party, who arrived, wet, chilled, and uncomfortable. The Queen, in fact, had caught a cold, and illness and depression of spirits due to the parting from her daughter and her beloved grandchild, Prince Wilhelm, robbed the rest of her holiday of all enjoyment. When she reached Brussels she could hardly walk, and had to keep to her room and comfort herself with the "Mill on the Floss" for a day, whilst Dr. Bayly was treating her for a feverish sore throat. After a dismally rainy voyage the Royal travellers reached Windsor on the 17th of October. "Already a week since we left Coburg," writes the Queen, "and the dear happy days there belong to the treasured recollections of the past!"*

Politically, though the year had been eventful, it was not without its compensations. The dying embers of the Indian Mutiny had been extinguished. The war with China had ended with the capture of Pekin, the destruction of the Summer Palace, and the ratification of the Convention of Tchung-Kow and the Treaty of Tien-tsin † (24th of October). "At home with ourselves and with our colonies," Prince Albert says in a letter to Stockmar (28th December), "we have every reason to be satisfied." One event, indeed, brought grief to

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CVI

† The war arose out of an attempt on the part of China to evade the ratification of the Treaty. The Taku forts were captured by the French and English allied forces, on the 21st of August, 1860. On the 21st of September, Consul Parkes, Captains Anderson and Brabazon, Messrs. De Norman, attachés of the Hon. F. Bruce, Mr. Loch, Lord Elgin's secretary, and Mr. Bowlby, *Times* correspondent, were sent to the Chinese camp, on the invitation of the Chinese, under a flag of truce, to arrange for Lord Elgin's journey to Pekin, where peace was to be made. Anderson, Brabazon, De Norman, Bowlby, and ten troopers were treacherously murdered. Parkes and Loch were cast into prison, and treated with odious brutality. That very day General Sir Hope Grant crushed the forces of the Chinese General, Sang-Ko-lin-sin. On the 6th of October the French looted the Summer Palace at Pekin, and on the 18th the English burnt it. The city itself surrendered on the 12th. Heavy indemnities, besides the ratification of the Treaty, were extorted from the Chinese.

[illegible] and her family. This was the death of the venerable Earl of [illegible], on the 14th of December. Lord Aberdeen was not only the trusted [illegible], but the valued personal friend of the Queen and her husband. His [illegible] of public affairs extended from the close of the war with Napoleon to the beginning of the war with Russia, and no English Minister in modern times enjoyed in a higher degree the respect and confidence of foreign Governments and Sovereigns. His stainless integrity and scrupulous honesty won the confidence of the Prince Consort. The high moral courage which led him to speak the truth in public, however unpalatable and unpopular it might be, so endeared him to the Queen that she expressed her admiration for it on the only occasion when she rebuked him for an impolitic indulgence in this virtue. Though a Peelite, he differed from his leader in having greater foresight, and a firmer grip of principle. Aberdeen did not, like Peel, work aimlessly from sheer expediency. He had a theory, a guiding idea, which, rightly or wrongly, always pushed him far in advance of his Party. This theory was that the less people were meddled with by governments, the happier and more prosperous would they become. He carried his principle of non-intervention from foreign to home policy, and acted on the conviction that more good was to be done by repealing old laws, than by enacting new ones. For the salvation of the people, he trusted to independence rather than patronage—to liberty rather than protection. He was blamed for buttressing the petty despotisms of the Continent, but he was blamed unjustly. He shrank from shedding English blood, and wasting English treasure in helping revolutionary movements, and he did so for two reasons. Nations worthy of freedom, he thought, must free themselves; the patronage of revolutionary movements must sooner or later involve England in war with all the Great Powers of Europe. His failure to avert the Crimean War need not here be dwelt on. It was the great blot on his career. Yet it is but due to his memory to say, as even Mr. Disraeli admitted, that if Lord Aberdeen had been head of a Cabinet the members of which all shared his views, and were all loyal in supporting his policy, the Crimean War would probably never have broken out. If Aberdeen had been master in his Cabinet, if he had been served at Constantinople by a loyal Ambassador, and at St. Petersburg by an Envoy who could have opposed with his own tact, patience, and cool common sense the monomaniacal ideas and arguments of the Czar, the conflict between Russia and England could have been averted.*

* It is a curious fact that Dr. A. B. Granville had diagnosed the symptoms of the Czar's hereditary malady—congestion of the brain—in 1853, and he warned Lord Palmerston that his Majesty would die in two years—a prophecy which came true. Had Nicholas therefore been handled gently, but firmly, by an accomplished diplomatist loyally carrying out Aberdeen's temporising and cautious policy, and had steps been taken to prevent the Turks and Napoleon from irritating the autocrat at every turn in events, peace could have been maintained. See on this subject Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. I., pp. 30, 40.

THE QUEEN'S PRIVATE SITTING-ROOM, OSBORNE.

(From a Photograph by Hughes and Mullins, Ryde.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.

England in 1861—The Jumble of Parties—Secret Alliance Between Palmerston and the Tories—Opening of Parliament—The Prince Consort and the "Two Old Italian Masters"—Lady William Russell's *Salon*—The Proposed Sale of Venice—The Fall of Gaeta—Prussia and Italy—Death of Cavour—A *casus belli* Against France—Napoleon in the East—Denmark and the Duchies—The Queen's Private Sorrows—Last Illness and Death of the Duchess of Kent—Renewed Attacks in the Press on Prince Albert—Palmerston Accused of Tampering with Despatches—Anecdote of Lord Derby and Lord Granville—The Budget—Repeal of the Paper Duty—Palmerston's "Grudge" Against Prince Albert—The Marriage of the Princess Alice announced—The Queen and Her Social Duties—Two Drawing-Rooms and Two Investitures—A Season of Mourning—Death of Lord Herbert of Lea—Lord John Russell's Peerage—Reform and the Working Classes—Ministerial Changes—The Queen's Tour in Ireland—The Queen and German Unity—Coronation of the King of Prussia—Death of the King of Portugal—Fatigue of the Prince Consort—Signs of His Last Illness—The Queen at Her Husband's Sick Bed—A Mournful Vigil—The Prince Consort's Last Words—Scene at the Death-Bed—The Sorrow of the Country—The Queen's Despair—Her Removal from Windsor—Prince Albert's Character and Career—His Funeral—The Scene at the Grave—The Queen and the Princess Alice.

From her own tranquil island the Queen, at the beginning of 1861, looked abroad upon a world that was strangely disturbed. It was a world in which men cried peace when there was no peace. In Europe, French agents were intriguing with the revolutionary parties in Poland, Hungary, and the Danubian Principalities. Italian conspirators were busy as usual in Venetia. The

Government of Turkey was again goading her Christian subjects to despair, and arousing the wrath of *Panslavic* fanaticism in Russia. Across the Atlantic the New Year brought with it the severance of South Carolina from the United States, and the pulse of the British aristocracy and their social parasites rose high as their golden youth congratulated each other on the "bursting of the bubble Republic." * It is true that the harvest had been bad, and that the winter had been the coldest that had been experienced for half a century. But Free Trade made food cheap and wages high, so that there was no popular discontent to trouble the Government. The prospect of a cotton famine in Lancashire, as the result of a civil war in America, was not thought to be within the range of practical contingencies. As for political parties, they were, as Mr. Ashley says, "in a singular jumble at the period which we have now reached." † The Tories were alarmed by Mr. Gladstone's Budgets. These were supposed to be dangerously democratic, not only because his attack on the Paper Duty *seemed designed to strengthen the power and position of* a cheap press, but because in his financial speeches he seemed to justify the repeal of taxes solely by his desire to benefit the poor, and his imposition of new burdens by his desire to punish the rich for being wealthy. Absurd as this suspicion was, it is necessary to take it seriously, because it had much to do with creating the unexpected dictatorship of Lord Palmerston.

It was well known that Palmerston's hostility to reform had well-nigh driven the Radicals into factious opposition. They had no more to expect from him, and at any moment they were ready to act against him. They even offered to combine with the Tories, turn out the Government, and keep Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli in power for two years, during which period they thought the Reform problem would ripen for solution. This offer was not accepted. In fact, through Lord Malmesbury and Lady Palmerston, a secret alliance was organised, in terms of which the Tories agreed to maintain Lord Palmerston in office "if only he would resist 'Democratic' Budgets, and keep his hands from any violent action against Austria." ‡ This compact was ratified by the people, who, despite the triumph of the Anglo-French alliance in China, were *growing every day more distrustful* of Napoleon's warlike preparations, which it was part of Palmerston's policy to counteract. Mr. Ashley asserts that Lord Palmerston was "too loyal to enter into any such secret understanding." As a matter of fact, the alliance was, on behalf of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, first tendered by Lord Malmesbury at Lady Palmerston's party, on the 12th of May, 1860, when, says Lord Malmesbury, "Lady Palmerston expressed herself as being very grateful for the offer." §

* The phrase, which was a catchword in club-land, and which gave great offence to our American kinsfolk, was attributed, it is to be hoped erroneously, to the Marquis of Hartington.

† Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, Vol. II., p. 205.

‡ Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, *ibid.*

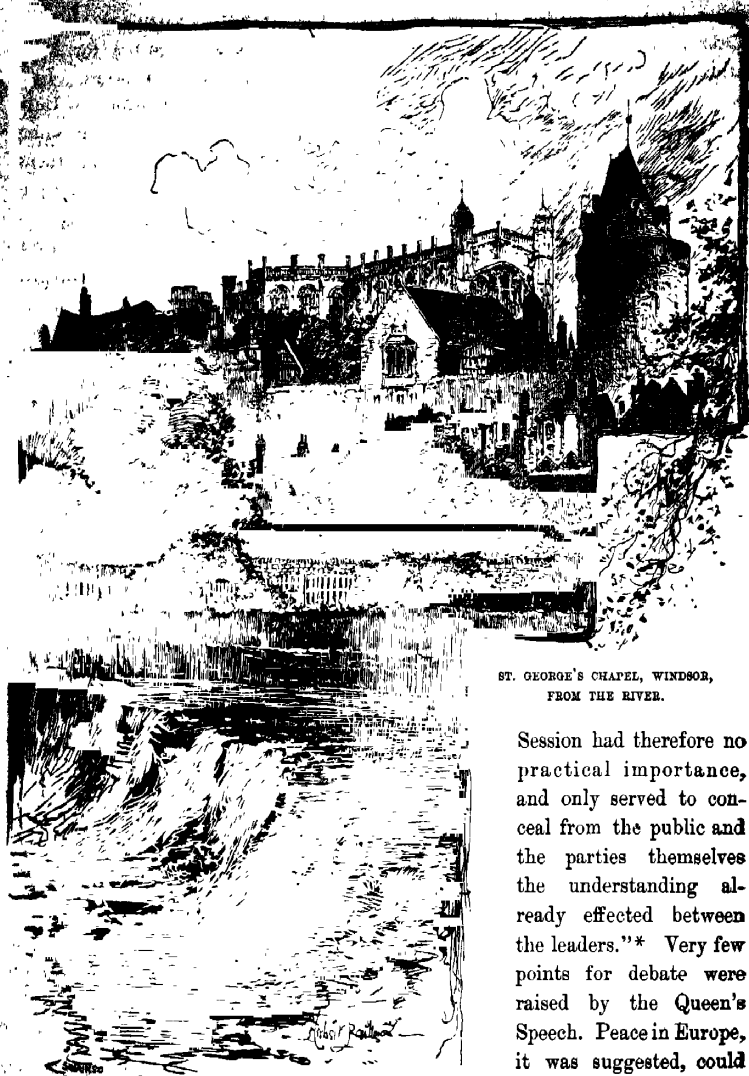
§ *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., p. 227.

Count Vitzthum, however, puts the matter beyond doubt. Writing [illegible] he says:—"The secret agreement between the Conservatives and [illegible] which had checked the barren Party contest of the previous year, [illegible] before the Session began, and even received the secret sanction of [illegible] After Lord Palmerston, in January, had submitted to the Queen and [illegible] Albert his programme for the current year, and had promised in [illegible] his vigorous prosecution of the works for national defence, Disraeli was invited to Windsor. The Prince, to his no small satisfaction, received the assurance from the leader of the Opposition that the Tories, though three hundred strong, had no thoughts of undertaking the Government, so long as Palmerston continued to safeguard the Conservative interests of the State. Disraeli added that it rested only with the present Prime Minister to exercise a power such as none of his predecessors had wielded since Pitt." * Finally, conclusive proof of the existence of the alliance is given by the highest living authority on such a matter—namely, Sir Theodore Martin—who discloses details of the whole transaction. Sixty members of the House of Commons had apparently pledged themselves to follow Mr. Cobden's policy of "democratic finance," which was to lessen expenditure by reducing armaments. Palmerston's Government was therefore doomed unless an alliance could be struck up with the Tories. According to the Prince Consort, Mr. Disraeli said that "the Conservative party was ready not only to give general support to a steady and patriotic policy, but even to help the Minister out of scrapes if he got into any." But, in return, they must, to use Sir Theodore Martin's words, "state explicitly the principles of their policy, and not enter into a line of what he (Mr. Disraeli) termed democratic finance." † When Mr. Ashley stated that Lord Palmerston was "too loyal to enter into any such secret understanding," he must have neglected to read the letter dated 24th of January, 1861, which the Prince Consort sent to Lord Palmerston, embodying the terms of the understanding in question. It is also possible that he did not anticipate the publication of Lord Malmesbury's diary, in which, under date the 14th of March, 1861, there is the following entry:—"The House of Commons threw out Mr. Locke-King's Bill for reducing the county franchise to £10, by a majority of 28. We had agreed with the Government that, if they helped us to throw out this Bill, we would help them to pass Lord Palmerston's Resolution, reversing their former vote on the payment of the Navy." ‡

On the 4th of February the Queen came to town for the opening of Parliament, which took place on the 5th. The Royal Speech, says Count Vitzthum, "ratified the private agreement (between Palmerston and the Tories) by making no mention of reform. The skirmishes that took place during the

* St. Petersburg and London: Reminiscences of Count Vitzthum, late Saxon Minister at the Court of St. James's, Vol. II., p. 113 (Longmans), 1887.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CIX.

‡ Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 249.

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR, FROM THE RIVER.

Session had therefore no practical importance, and only served to conceal from the public and the parties themselves the understanding already effected between the leaders."* Very few points for debate were raised by the Queen's Speech. Peace in Europe, it was suggested, could be preserved by the moderation of the Powers. Syria would soon be pacified, and thankfulness was expressed at the success of British arms in China. A sympathetic allusion to the Civil War in America, was prettily pointed by a reference to the kindly welcome which the Prince of Wales had received in the United

* Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 113.

States, and the loyalty of the Canadians was frankly recognised. [illegible] bankruptcy, land transfer, and rating were the subjects suggested for legislation. The debate on the Address in both Houses was insincere. Lord Derby made fun of the Government for coquetting with revolution in Italy, and he ridiculed Lord John Russell's inconsistent despatches to Sir James Hudson. "Mr. Disraeli," writes Count Vitzthum, "handled the same theme in an academic fashion in the House of Commons," but nobody dreamt of seriously assaulting the Ministerial position. "In Italy strange things are taking place. It is still the idol of the two 'old Italian masters,'" wrote the Prince Consort to Stockmar on the eve of the opening of Parliament.* And yet, when Ministers heard that Cavour had allowed arms to be shipped from the arsenal at Genoa for the conspirators who were organising an insurrection in Turkey, they became a little uneasy. No harm, however, came of this, because the Turkish authorities at Constantinople being forewarned, seized the arms when they arrived. But the problem of problems was, what did Napoleon mean to do in Italy? He had opened the French Chambers with a speech which, describing the annexation of Savoy as an act done in maintenance of the natural rights of France, created a panic among the Palmerstonians and their Tory allies. If Savoy—why not Belgium? was the question which this doctrine of natural rights suggested to men's minds. And yet at this time Napoleon's power was vastly exaggerated. The priests, who had not forgiven him for enriching Italy at the expense of the Pope, condemned his policy from their pulpits. The vulgar luxury and swindling speculations in which the Imperial *entourage* indulged, disgusted the educated classes. It was at this time that those who had hailed the Emperor as the "saviour of Society" began to call him "Badinguet"—after the bricklayer whose disguise he had borrowed when escaping from Ham. At one time Palmerston and Russell imagined they had discovered the solution of the most pressing of the Italian problems. They thought—or rather the Emperor of the French persuaded them to think—that Austria might sell Venetia to Sardinia, and whilst retaining half the purchase price to relieve her strained finances, with the other half buy Bosnia and the Herzegovina from the Sultan, who was also in lack of money. The Queen thwarted this cunning scheme, when Lord John Russell broached it in the end of December, by pointing out

* A passage in Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences explains the Prince Consort's allusion. "Among the elder ladies who in those days exercised some influence over Government circles," writes Count Vitzthum, "was the widow of the former British Ambassador in Berlin, Lady William Russell. She was a clever, experienced lady, an admirable mother to her sons, the ninth Duke of Bedford, and Lord Ampthill, who died lately as Ambassador at Berlin. Her house was the constant resort of visitors, who liked to chat with her, even if they did not come, like her brother-in-law, Lord John Russell, to consult her on politics. As a Roman Catholic she was no admirer of Cavour or Garibaldi, and used to laugh at the Italian sympathies of her brother-in-law and Lord Palmerston, whom she called the 'old Italian masters.'"—St. Petersburg and London: 1852—1864: Reminiscences of Count Vitzthum, Vol. II., p. 214.

[illegible] to suggest the sale of Venetia to Sardinia, was to record an [illegible] [illegible] that Venetia ought to be in some way freed from Austrian rule. In the event of Austria refusing to sell the province this would be used as a justification for wresting Venetia from her, or for compelling England to press her to give it up. *Palmerston himself came round to this view*, and so the Venetian question was for a time eliminated. But in Italy it soon became clear that France meant to give Victor Emmanuel freedom to act. Gaeta surrendered in February when the French fleet was withdrawn—the King and Queen of Naples being conveyed to Rome. They sought refuge there under the protection of French bayonets, in the cheerless shelter of the empty Farnese Palace. Five days after the fall of Gaeta Victor Emmanuel summoned the first Italian Parliament to Turin, where it met in a large wooden hall improvised for the occasion. In his speech from the throne he regretted the recall of the French Minister, but did not pretend to be downcast by the platonic rebuke of France. As to the protest of Prussia against his policy, Victor Emmanuel said an ambassador had been sent to King William "in token of respect for him personally, and of sympathy with the noble German nation," which he hoped would become convinced that Italian unity could not prejudice the rights of other states. The meaning of this reference in the speech was pointed out by De la Marmora. He cynically told the Prussian Government at Berlin, that Italy consoled herself with the thought that she had set an example which Prussia, in spite of her protests, would find useful "in conquering the hegemony of Germany." On the 17th of March the Turin Parliament proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, and two days afterwards England recognised his position. France delayed her recognition till June, Napoleon's *chief difficulty being the disposal of Rome*. Opportunity, said Italian statesmen, will open the way to Venice; and as for Rome, though it must be the capital of free Italy, we only desire to go there, not at the head of a revolutionary army, but hand in hand with France. Personally, Napoleon would have wished to evacuate Rome. Its occupation was a heavy burden on his finances - which had become seriously embarrassed. To uphold the temporal power of the Pope, which he had disavowed, against the will of the Italian people, which in other quarters he had enforced by the sword, put him in a false position. On the other hand, the priests in France had to be conciliated, and there was a strong party among Frenchmen who thought that France should be compensated, by the occupation of Rome, for the rise of a new naval Power in the Mediterranean.* Early in the summer Cavour, who like Themistocles lived to convert a small state into a great one,

* Others, like the Prince Napoleon, promulgated the theory that in pursuance of the Imperial policy of tearing up the treaties of 1815 it would be desirable to conciliate Italy. She would be a second-rate naval power, and the second-rate naval powers would naturally consolidate round France, who could thus overmaster even England on the seas Such views, though officially disavowed by the Emperor, increased the distrust between England and France.

and his policy being cherished as a sacred legacy by his [illegible]
Cavour, however, lived long enough to see the failure of [illegible]
procure the evacuation of Rome by the cession of Sardinia to [illegible]
Kinglake in July tried to convince the House of Commons that [illegible]
was practically agreed on, and he pointed out that Nelson had declared [illegible]
would be useless to England whenever the Bay of Cagliari passed into [illegible]
hands of a great naval power. But Lord John Russell—in the last speech [illegible]
ever made in the Lower House—assured the country that he could find [illegible]
evidence pointing to the existence of such a scheme. At the same time [illegible]
made it plain, though he did not say so in as many words, that Engl[illegible]
would regard the cession of Sardinia to France as a *casus belli.**

Another project was on foot which gave the Queen great uneasine[illegible]
Napoleon—whose brain, said Lord Palmerston once, was as full of schemes [illegible]
a warren was full of rabbits—was said to be in favour of creating a [illegible]
Eastern State or kingdom, with Constantinople as its capital, and Ki[illegible]
Leopold, the Queen's uncle, as its Sovereign. In that case France wou[illegible]
naturally take Belgium by way of compensation; but the idea, if ev[illegible]
seriously entertained, was soon consigned to the limbo of vanished Imperi[illegible]
dreams. The condition of Austria was now rather serious. All her propos[illegible]
for reforming the political system of Hungary, relegated that ancient kingdo[illegible]
to the position of an Austrian province. The Hungarian people, howev[illegible]
refused to accept this position, and demanded the restoration of their righ[illegible]
as an independent State under the Sovereign of Austria, reigning over the[illegible]
as crowned King of Hungary. Their demand might at any moment take t[illegible]
form of a revolutionary movement, which would probably re-open the Easte[illegible]
question, and involve England in war. Luckily this calamity was averted [illegible]
the preoccupation of Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel, who alone had eith[illegible]
the power or the will to raise a revolution in Hungary.

But affairs in the North were much more disquieting. Early in Mar[illegible]
the dispute between Denmark and the Duchies of Sleswig-Holstein, which t[illegible]
Queen and her husband had watched with jealous eyes from its origin, becam[illegible]
acute. The Danish Government was willing to submit the budget for t[illegible]
Duchies to their local legislatures, on condition that it was not altered. T[illegible]
German Diet or Bund declared that this was equivalent to an assertion th[illegible]
territory which was really subject to the authority of the Bund, was und[illegible]
the exclusive Sovereign authority of Denmark. The three non-Germ[illegible]
Great Powers declared that Denmark ought to yield to the Duchies' th[illegible]

* Mr. Gladstone disapproved of this threat. It is, indeed, very hard to say how much truth there [illegible]
in the rumours then afloat as to the cession of Sardinia. Vitzthum writes, "hitherto he (Napoleon) [illegible]
only talked of giving that island to the Pope as an equivalent for the States of the Church. [illegible]
with this view that Pietri, the well known *entrepreneur du suffrage universel* in Savoy, had [illegible]
in that island, and had sent private reports to Napoleon during his visit to the [illegible]
Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 157.

[illegible] rights, and laid it down that if this were not done, the [illegible] [illegible] justly force concessions from Denmark, by Federal execution in [illegible]-Holstein. Denmark ignored the award and threats of the Powers, [illegible] Prussia took up the cause of the Sleswigers. In England the Prussian Government was sneered at for menacing Denmark because she denied the Duchies the right to control their Budgets, whilst it raised money for its own military purposes without the consent of its own subjects.

Other than political anxieties made the spring of 1861 dismal to the Queen. On the 12th of March she had visited her mother, the Duchess of Kent, at Frogmore, and found her suffering great pain from the effects of a surgical operation which had been performed to relieve an abscess in her arm. On the 15th Her Majesty and her husband were inspecting the Horticultural Society's gardens at South Kensington, when they were summoned by Sir James Clark to the bedside of the Duchess of Kent, who began to develop feverish symptoms. When they arrived they found her dying. "I knelt before her," writes the Queen, "kissed her dear hand and placed it next my cheek; but though she opened her eyes, she did not, I think, know me . . . I went out to sob," adds Her Majesty, stricken to the heart at finding, for the first time in her life, her mother had not received her with a loving smile of recognition. All through the night the Queen watched by the bedside of the dying Princess, weeping as she thought of her childhood and its sacred memories, and of the dreadful blank her mother's death must make in her life. At eight in the morning of the next day (the 16th) Prince Albert persuaded the Queen to leave her mother's room for a little, and rest. But she could not rest. She insisted on returning to the sick-room, and when she went back she saw that her mother was passing away. The heart-beats grew fainter; the eyes slowly closed, and as the clock struck half-past nine, Prince Albert took the Queen out of the room, and she knew all was over. For forty-one years she had not been parted from her mother save for a few brief weeks at a time. Now they were parted for ever on this side of the grave. "I seemed," she writes, "to have lived through a life, to have become old." The death of the Duchess of Kent plunged the Royal household in grief. She died leaving not one dry eye behind her among those who had known and served and loved her. The Princess Frederick William of Prussia hurried to her mother's side, arriving at Windsor on the 18th; and then from every quarter, letters and messages of condolence came pouring in. Addresses of sympathy were carried in both Houses of Parliament, and every effort was made by Ministers to lighten the anxieties of the Queen at a time when sorrow lay heavily on her heart. The funeral took place on the [illegible] in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where the body was laid till a Mausoleum at Frogmore could be built. "I and my girls," wrote the Queen to King Leopold on that day, "prayed at home together, and dwelt on her [illegible] and peace." On the 2nd of April the Princess Frederick William

returned to Berlin, and the Queen and her husband retired to Osborne. The Easter recess had produced a lull in politics, and it might have been expected that the Queen would have been permitted to mourn her bereavement in peace. It was not so. On the 12th of April she was deeply pained to find

MR. (AFTERWARDS VISCOUNT) CARDWELL.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

the *Times* renewing its old attacks on Prince Albert, and again accusing him of thwarting Lord Palmerston's Italian policy in the interests of his German relatives. For this cruel imputation there was no warrant, save the fact that Austria persisted in holding Venetia, which had been guaranteed to her by the pact of Villafranca, in spite of Lord Palmerston's recommendation that she should cede the province to Italy.

On the 15th of April the Prince Consort, writing to Stockmar, says, [illegible]

[illegible] gone asleep." Before the recess the position of the Ministry had [illegible] maintained, simply because Mr. Disraeli was of opinion that pre-[illegible] Tory attacks on it might heal the schism between Palmerston and the Radicals. But the weakness of the Cabinet in the House of Commons was illustrated in March, when Palmerston had—as we have seen—to help the Tories to throw out Mr. Locke-King's Bill for reducing the county franchise to £10, in return for their support of his resolution reversing an adverse vote on the payment of the Navy. It was also illustrated by Mr. Dunlop's motion for an inquiry into the mutilation of the Afghan Blue Book in 1839. Lord Palmerston (who had been Foreign Secretary) was accused of having created the disastrous Afghan War, simply because he would not believe the reports of his own agents in Afghanistan. To excuse the disasters of the campaign he had hacked and garbled the despatches in the most unscrupulous manner, so as to make it appear that these agents reported the very opposite of what they actually told him. Mr. Dunlop had unearthed evidence to prove this charge, and he proved it up to the hilt. Palmerston's only defence was that the mutilations complained of were quite regular, and were made in the public interest. "The Commons," writes Count Vitzthum, "were extremely indignant, and nothing but Disraeli's intervention saved the Ministry. Lord Derby," Count Vitzthum goes on to say, "is on the most friendly footing with his political opponent, Lord Granville. The latter added to a business letter a postscript, with the question, 'When will you turn us out?' The Tory chief answered, 'I am thinking day and night how I can manage to keep you in, but it will be devilish difficult.'" * Mr. Disraeli had set his face against taking office till he had a trustworthy majority in the House of Commons that would enable him to carry out a foreign policy even in the teeth of Lord Palmerston's opposition. The aim of the Opposition was, therefore, to keep Palmerston in power till this majority was obtained. It was feared, however, that the Government might fall on their Budget, and its production was awaited with intense interest on the 15th of April, when Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement. Dismal predictions of a large deficit had been promulgated. On the contrary, though the revenue had fallen off considerably, there had been an equivalent saving in expenditure, and on the year's work the deficit was only £855,000 when the accounts were balanced. Mr. Gladstone's estimates for the current year, however, after providing for this deficit, showed a surplus on the basis of existing taxation of about £2,000,000; so he was able to take a penny off the income-tax, and at last to repeal the Paper Duty, without incurring the reproach of rashly sacrificing revenue. But to do this he had to leave the duties on tea and sugar unaltered. To prevent the Peers from rejecting the repeal of the Paper Duty, he tacked his scheme on to the Bill containing all his financial proposals. The House of Lords

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 140.

[illegible] feeble and futile threat of opposition from the Duke of [illegible]. In the Commons a majority of 15 in a House of 577 members carried the Budget of 1861, which is memorable as the one that abolished what [illegible] called "the taxes on knowledge." The financial debates in the House [illegible] end till Mr. Gladstone had shown pretty clearly that he thought too [illegible] money was being spent on the Army and Navy. On the other hand, Lord John Russell took occasion, in a debate on Italian affairs, to declare that the state of Europe rendered this expenditure necessary. The assumption here was that events abroad might falsify Mr. Gladstone's estimates, which showed a surplus. In that case, as the Paper Duty could not be re-imposed, any deficit must be met by an increased income-tax, and it was this fear that rendered the Whigs and the Tories alike anxious to retain the Paper Duty. But the Cabinet was too weak to dispense with Mr. Gladstone's services. As the price of his allegiance to Palmerston was the repeal of the Paper Duty, and the consequent humiliation of the House of Lords, who had threatened to oppose its abolition, Palmerston had to submit to the Paper Duty being repealed. Still, the Premier was not without his consolations. The dispute with the Prussian Government over Captain Macdonald's grievances had not terminated, and on the 26th of April Lord Palmerston seized the opportunity it afforded him of making a coarse and undignified attack on Prussia because her laws, which in Macdonald's case he admitted had not been overstepped, were "harsh, unjust, arbitrary, and violent" This provoked recriminations in the Berlin Chamber, where Baron Schleinitz foolishly mixed up Captain Macdonald's arrest with high policy. To these recriminations the *Times* delivered an insulting reply, and, greatly to the annoyance of the grief-stricken Queen, a rancorous quarrel was thus developed about a trivial affair between the two Governments, which, said the Prince Consort, made the "outlook most melancholy." Mr. Disraeli told Count Vitzthum that Palmerston's outburst against Prussia was delivered in order to annoy the Prince Consort rather than the Berlin Cabinet, and if that were the fact it must be allowed that his malignity was eminently successful. It was, in truth, so ill-concealed at this time that Mr. Disraeli himself said he was puzzled to account for the Prime Minister's "grudge" against Prince Albert.*

On the 27th of April the Queen announced the approaching marriage of the Princess Alice and Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt, which was approved by Parliament on the 4th of May. On the 6th the Princess was voted a dowry of £30,000 and an annuity of £6,000 a year. During Whitsuntide the Queen's birthday was celebrated at Osborne quietly and without the usual festivities, her holiday being marred not only by the nervous prostration which affected her after her mother's death, but by the illness of Prince [illegible]

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., [illegible]

...smitten by a severe attack of measles which he caught from Prince ... of Hesse.

The death of Cavour on the 6th of June was followed by the recognition of the kingdom of Italy by France on the 25th in response to an appeal from Riccasoli. He knew that till this recognition was given, it would be difficult for the Italian Government to raise the loans necessary to construct those railways and other public works which were urgently needed to develop the resources of the new kingdom. This recognition, however, implied that

BALMORAL CASTLE, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co., Aberdeen.

for a time the Italian question must be shelved. It was therefore with great satisfaction that England now saw the triumph of her policy, though this satisfaction was allayed somewhat by the rumour that Sardinia was to be ceded to France. Sir J. Hudson told Baron Riccasoli that such a cession would be taken by England as a *casus belli*, a warning which elicited from him a fervent denial that Victor Emmanuel would ever sanction such a transaction.

Meanwhile the Queen, still sad at heart and depressed in spirits, struggled bravely to perform her social duties. She held two Drawing-rooms and two Investitures before June was over. Visitors, too, came to comfort her in her sorrow. The King of the Belgians and his son, and the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia and their children arrived in midsummer. They were followed in rapid succession by others, including some members of the Orleans family, the Archduke Maximilian, and the Archduchess Charlotte, the Princess

Charles of Hesse, and the King of Sweden, who arrived in [illegible] was a year fruitful in sorrow for the Queen and her family. [illegible] Herbert had early in the year accepted a peerage, and retired [illegible] House as Lord Herbert of Lea. In July he fell ill, and to the [illegible] the Queen, who regarded him as the future Prime Minister, died in [illegible] In him the Peelites lost the Bayard of their party. On the 25th of [illegible] great gap was made in the ranks of the Ministry in the Lower House by the

THE ROYAL TOUR IN IRELAND THE VISIT TO ROSS CASTLE, KILLARNEY. (*See p.* 89.)

elevation of Lord John Russell to the peerage as Earl Russell of Kingston Russell.* "The comments of the newspapers," wrote Count Vitzthum, "on Lord John Russell's acceptance of a peerage read like funeral sermons," and his farewell speech to the House of Commons, broadly hinting that England would make the cession of the island of Sardinia to France a *casus belli*, rang like a thunderclap through Europe. It was more effective than his farewell address to his constituents. In this document, when reviewing the exploits of his

* Sir George Cornewall Lewis succeeded Lord Herbert at the War Department. Sir George [illegible] went to the Home Office, and was succeeded by Mr. Cardwell as Chancellor of the [illegible] Lancaster. Sir R. Peel succeeded Mr. Cardwell as Irish Secretary. Lord Campbell's [illegible] Sir R. Bethell to the Lord Chancellorship.

... Russell modestly compared himself to the Emperor Charles V., ... having been engaged in all the great affairs of his age, and desiring ... how the world would get on after his death, had the dark pageant of ... funeral prepared, and officiated as his own chief mourner at the ceremony. ... of the last events of the Session was a spirited debate on the 26th of June on the demand of the Government for £200,000 for new ironclads. Palmerston, by dwelling on the growth of the French navy, frightened Parliament into granting the money, and the Manchester Radicals were fain to hold their peace. Mr. Disraeli, however, rather leant to the Peace Party in this debate. He suggested that diplomacy might effect a friendly understanding with France which would fix the relative proportions between the two navies, but his followers, who were bellicose, listened to him with amazement and anger. It did not occur to them that he was already speculating on the prospect of being in office next year, and was preparing the way for a friendly reception at the Tuileries.

It was a tranquil Session, during which hardly one party division was challenged in the Lower House. Though Lord John (now Earl) Russell had virtually abandoned his Reform Bill, the artisans in some of the large towns still kept alive the agitation for Parliamentary Reform. The country, however, seemed apathetic on the subject. How to give the best of the working men votes without at the same time enfranchising those who were unworthy, seemed to most people an insoluble problem. The American Civil War and the triumph of the Protectionists in Australia also rendered Englishmen somewhat sceptical as to the beneficial results of a democratic franchise. A Bankruptcy Bill was carried. It was not a party measure, and it was the only Ministerial Bill bearing on domestic affairs the passing of which in 1861 calls for record. When Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of August, the only shadow on the horizon of the future discernible by the Queen was the prospect of a cotton famine in Lancashire. Her Majesty's anxiety on this subject was also apparently shared by Lord Palmerston. Writing to Mr. Milner Gibson about the matter in June, Lord Palmerston wistfully asked if the Board of Trade or any other department had any means of helping the country to make good the deficiency in the cotton supply which the Civil War in America was sure to cause. "As to our manufacturers," he writes, "they will do nothing unless directed and pushed on. They are some of the most helpless and shortsighted of men. They are like the people who held out their dishes and prayed that it might rain plum-puddings. They think it is enough to open their mill-gates, and that cotton will come of its own accord. They say they have for years been looking to India as a source of supply; but their looks seem to have had only the effect of the eyes of the rattlesnake, namely, to paralyse the object looked at, and as yet it has shown no signs of falling into their jaws." *

* Evelyn Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 211.

On the 16th of August the Crown Prince and Princess of [illegible] children left Osborne for Germany. Next day her Majesty, the [illegible], and the Princess Alice visited the grave of the Duchess of Kent at [illegible], celebrating there in sorrow a birthday anniversary which had hitherto [illegible] joy every year to the Royal circle. They placed wreaths on the tomb, and [illegible], writes the Queen to King Leopold, "that it was only the earthly robe of her we loved so much that was there—the pure, tender, loving spirit is above, and free from all suffering and woe. . . . The first birthday in another world, must have been a far brighter one than any birthday in the poor world below." *

The time had now come when the Queen had to make preparations for a visit to Ireland which she had planned. On the 21st of August her Majesty, the Prince Consort, Prince Alfred fresh from his West Indian cruise—and the Princesses Alice and Helena, started for Holyhead, which they reached at seven o'clock in the evening. They arrived at Kingstown at midnight, and next morning (22nd August), accompanied by Lord Carlisle, the Lord-Lieutenant, his Chief Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, and Sir George Brown, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, they proceeded to Dublin. Despite the wet and stormy weather, the populace gave their Royal visitors a cordial reception. Next morning (23rd August) the Prince Consort visited the Curragh Camp to see for himself how the Prince of Wales was progressing with his military studies there, and the Queen received a loyal address from the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Dublin. In the afternoon the Royal party drove through the city, where crowds cheered them loudly wherever they went, and in the evening they met at dinner the Duke of Leinster, the Marquis and Marchioness of Headfort, the Marquis and Marchioness of Kildare, and Lady Charlemont. On Saturday, the 24th, the Queen herself visited the Curragh Camp, and reviewed the troops there. As they passed the cavalry one of the bands began to play an air which had been a favourite with the Duchess of Kent, and repeated it on marching past. "This," wrote the Queen in her Diary, "entirely upset me, and the tears would have flowed freely had I not checked them by a violent effort. But I felt sad the whole day till I came to Bertie (the Prince of Wales), who looked so well." † Then came some field manœuvres, and a visit to "Bertie's hut," where the whole party, with Sir George Brown, General Ridley, Colonels Wetherell, Browning, and Percy—the latter of whom had the Prince of Wales under his care—partook of a comfortable luncheon. The Queen thanked Colonel Percy very warmly "for treating Bertie as he did like any other officer, for," she says in her Diary, "I know he keeps him up to his work in a way, as General Bruce told me, no one else has done; and yet Bertie likes him very much." On Sunday afternoon the Queen visited the Kilmainham Hospital, and on Monday (August 26th) celebrated her husband's birthday. "Alas! [illegible]

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXIII.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXIV.

... King Leopold, "there is so much so different this year—nothing ... and we on a journey, and separated from many of our children, and ... spirits bad."

In the afternoon the Queen and her family left the Viceregal Lodge for Killarney, and, recording her impressions on the road, her Majesty dwells on the sparseness of the population, and the scarcity of villages and towns. At

THE EAGLE'S NEST, KILLARNEY.

(After a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

Thurles she notes how the crowd shrieked rather than cheered, how "wild and dark-looking" the people were, and how handsome the girls seemed, despite their dishevelled hair. At Killarney the Queen was received by Lord Castlerosse, Mr. Herbert of Muckross Abbey, the General commanding the district, and the Mayor, who presented a loyal address. Guarded by a strong escort of troops, her Majesty drove amidst cheering crowds to Lord Castlerosse's house, which was so charmingly picturesque that she sketched it on her arrival. At dinner in the evening she met the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Moriarty—whom she describes as "a tall, stout, and very intelligent, clever man,"—the Knight of Kerry, and a brother of O'Connell's, whose views her

Majesty found more to her liking than those of the Liberator. [illegible] the Queen spent most of her time on the lakes in this lovely and [illegible] spot—the close, warm, humid atmosphere being the only drawback to her delightful tour. In the evening Muckross was visited, and next day [illegible]

KING WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA (AFTERWARDS GERMAN EMPEROR).

August), after driving round Muckross Lake, the Queen went on that splendid sheet of water, and admired especially the excellent rowing of the boatmen. Very reluctantly did the Queen bid farewell to her kind hosts on the 29th of August, when she hastened back to her yacht at Kingstown. At nine next morning she reached Holyhead, where she rested, while the Prince Consort and her suite made an excursion to Carnarvon. Leaving Holyhead in the [illegible] and travelling all night, the Royal party reached Balmoral on the 30th of [illegible]

The affairs of Germany had now drifted into such a critical condition that the Prince Consort felt bound to explain to the King of Prussia the views of the English Court on this subject. All over the Fatherland the people, stirred by the success of the movement in Italy for unity, were forming political clubs, and Prussia, to whom they looked for leadership, was disappointing them by refusing to reform her internal administration. Prince Albert, writing to the King of Prussia, took the popular German view—pointing out how Austria had ever worked for the purpose of weakening the Fatherland, and how she had once more given to France, after her victories in Italy, a strong position on the Rhine. "Is it an evil trait of the spirit of the people," asks the Prince, "if they yearn for general unity and active co-operation in what is to decide their destiny? Do not allow yourself to be annoyed or misled if here and there the people are guilty of stupid extravagances. They and you are Germany's only stay, and the power by which alone the enemy can be held at bay. It is not a Cavour that Germany needs, but a Stein." It has been said that the Queen and her husband were not consistent in their policy, because, while they showed little sympathy for the national movement in Italy, they always encouraged the same movement in Germany. To them it must be remembered that the former movement was an anti-German one. They believed that if Austria lost Venetia, Galicia, Hungary, and Poland, Germany would be crushed—because they assumed that these nations, like the new kingdom of Italy, would be under the hostile influence of France. The mistake which they made in the case of Italy lay in supposing that political gratitude is stronger than the love of national independence.

During this autumn the Prince of Wales visited Germany, ostensibly to be present at the military manœuvres in the Rhine Provinces, but really to make the acquaintance of the Princess Alexandra of Denmark at Speyer and Heidelberg, where she happened to be staying, and where, according to the Prince Consort, "the young people seem to have taken a warm liking for each other" when they first met.* The visit of the King of Prussia to Compiègne somewhat disturbed the mind of the country, for it set afloat rumours of an alliance with France, one result of which might perhaps be a scheme for the unification of Germany, with Belgium and the Rhine Provinces playing the part which was allotted to Nice and Savoy in the scheme for unifying Italy. The Queen and her husband, however, knew that the visit was purely one of ceremonial courtesy, and that no attempt had been made to inveigle Prussia into any such conspiracy. This information was communicated to the Cabinet, and soon all disquieting rumours ceased.

On the 18th of October the King of Prussia was crowned at Königsberg, and Lord Clarendon, who was present as representing the Queen, congratulated

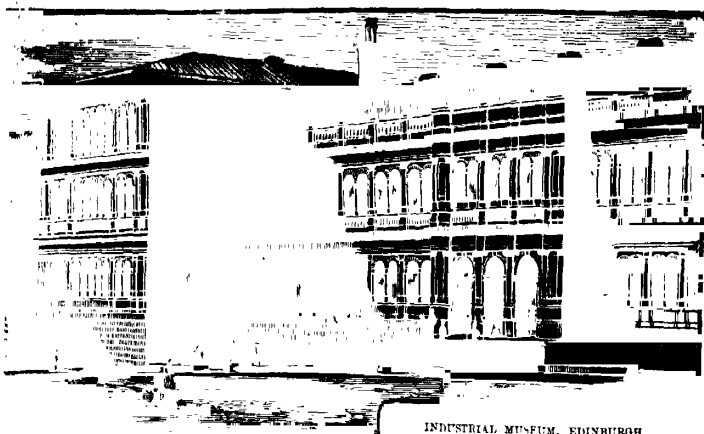
* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXIV.

her Majesty on the charming manner in which the Crown [illegible] homage to her father-in-law. King William I. was desirous of [illegible] Order of the Black Eagle on Lord Clarendon, but the Queen begged [illegible] to offer it, because it was against the traditions of the English Foreign [illegible] to permit a subject to accept such a distinction.* Lord Clarendon mixed [illegible] freely in society at Berlin, and was able to report to the Queen that [illegible] attacks of the *Times* on everything Prussian would have damaged the position of the Crown Princess, had it not been safeguarded and secured by her own high personal qualities. These attacks broke out afresh over the King's seeming assertion of the principle of Divine Right in his Address to the Chambers, and Clarendon begged the Queen to remonstrate with Lord Palmerston, who was supposed to influence the *Times*. Though Lord Palmerston, in one of his letters, penned a high-spirited reply to a Royal communication on the subject, it is a curious coincidence that the attacks of which her Majesty complained suddenly ceased from this moment.

On leaving Balmoral the Court proceeded to Holyrood, and on the 23rd of October the Prince Consort laid the foundation stones of the new Post Office and the Industrial Museum in Edinburgh. The Queen and her family reached Windsor on the same evening, where her Majesty's grief broke out afresh, as it was the first time she had lived at the Castle without finding her mother at Frogmore. As Sovereign of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, the Queen held her first investiture of Knights at Windsor Castle on the 1st of November. The difficulty which perplexed the Indian Government in establishing this Order had been to find for it a suitable name and an appropriate device The suggestions of the Prince Consort had a few months before been in the main adopted, and many fantastic ideas had been extinguished by the cold *douche* of his common sense. It had been settled that the Order was to consist of the Indian Viceroy as Grand Master, and twenty-five Knights, together with such extraordinary Knights as the Queen might appoint. The badge was to be an oval onyx cameo suspended from an Imperial crown in the centre of the collar, and on the stone Her Majesty's head was cut in high relief, the motto being "Heaven's Light Our Guide." The jewel was surmounted by a star, and set in diamonds. The ceremony of investiture was held in high state. The Queen having previously conferred the Order on the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales, entered the Throne Room wearing the sumptuous Mantle of the Order. After the usual formalities, she invested with the Insignia of the Order, Lord Harris,

* The rule originated with Queen Elizabeth, who said she objected to her dogs wearing anybody else's collars. Lord Clarendon himself, as Foreign Minister, had prohibited English servants of the Crown from accepting Foreign Orders. Lord Granville at the Coronation of the Czar Alexander, the Duke of Northumberland at the Coronation of Charles X., and Lord Beauvale at that of the Emperor Ferdinand, had to refuse Foreign Orders. The Duke of Devonshire was allowed to accept one from the Czar Nicholas at his Coronation, on the ground that, like many distinguished Englishmen, he was a personal friend of his Imperial Majesty.

..., Lord Clyde, His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh, Sir ... and Sir George Pollock.

At Windsor the Prince Consort now began to make arrangements for the approaching marriage of the Princess Alice, and the journey of Prince Leopold, then in delicate health, to Cannes. He busied himself also with the preparation of Marlborough House as a residence for the Prince of Wales. On the ...th of November he inspected the works at Wellington College. A brilliant company of guests, including the Grand Duke and Duchess Constantine, the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Granville, Earl and Countess Russell, Lord Sydney, and the Baron and Baroness Brunnow, were at the Castle when the birthday of

INDUSTRIAL MUSEUM, EDINBURGH.

the Prince of Wales was celebrated on the 9th. The death of Prince Ferdinand of Portugal, from typhoid fever, together with sad memories of the late Duchess of Kent, had somewhat darkened this family festival, and in a few days her Majesty and the Prince Consort were still further shocked to hear that the King of Portugal had also fallen a victim to the disease which had cut short his brother's life. The attachment which existed between the Prince Consort and the Portuguese branch of the House of Coburg was close and tender, and it is certain that the sudden death of King Pedro and his brother weighed heavily on his heart. The Crown Princess of Prussia was suffering from illness, brought on by the fatigues and excitement of the coronation ceremony, and, as the last letter the Prince Consort ever wrote to Stockmar indicates, this also preyed on his mind. To these troubles were added certain private vexations, hinted at, but not specified by Sir Theodore Martin. The Prince began to look ill, and his irritability amazed his household, every member of which loved him for his serene temper, his imperturbable good humour, and his invincible patience. On the 12th of November the Queen

begun to notice that her husband's repeated journeys to London [illegible] him "low and sad." His sleeplessness returned, and her Majesty [illegible] C. Phipps to lighten as much as possible the strain on his energies. [illegible] 22nd of November he inspected the buildings of Sandhurst Military [illegible] amidst a downpour of rain, and it was at first thought he here caught [illegible] illness which sent him to his grave. On the 23rd, though complaining of *malaise*, he went out shooting with Prince Ernest of Leiningen. On the [illegible] he complained of rheumatic pains, but walked with the Queen and her family

THE QUEEN HOLDING THE FIRST INVESTITURE OF THE ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA. (See p. 91.)

to Frogmore. Next day (Monday) he went to Cambridge to see the Prince of Wales, who found him "greatly out of sorts," and when he came back to Windsor he was so ill that he could not walk out with the Queen in the afternoon. On the 26th he was worse; on the 28th he was still worse, and greatly grieved at the seizure by the Americans of the Confederate Commissioners, who were passengers in the English mail steamer *Trent*. During the next two days the Prince still complained of illness, and when, on the 1st of December, he drafted a memorandum—the last he ever wrote—for the Queen on the *Trent* affair, he could scarcely hold his pen. Yet he had struggled against his [illegible] and during the two previous days had appeared among his guests—including the Duc de Nemours, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone—as [illegible] But he ate nothing, and when he went to bed he complained of [illegible] with cold. On the 2nd of December Sir James Clark and Dr. Jenner [illegible]

[illegible] be suffering from low fever. Curiously enough, when Lord [illegible] [illegible] on him to report on the death of the King of Portugal he said he was [illegible] his disease was not typhoid fever, because he knew he could not survive [illegible] attack. Lord Palmerston was a guest at the Castle on the 2nd, and when he found that the Prince was still unable to take food or leave his room he suggested that another physician should be called in. The Queen could not bring herself to believe that her husband was seriously ill, and on the 3rd her opinion was confirmed by that of Sir James Clark, for the Prince slept better that night and so Palmerston's suggestion was overruled. Next day even Sir James Clark admitted there was no improvement, and that the symptoms were discouraging. On the 4th of December the Queen says she found the Prince "very woebegone and wretched." He had not slept, and his appetite had gone. He seemed to care for nothing save that his daughter, the Princess Alice, should sit by him and read to him. His irritability extended even to the selection of books, and it was not till the Princess began to read Scott's "Talisman" to him that he was satisfied. Sir James Clark still consoled the Queen with smooth prognostications; but Dr. Jenner told her that the Prince must eat because he was simply starving to death. On the 5th he began to marvel what kind of illness it could be that clung to him so persistently, and how long it would last. Clark, however, reported that he was somewhat better, and the Queen was again deceived by delusive signs of improvement. He still begged the Princess Alice to read to him, and nothing else seemed to soothe his irritability. On the 6th he rose early and talked to the Queen about his illness. She told him it sprang from overwork, to which he replied: "It is too much. You must speak to the Ministers."* His mind, he remarked, had begun to brood over Rosenau and the scenes of his childhood, and when he said that the Queen felt as if her heart were breaking. For by this time the physicians could not conceal from themselves the gravity of the case. The Prince was obviously suffering from typhoid fever, and Dr. Jenner broke the news to her Majesty as softly and kindly as he could. Still, they told her the symptoms were not bad, and she tried to think of those who had been smitten with typhoid fever and had survived. On the 7th the Queen worked hard—harder than ever she had worked in her life; for her husband's pen was no longer at her service. She herself has said that "the tears fell fast" as she sat by his bedside watching him and thinking of the shipwreck of their plans, "and of the painful loss this long illness would be, publicly as well as privately."

On the 8th the Prince felt so well that he begged to be moved into a larger room, and as he lay in the sunshine he asked the Princess Alice to play for him some of his favourite German chorales. Tears came to his [illegible] as her fingers wandered over the keys. Suddenly he cried out, "*Das [illegible] hin*"—"that is enough"—and then the music was mute. Charles

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXVI.

[illegible] preached that Sunday in the Chapel, but the Queen, [illegible] service, says in her Diary, "I heard nothing." In the afternoon [illegible] husband and read "Peveril of the Peak," he holding her [illegible] sionally murmuring words of love and tenderness. Lord Palmerston, [illegible] disabled with gout, could no longer conceal his anxiety. He [illegible] colleagues again pressed the Queen to call in some other physician, [illegible] Sir James Clark and Dr. Jenner accordingly sent for Sir H. Holland [illegible] Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Watson. The Prince, after seeing the latter, spoke hopefully, and told the Queen that he was "quite the right man"— but still they noticed as a distressing sign that his mind had an increasing tendency to wander. On the 10th Lord Palmerston again urged that further medical advice should be obtained, and by this time the public were becoming alarmed at the condition of the patient. Still, ere the evening wore away even Dr. Watson admitted that the Prince had improved. But on the 11th the Queen, on visiting him in the morning to give him some beef-tea, noticed how his face, "more beautiful than ever, had grown so thin." As she assisted him to his sofa, he stopped to look at a picture on china of the Madonna, saying, "It helps me through half the day." The doctors, it seems, felt uneasy towards the evening, when they discovered that the Prince had begun to breathe with more difficulty. The Queen read to him during the greater part of the day, and he manifested great reluctance to let her leave him, even when her duty called her away for a few minutes. On the 12th the bad symptoms increased, and Palmerston wrote three letters, in quick succession, to Sir C. Phipps, each more distracted than the other. On the 13th Dr. Jenner had to warn the Queen that congestion of the lungs might set in, and she herself saw that her husband had become much weaker. But all through the night comforting reports were brought to her, and next morning, the 14th, Mr. Brown, the Royal apothecary, told her that Prince Albert was over the crisis. She went straight to his bedside. "I went in," she writes, "and never can I forget how beautiful my darling looked, lying there with his face lit up by the rising sun, his eyes unusually bright, gazing as it were at unseen objects, and not taking notice of me."* Hour after hour, as she watched by the sick bed, the Queen saw that her husband was slowly sinking. Still, in the afternoon he knew her—for as he laid his weary head on her shoulder, he kissed her and muttered, "*Gutes frauchen.*" Then his mind would wander, and then he would doze in brief and troubled snatches of sleep. He took his children by the hand when they came and kissed him, but it is doubtful if he now knew them. Late in the afternoon he asked for Sir Charles Phipps, who came and kissed his hand, whereupon he again closed his eyes. So he lingered on, the Queen keeping her mournful watch with breaking heart. At a late hour they changed his bed, and on the Queen [illegible]

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. CXI[illegible].

[illegible] a favourable sign, Dr. Jenner told her that the [illegible] all favourable signs of no avail. At last she went [illegible] [illegible] when she heard the breathing grow worse. The Prince was [illegible] [illegible], for when she kissed him and whispered, "*Es ist kleines Fräuchen*" — 'Tis your own little wife"—he kissed her also. But he seemed desirous of being left quite undisturbed, and so she retired to her room to weep. The end was coming fast. Clark soon saw that a serious change for the worse was setting in, and the Princess Alice went to summon the Queen. When she came she found the Prince still breathing, and she knelt at the bedside, taking his cold hand in hers. On the opposite side knelt the Princess Alice—at the foot of the bed the Prince of Wales and the Princess Helena. The doctors, Generals Bruce and Grey, Sir Charles Phipps, the Dean of Windsor, Prince Ernest of Leiningen, and the faithful valet, Löhlein, stood around hushed and grief-stricken, and the sobs of those to whom the Prince was dearest alone broke the stillness of the chamber of death. The dying man's face grew serenely soft and reposeful, as his breathing became feebler and feebler. At last he strove hard to take a long, deep breath. In this effort he passed away to his last, long rest, as the great clock of the Castle struck the third quarter after the tenth hour of the night. Those who heard the doleful chime at the Prince's deathbed will never forget it.

> "Yet in these ears, till hearing dies,
> One set slow bell will seem to toll
> The passing of the sweetest soul
> That ever look'd with human eyes."

Of the grief that broke the widowed heart of the Queen it is not becoming to speak here. The veil of silence must be drawn over a crisis in her life too sacred, and too tragical even for her children's eyes. But through England a great wave of sorrow swept over the hearts of men when they became conscious of all that the Prince Consort's death might imply. Political partisans whose waywardness had harassed the Prince during his life, were not unmoved by the touching story of his last days. Some were even ready to drop a remorseful tear over his grave, when they remembered how eagerly they had, for base party purposes, too often wounded the proud but gentle heart which would now beat no more. The voice of calumny was silenced at last. The *Times* newspaper, which had pursued the Prince with ungenerous criticism throughout his life, had, to quote the Queen's own words in a memorandum which she wrote on this painful subject, in January, 1862, "the most beautiful articles on him when he died." Lord Palmerston also shared in the general grief, and his biographer says that he felt the death of the Prince Consort most acutely, and looked upon it as an irreparable [illegible]. Indeed, he was almost melodramatic in his manifestations of remorse [illegible] in presence of a member of the Royal Family. The Duke of Cambridge,

[illegible], considered it his duty to inform Palmerston of the [illegible] [illegible] was utterly astounded at the effect the news had on him. He told Count Vitzthum that "the Prime Minister was so affected that he had fainted away several times in the presence of the Duke, who expected him to have a fit of apoplexy, and still fears that his days are numbered." Count Vitzthum, however, adds significantly:—"He (Palmerston) recovered again in the afternoon so far as to be able to receive Baron Brunnow, who perceived nothing unusual about him."* Mr. Hayward has stated that the news of the Prince Consort's death so affected Lord Palmerston that he had a violent attack of gout.† According to Mr. Ashley, the Prime Minister was suffering from gout before it was suspected that the Prince Consort was dangerously ill; though, no doubt, Mr. Hayward rightly accounts for Lord Palmerston's demonstrative emotion when he explains that he was afraid of the effect of the Prince's death on the Queen. But this apprehension as to the weakness of her Majesty's nerves must have quickly worn away, for when he visited her at Osborne, on the 29th of January, 1862, for the first time after the Prince's death, he not only neglected to put on mourning, but enhanced the gaiety of his raiment by wearing green gloves and blue studs.‡

The English people, however, had on the whole judged the Prince Consort generously through life, and they mourned over his death with genuine and unaffected sincerity. Never since the death of the Princess Charlotte was the grief of the people more widespread and more real. Friar Francis says of Hero's supposed death—

> "That what we have we prize not to the worth
> Whiles we enjoy it, but being lack'd and lost,
> Why, then we rack the value"

Some such feeling as this was universal when, amidst the gloom that tinged the skirts of the dying year with hues of sorrow, the nation reviewed Prince Albert's career, so full of usefulness, of self-restraint, of high aim, of patriotic purpose, of unselfish devotion. Very beautiful and touching, too, were the popular expressions of sympathy which were sent to the widowed Queen, the light of whose life had been extinguished at one fell stroke.

Till Count Vitzthum's "Reminiscences" appeared, little that was authentic had been published as to the personal history of the Queen during the first days of her widowhood. "Just as the Queen had failed," writes Count Vitzthum, who obtained his information from the Duke of Cambridge, "to recognise the danger till the last moment, so also she appears not to have realised, for the

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 182.

† A Selection from the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 65.

‡ This, says Lord Clarendon in a letter to Mr. Hayward, was "charmingly characteristic;" but [illegible] thinking of the effect on the mind of the Queen, "they" (the green gloves and blue studs) will not have been unobserved, or set down to the credit side of his account."—Mr. Hayward's Correspondence, Vol. II., p. 72.

[illegible]

[illegible] few days after all was over, the full extent of her loss. [illegible] was almost unnatural, and it was not till her return to [illegible] awoke to the full consciousness of this unexpected blow. 'Her [illegible] unnaturally quiet,' was the remark of an eye-witness two days [illegible] event.". The Duchess of Cambridge was the first member of the Royal [illegible] who ventured to write to the Queen. She described the answer of the [illegible] Alice as "heartrending." Her Majesty sat all day in dumb despair, [illegible] vacantly round her, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that [illegible] Royal sign manual could be obtained for the most urgent business. The [illegible] strong affection and the capable energy of the Princess Alice, however, spared her Majesty from many anxieties at the moment when her grief was keenest. Lord Granville was the first Minister she was able to see, and she transacted some business with him a few days after the Prince's death. Sir Charles Phipps, too, strove hard to lighten the burden of sovereignty for his Royal mistress in the darkest hours of her life; but his efforts, though well meant, gave rise to misunderstandings. "I hear," writes Lord Malmesbury in his Diary, on the 28th of December, "that Ministers have signed a memorial to the Queen refusing to transact business with her through Sir C. Phipps." From a constitutional point of view Palmerston and his colleagues were right in taking this course. Whether it was generous, or even wise, to annoy the Queen at such a moment with their cruelly conscientious pedantry is not a question that admits of much argument.* Her Majesty was able to hold her first Privy Council, after the Prince's death, on the 11th of January, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Granville, and Sir George Grey being in attendance. The chief point under discussion was that of summoning Parliament.

The Duke of Newcastle, who was a valued friend of the Prince Consort, had a quiet conversation with her Majesty early in January, before she left Windsor for Osborne. "His account of the Queen," writes Mr. Hayward in a letter to Lady Emily Peel, "is highly favourable. He said his private interview left him with the very highest opinion of her strength of character." † After retiring to Osborne, however, nervous exhaustion seriously impaired her strength. Lady Ely told Lord Malmesbury that during the first weeks at Osborne her Majesty seemed very low and wretched. "She (Lady Ely)," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 4th of February, 1862, "gives a sad report of the poor Queen, who talks continually about the Prince, and seems to feel comfort in doing so. She takes great pleasure in the universal feeling of sympathy for her and sorrow for him shown by all classes." ‡ King Leopold of Belgium came to Osborne in the end of January, and he endeavoured by his good offices to bring about an arrangement with Lord Palmerston for facilitating the transaction of Ministerial business with the

* Malmesbury Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 266.

† The Hayward Correspondence, Vol. II., p. 67.

‡ Malmesbury Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 267.

At that time her health was not actually bad. But the King of the Belgians said that though she was outwardly composed she was unequal to the strain of dining at table, even with her half-sister, the Princess Hohenlohe, and with Prince Louis of Hesse, who were then at Osborne. She seems to have desired no other companionship in the first weeks of her widowhood save that of the Princess Alice.

Count Vitzthum was in Lisbon when the tidings of the Prince Consort's death arrived, but he returned to London very soon afterwards. He says, "The consternation I found prevailing among all classes of the people surpassed my utmost expectations. Mr. Disraeli spoke to me with deep and heartfelt sorrow of the irreparable loss that England had sustained. 'With Prince Albert,' he said, 'we have buried our Sovereign. This German Prince has governed England for twenty-one years with a wisdom and energy such as none of our kings have ever shown. He was the permanent Private Secretary, the permanent Prime Minister of the Queen. If he had outlived some of the 'old stagers,' he would have given us, while retaining all constitutional guarantees, the blessings of absolute government. Of us younger men who are qualified to enter the Cabinet, there is not one who would not willingly have bowed to his experience. We are now in the midst of a change of government. What to-morrow will bring forth no man can tell. To-day we are sailing in the deepest gloom, with night and darkness all around us.'"

Some very curious details were collected by Count Vitzthum relating to the Prince Consort's illness. On the 15th of January the Duke of Cambridge, who was then staying with his mother at Kew, invited Count Vitzthum and Count Apponyi to dinner, and from his conversation the former was able to glean the following facts:—"The illness," writes Count Vitzthum, "which snatched away the Prince so suddenly in his forty-second year was at first nothing but a gastric fever, as his private librarian, Mr. Ruland, had informed me by letter on the day before I left for Lisbon. This so-called Windsor fever, so frequently recurrent at that season in the badly-drained town, soon, however, became typhoid. The Prince did not seem to be really ill, though as early as the 23rd or 24th of November his mind strangely wandered. His valet* felt instinctively what was necessary. 'Living here will kill your Royal Highness,' he frequently repeated. 'You must leave Windsor and go to Germany for a time to rest and recover strength.' These well-meant warnings passed unheeded by the patient, who showed the listlessness so foreign to his nature, but so characteristic of this disease. The most serious sign was sleeplessness and a total want of appetite. All the symptoms show that. I had the same illness myself last year. My own experience, therefore, makes me convinced that the sick man, from the indifference he showed for everything, especially for the preservation of his own life, had no idea of the danger he

* The faithful Coburger, Löhlein, was the only member of the Royal household who seems to have given advice that would have saved the Prince's life had it been acted on.

was in. This is the peculiarity of typhoid fever, which so completely [illegible] the nervous system. It requires, after timely diagnosis, complete [illegible] gentle treatment. When once the blood-poisoning has reached a [illegible] stage no human aid can avail.

"Above all things the Prince seems to have had no doctor attending [illegible] who was capable of recognising the gravity of the disease in time. Unfortunately, his physician, Dr. Bayly, had been killed in a railway accident the [illegible]

CAMBRIDGE COTTAGE, KEW.

before. Sir James Clark, fifty years before a distinguished physician of the old school, had virtually retired from practice, and probably had but a limited knowledge of the advance made by modern science in the treatment of typh[illegible] diseases. As physician to the Queen his position had been for twenty [illegible] a sinecure. Her Majesty enjoys such excellent health that she does not [illegible] what it is to be ill. Hence to the last moment she clung to vain hopes [illegible] regard to the condition of her husband, which Sir James very possibly [illegible] In consequence of the urgent representations of Ministers,* Dr. W[illegible]

* It is only fair to say that Lord Palmerston was the first to make these representations. [illegible] views on the Prince's illness and the Queen's doctors, see his letter to Lord [illegible] December.—Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, by Edwin Hodder. [illegible]

y Holland were summoned in addition to Dr. Jenner. Sir Henry is said to have been the first to have had the courage, when it was late, to tell the Queen the truth.

"The news of the death of King Dom Pedro, whom the Prince had loved as a son, had deeply affected him . . . . As he himself confessed, he hardly closed his eyes from the time he received the news till the fever actually set in. The troubles with America also embittered his last hours. He was so tired that at times he nodded off to sleep when standing. He felt always cold, and ate scarcely anything. Already in the autumn at Balmoral he had a presentiment of his death. So strong was this feeling ten days before he died that he enjoined Princess Alice, having ascertained that the Queen was not in the room, to write and tell her sister in Berlin that their father would not recover. The next day he asked the Princess whether she had done so, and she replied that she had not. On the 13th, the day before his death, he got up and transacted some business with his private secretary, Mr. Ruland. The Queen drove out, and during the drive appeared much easier about her husband's condition. On her return she found him in bed, unconscious, and with the extremities ice-cold. Now for the first time they all realised the danger. Princess Alice, on her own responsibility, sent for the Prince of Wales, who was then at Cambridge. Sir Charles Phipps telegraphed during the night for the Duke of Cambridge, who left London by the first train on the 14th, and arrived at Windsor at 8 o'clock in the morning. The alarming symptoms had increased, and the doctors did not conceal that the Prince had only a few hours to live. The Queen alone still deceived herself with hopes, and telegraphed early on the 14th to Berlin, 'Dear Vic., Papa has had a good night's rest, and I hope the danger is over.'" These details are important, because they partially explain the secret of what has been to many inexplicable—the extreme sorrow that has clouded the Queen's life during her long widowhood. It has been bitter to look back on the past and see how much might have been done that was left undone to save the life which was far dearer to her than her own.

As to the public aspects of the Queen's married life, Count Vitzthum was favoured with many disclosures from the Duchess of Cambridge. "She spoke," writes the Count, "with tears in her eyes, of the almost unparalleled happiness of his (the Prince Consort's) twenty years of married life, now brought to such a sudden end. In all that clear and sunny sky there was only one cloud. How gladly would the Queen have shared her [illegible] with the husband who helped her to wear it, and was her all in all! [illegible] already, in Sir Robert Peel's time, had she expressed her wish to [illegible] the title of King upon her husband. The constitutional scruples of [illegible] Tory Minister were urged still more emphatically by Lord [illegible] when, later on, the question was again mooted. The promotion

of the Prince to the title of 'Prince Consort' was the [illegible] promise. Prince Albert was naturalised in 1840, and obtained, [illegible] year, by letters patent, precedence next to the Queen. Nevertheless, [illegible] not a British prince, and both at Court and the Privy Council his [illegible] on attaining his majority, must have taken precedence of him. 'For the Prince of Wales,' as the Duke of Cambridge says, 'is and remains Prince of Wales.'"

"The value which the Queen attached to her husband's precedence is explained by the submissive veneration she invariably showed him in great as well as small affairs. He was complete master in his house, and the active centre of an Empire whose power extends to every quarter of the globe. It was a gigantic task for a young German prince to think and act for all these millions of British subjects. All the threads were gathered together in his hands. For twenty-one years not a single despatch was ever sent from the Foreign Office which the Prince had not seen, studied, and, if necessary, altered. Not a single report of any importance from an Ambassador was allowed to be kept from him. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Secretary for War, the Home Secretary, the First Lord of the Admiralty—all handed to him every day just as large bundles of papers as did the Foreign Office. Everything was read, commented upon, and discussed. In addition to all this, the Prince kept up private correspondence with foreign Sovereigns, with British Ambassadors and Envoys, with the Governor-General of India, and with the Governors of the various colonies. No appointment in Church and State, in the Army or the Navy, was ever made without his approbation. At Court not the smallest thing was done without his order. No British Cabinet Minister has ever worked so hard during the Session of Parliament—and that is saying a good deal—as the Prince Consort did for twenty-one years. And the Ministers come and go; or at any rate, if frequently and long in office, as was the case with Palmerston and Russell, they have four or five months' holiday every year. The Prince had no holidays at all. He was always in harness.

"The Continental notion that Royalty in England is a sinecure was signally refuted by the example of Prince Albert. As for the charge sometimes alleged against him, that owing to his Liberalism he yielded too much to the Ministers—in other words, to Parliament—it is wholly groundless. The influence exercised on the Government by the Crown is a power which makes itself felt, not merely in crises at home and abroad, but continually. This influence is, however, indirect, and wears a different garb in England to that which it assumes, for example, in Russia and France. Prince Albert's task was all the more difficult, since his decision depended on [illegible] data, and he had to reckon with the changing factors of a [illegible] foundations of which have been undermined for years by the [illegible] democracy. If, in spite of all this, the Crown's gains, as [illegible]

[illegible] it, has been well played, this result is doubly creditable to the [illegible] Prince, inasmuch as he could only direct the game—not play it himself. [illegible] what tact and skill he did so is proved by the fact that, with the exception of the British Ministers and a few intimate friends, no one had any idea of the actual position of the Prince during his lifetime. Those who knew it were pledged to keep the secret, which now for the first time since his death has been revealed to the nation.

"As truth appears to have been the most prominent attribute of the Prince, this necessary game of concealment must have been all the more painful to him. The daily regard for public opinion gave rise to misunderstandings, to overcome which required an amount of elasticity which was bound gradually to weaken. Sparing as the deceased was of sleep, it is difficult to understand how he found time to grapple with the mass of business. He could never call an hour his own. The continual receptions, notwithstanding the uniformity of an almost cloister-like Court life, no less than the mere physical strain caused by the continual change of residence, cut up the day into pieces and left scarcely any time for rest and reflection. The wonder is how he found it possible, in the midst of these occupations, to attend with labouring conscientiousness to the cares of government; to conduct personally the education of nine children; to prosecute his studies in all branches of human knowledge; to astonish men with the results of these studies; and at the same time to live, as he did, for art, himself a student, and constant patron of music, painting, and poetry." *

From these disclosures the following conclusions can now be drawn. The Prince Consort really killed himself by overwork. The Windsor fever, which was the proximate cause of his death, was neglected at the outset. Even when the symptoms were recognised as serious they were misunderstood and treated feebly by his physicians. Finally, when competent medical advice was sought, it was sought too late.

Of the Prince Consort's character, much that is interesting and curious might be written. "The silent father of our kings to be" was respected rather than appreciated during his life by the nation he served so well. Save for the fact that he had no special aptitude for military science, we might have traced a curious parallelism between the work he did for England, and that which was done by William of Orange. Prince Albert's strength, and perhaps his weakness, really lay in his capacity for looking at affairs from other than merely conventional British points of view. His serene intellect had scarcely any bias traceable to prejudice or vanity. His conclusions were always based on the application of a finely tempered logical mind, to all the facts of a given case that could be collected by patient and unceasing industry. A natural love of justice and truth informed his convictions. Instinctive

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., pp. 178—183.

sagacity and wise tolerance characterised his judgments. The good sense which, according to Sainte-Beuve, gave form and substance to the ideas of Louis XIV.—never deserted Prince Albert in any crisis of his life. His policy was seldom at fault, because its sole aim was to conserve national as

THE PRINCESS ALICE.

(From the Photograph by Mayall.)

distinguished from dynastic interests. If he erred during the Crimean War he erred with some of the wisest men of his time. If he undervalued the promise and potency of the great movement which led to Italian independence, his mistake was excusable. It was wrapt up in the tortuous policy of Napoleon III. and Cavour, which was hateful to him just because it was tortuous, and, moreover, he dreaded any movement on the Continent which, by letting loose the ungovernable ambition of the Bonapartist dynasty,

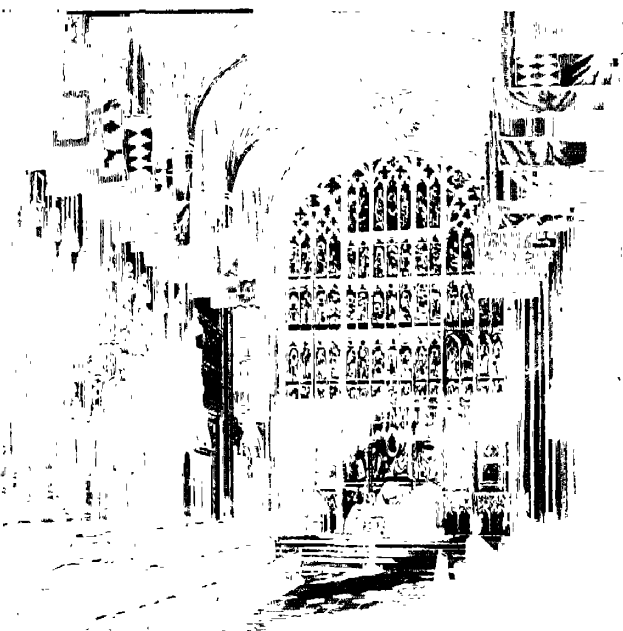
[illegible] play to the aggressive instincts of France, might again convert it and Germany into "the cockpit of Europe." Arnold has said of Sophocles, "He saw life steadily and saw it whole." The Prince Consort was almost alone among his contemporaries by reason of his capacity to see organized society steadily and to see it whole. He was an omnivorous, desultory reader, and his education was fortunately neither academical nor technical, neither exclusively literary nor exclusively scientific. His thirst for knowledge was unquenchable, and it was gratified under the guidance of a singularly correct taste. He was constantly corresponding with all sorts of interesting people, in all ranks of life, who happened to know anything that was worth knowing. Every business, or pursuit, or calling, that made men useful to each other, or added comfort, grace, beauty, and dignity to existence, had an irresistible fascination for him. A clever critic has said of Edmund Burke what might well be said of Prince Albert, whose mind, though less imaginative was more reflective. "Burke's imagination," writes Mr. Augustine Birrell, "led him to look out over the whole land: the legislator devising new laws; the judge expounding and enforcing old ones; the merchant despatching his goods and extending his credit; the banker advancing the money of his customers upon the credit of the merchant; the frugal man slowly accumulating the store which is to support him in old age; the ancient institutions of Church and University, with their seemly provisions for sound learning and pure religion; the parson in his pulpit; the poet pondering his rhymes; the farmer eyeing his crops; the painter covering his canvases; the player educating the feelings." * Similarly, when Prince Albert thought of England or her interests, her aims, and her mission in the world, it was not the England of St. James's or St. Giles's, of Piccadilly or the slums, or of any special class or order, that presented itself to his mind. It was the England which the eye of the historian will see—the England which has been built up and is maintained by the toil, the self-sacrifice, the enterprise, the leadership, and the genius of all who in their several stations work for her with brain and hand. To give these workers peace and security—that was to the Prince Consort the fundamental problem of statecraft, and the only true touchstone of policies. His finger was always on the pulse of the nation, and to every change in its feverish throbbing he was as sensitive as a physician. His "catholicity of gaze" has done for his writings and his speeches, what originality of thought and brilliancy of style have done for those of other men. It has enabled them to stand the test of time. If he failed to win unbounded popularity during his lifetime, it was because, as the French say, he had the defects of his qualities. His lot was not with the idlers of the earth, and he had little in common either with an aristocracy of pleasure or a democracy of noisy but futile activities. "Society," says Dr.

* Edmund Burke, by Augustine Birrell. *Contemporary Review*, July, 18[illegible], p. [illegible].

Martineau, "had reason for dismay where there is an ever-widening [illegible] between the two summit levels of thought and character? The Prince Consort's public life seemed as if it were planned in order to bridge the chasm. As for his private life, it is perhaps enough to say that the [illegible] and love with which his family, his friends, and his servants regarded him sufficiently attest its unblemished worth. Of the calumnies that pursued him almost to the verge of the grave, there is little to add to what has been already stated in preceding chapters. They never touched his honour as a gentleman, or his conduct as the head of an illustrious family. All the attacks which were directed against him were ostensibly directed against his supposed interference with affairs of State—in the interests of foreign despots. These attacks were, however, made by the Iagos of politics, from mixed motives of malignity and self-interest. As the late Mr. Albany Fonblanque once remarked, they came from those who had distinguished themselves by their unfailing championship of every form of despotism, and by their inveterate hatred of liberty "in every province of politics, and in every part of the world." * Calumny from such quarters never needed any explanation, and the Prince met it, not with a defence, but with disdain.

It was on the 23rd of December that the Prince Consort's remains were removed from Windsor Castle, and temporarily deposited in the entrance to the Royal Vault in St. George's Chapel, where they were to lie until the completion and consecration of a mausoleum for their reception. Shortly before noon the gloomy pageant began to file through the gate of the Norman Tower. It was headed by mourning coaches, containing four of the Prince's old servants, followed by an array of coaches with officials of his suite and household. One of the Queen's carriages preceded the hearse. In it was Lord Spencer, who, as the Prince's Groom of the Stole, carried his "crown." His *bâton*, sword, and hat were borne by Lieut.-Colonel Lord George Lennox, the Prince's Lord of the Bedchamber. The hearse, decorated in quiet, good taste with the Prince's escutcheons, was escorted by the Second Life Guards, followed by the Queen's carriage, the carriages of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Duchess of Cambridge. The line of route was kept by the Second Life Guards and Scots Fusiliers with arms reversed. Long ere the procession reached St. George's Chapel, the choir was filled by those who were invited to the ceremony, but not to join in procession, and the Knights of the Garter were in their stalls. The Royal Family met in the chapter-room at noon, from which, when the funeral procession was re-formed on the arrival of the corpse at the South Park, they were conducted to their places by the Lord Chamberlain. As before, the servants and dependents of the Prince headed the procession. They were followed by servants and officers of the Royal household, in order of rank, the *bâton*, sword, hat, [illegible]

* The Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque, by Edward Barrington Fonblanque, [illegible]

The Prince being carried immediately before the coffin, which was preceded by Lord Sydney, her Majesty's Lord Chamberlain. The pall-bearers were Sir Charles Phipps, General Grey, General Wylde, Colonel Francis Seymour, Lord Waterpark, Colonel Hood, Lieut.-Colonel Dudley de Ros, and Major du Plat, who were respectively Treasurer, Private Secretary, Groom of the Bedchamber, Lord of the Bedchamber, Clerk Marshal, and equerries to his Royal Highness.

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR, SHOWING THE ROYAL GALLERY AND ALTAR.

Immediately after the coffin came Garter King-at-Arms, followed by the Prince of Wales as chief mourner, who was supported by Prince Arthur, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha, and attended by General Bruce, the Crown Prince of Prussia, the Duke of Brabant, the Count de Flandres, the Duke de Nemours, Prince Louis of Hesse, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, the Count Gleichen, and the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. They were followed by their suites. On arriving within the choir, the Prince's crown, *bâton*, sword and hat were reverently laid on the coffin, at the head of which stood the Prince of Wales, with Prince Arthur and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha on either side of him. The other illustrious mourners formed a group behind them. At the foot of the coffin the Lord Chamberlain stood, and the pall-bearers stood on each side of it. When the first part of the

service was over, the coffin was lowered into the vault. The Dean of Windsor having concluded the ritual, Garter-King-at-Arms proclaimed the style and titles of the Prince, and then the mourners left the chapel, while the "Dead March" in *Saul* was played on the organ. Lord Palmerston's absence was accounted for by an attack of gout, which had been aggravated by his grief for the Prince's death. Severe illness confined the Duke of

FUNERAL OF THE PRINCE CONSORT PROCESSION IN THE NAVE OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL. (See p. 107.)

Cambridge to his room. The absence of Dr. Jenner, which was remarked, was due to a melancholy cause. He was detained at Osborne in constant attendance on the grief-stricken Queen. For during the first agony of grief that followed the death of the Prince Consort serious fears were entertained lest the Queen should herself fall ill and die. "How you suffered," wrote the Princess Alice to her mother many long years afterwards, "was dreadful to witness. Never shall I forget what I went through for you then; it tore my heart in pieces."* Although the Princess took on herself the management of the household, and both verbally and by writing strove to transact her mother's business, it was obvious that something must be done to [illegible]

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters. London: John Murray, 1884, p. [illegible].

Her Majesty from the lethargy of sorrow. King Leopold accordingly insisted on an immediate change of surroundings, and decided that she must be taken to Osborne. For a time the Queen resisted this decision. Even the Princess Alice remonstrated with Sir Charles Phipps against a step which seemed to her to be cruel. But she yielded at last to King Leopold's wishes, and it was indeed through her influence that the Queen was finally induced to quit Windsor before her husband's remains were laid in the grave.* "What a blow this has been," wrote Bishop Wilberforce to the Hon. Arthur Gordon when describing the scene at St. George's Chapel; "all my old affection for him (the Prince Consort) has revived over his tomb—and for our poor Queen . . . . The funeral was most deeply affecting; you saw old dry political eyes, which seemed as if they had long forgotten how to weep, gradually melting and running down in large drops of sympathy. The two Princes and the brother (the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha) and the son-in-law intended (Prince Louis of Hesse) were all deeply moved." †

* See Memorandum by the Grand Duchess of Baden, quoted in Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters. pp. 18-19.

† The allusion here to the "revival" of Wilberforce's old affection may seem curious. The Bishop of Oxford enjoyed more influence and favour at Court than ever fell to the lot of any ecclesiastic in our time. He was one of the extremely small group of prominent public men—Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Clarendon, and Sir George Cornewall Lewis—who enjoyed the Prince's close personal friendship. But suddenly, for no apparent reason, the Prince Consort dropped him, and in one of his letters to Miss Noel the Bishop gives utterance to his sorrow over his fall at Court. Knowing Lord Aberdeen's intimacy with the Prince, he begged his son, the Hon. Arthur Gordon, to induce his father to intercede for him. The incident curiously illustrates the Prince Consort's character. When Lord Aberdeen opened the subject with his customary tact and delicacy, the Prince detected his object at once, and stopped him by observing, "He (the Bishop) does everything for some object. He has a motive for all his conduct" Lord Aberdeen replied, "Yes, sir, but when a bad motive?" which, however, did not lead the Prince to continue the discussion. Again Lord Aberdeen seized an opportunity of serving the Bishop, and this time the Prince Consort frankly said he had occasion to doubt the Bishop's sincerity—a suspicion that invariably forfeited the Prince's confidence. Being pressed by Aberdeen still further, the Prince said that in early life he detected Wilberforce intriguing for the preceptorship of the Prince of Wales. Nor was that all. In a discussion with the Prince on a certain miracle about which he had preached, the Bishop had unduly modified his views to suit those of the Prince. It is only fair to Wilberforce to say that, in a letter to the Hon. Arthur Gordon, he denies the assertion about the preceptorship, but admits there was some colour in the other part of the Prince's case. "The swine sermon," writes Wilberforce, "was preached in days when he (the Prince Consort) was most friendly, long before I was Dean or Bishop; the conversation followed, and a long one it was. He did not say how entirely he disbelieved in spirits of evil, but raised all possible objections, which I combated; and the only thing like 'convenient' averment I said was that it was far best to believe in a devil who suggested evil to us; for that otherwise we were driven to make every man his own devil; and I thought that this view rather touched him." It did touch him, but not in the way intended. See Life of Wilberforce, by his son, Reginald G. Wilberforce, Vol. II., p. 226. For reference to the Prince's funeral, see Vol III., pp. 41—45.

CHAPTER V.

WAR AND FAMINE.

Outbreak of Civil War in the United States—Origin of the Dispute—The Missouri Compromise—Effect of the "Gold Rush" on the Extension of Slavery—Colonising Nebraska—The Struggle in "Bleeding Kansas"—Assault on Senator Sumner—The Wyandotte Constitution—The Dred Scott Case—Election of Mr. Lincoln as President—Secession of South Carolina—Organisation of the Southern Confederacy—The Firing of the First Shot—Capture of Fort Sumter—Lincoln's Call to Arms—Opinion in England—The *Trent* Affair—The Queen and the Prince Consort avert War—Opening of Parliament—Bitter Controversy over the Education Code—Parliament and the Civil War—The Cotton Famine—A Relief Bill—War Expenditure—Mr. Disraeli denounces Lord Palmerston's "Bloated Armaments"—A Budget without a Surplus—The Fortifications at Spithead—Floating *versus* Fixed Forts—A Mexican Adventure—Revolution in Greece—Bismarck's Visit to London—Anecdote of Bismarck and Mr. Disraeli—Progress of the American War—Mr. Peabody's Benefactions—The Exhibition of 1862—The Prince of Wales's Tour in the East—The Hartley Colliery Accident—Marriage of the Princess Alice—The Queen's Visit to Belgium—Her Meeting with the Princess Alexandra of Denmark—The Queen's Visit to Gotha—Removal of the Prince Consort's Remains to the Mausoleum at Frogmore.

THE closing days of 1861 and the opening days of 1862 were days of feverish excitement. The citizens of the United States were locked in the deadly and fratricidal strife of Civil War. The passions and prejudices which divided them into hostile armies, divided their kith and kin in England into hostile factions. In America the fight between North and South was waged on the field of battle. In England it was carried on in the Press, on the Platform, on the floor of the Senate, in Clubs, in drawing-rooms, by road and rail, in the market-places of the great cities, and in the ale-houses of quiet rural villages. Roughly speaking, the classes as opposed to the masses took the side of the South. Those who view public affairs from the standpoint of privileged as distinguished from national and popular interests, and who can always command the facile advocacy of what may be termed the organs of well-dressed opinion in the London Press, were nearly all arrayed against the North. At the end of 1861 the nation watched the struggle with breathless interest, for events had happened which rendered it probable that England might be dragged into it.

When the United States formed themselves into a Federal Republic each State dealt as it pleased with the question of slavery. But when new Territories were annexed it was difficult to say whether slavery should or should not be recognised in them. The people of the slave States argued that under the Federal Constitution a citizen of any State had the right to settle in and transfer his property to any of the partially organised Territories which were owned in common by all the States. Slaves were property. Therefore a citizen who had slaves had a right to hold them in any of the Territories. Soon, however, Territories became sufficiently [illegible]

[illegible] admitted as States. In that case was slavery to be recognised in them? During the Presidency of Mr. Monroe (1816) this difficulty became acute. A Bill authorising the Territory of Missouri to form itself into a State was introduced. Mr. Talmage, of New York, proposed to insert a clause converting the Territory into a Free State. The controversy raised on the point was settled in 1820 by the adoption of what was called "The Missouri Compromise," by which slavery was prohibited in new States north of latitude 36° 30′. The slave-owners' party endeavoured, by making war on Mexico, to increase the territory available for slavery, and under the Presidency of General Taylor, who was elected in 1849, they persuaded Congress to virtually abandon the Missouri Compromise, and permit all Territories, in the event of becoming States, to decide for themselves whether or not they should recognise slavery. They based their hopes on the aggressive activity of their squatters. It was supposed that they would pour more rapidly into the new Territories than emigrants from the Free States, and thus in every *plébiscite* turn the scale in favour of slavery. And but for an accident the policy of the Southern leaders would have triumphed, and slavery would not only have been established in the new Territories contiguous to the Southern States, but even in the North-West itself. This accident was the discovery of gold in California. The "gold rush" from the Free States to the Pacific Coast was not a migration but an exodus, and long ere the Southern squatter could settle in force in these regions, they were swarming with citizens from New England. In the Pacific Territories, where slavery must have been legalised had the Missouri Compromise not been upset by Southern politicians, it was prohibited by popular vote, and in 1850 California joined the Union as a Free State. Meanwhile the Fugitive Slave Law had created much ill-feeling between the Free and other Slave States.* Some of them, like Massachusetts, prohibited its enforcement. But the two great parties were agreed in abiding by the Fugitive Law, and maintaining slavery *in statu quo*. During the administration of President Pierce (who was elected in 1852) the conflict over the organisation of Kansas and Nebraska into Territories disturbed the *status quo*. Their people had it in their power to determine the question of slavery for themselves, and to control the popular vote in favour of slavery. Missouri, which was a Slave State, therefore poured pro-slavery emigrants into both Territories. It was alleged that most of these were sham settlers, and that the pro-slavery vote was tainted by terrorism and fraud. But be that as it may, a Territorial government in favour of slavery was organised in Nebraska and Kansas, and President Pierce appointed Governors pledged to secure the ultimate admission of these Territories to the Union as Free States. To defeat this policy settlers from the Free States migrated to Nebraska and Kansas—"bleeding

* It gave Federal Commissioners power, without judge or jury, to return fugitive slaves to justice; prohibited State Courts from testing, on writ of *habeas corpus*, the rights of the person who claimed the slave in a Free State.

Kansas," as it was called in the North—and they were [illegible] and money to defend themselves against the "border ruffians" from [illegible] who naturally objected to their company. Ultimately there came to be [illegible] rival governments in the Territories, and when in 1856 the anti-slavery [illegible]

MR. LINCOLN.

elected their own State officers, and repudiated all that had been done in [illegible] interests of slavery, President Pierce ordered the Governor to call on [illegible] troops to enforce the pro-slavery laws of the Territory.

During the debates in Congress on this subject, Senator Sumner [illegible] to make a strong speech in favour of the anti-slavery party in [illegible] brutally assaulted in his place in the Senate by a slave-owner [illegible] a senator from South Carolina. "To me," said Sir George [illegible]

[illegible] courage, writing to Sir Edmund Head, "it seems the first blow [illegible] [illegible] war," and it was.' In 1857 Mr. Buchanan was elected President. The [illegible] Court of the United States, in the famous Dred Scott case, decided [illegible] negroes had no rights save those which the Government gave them, and that Congress could no more prohibit a citizen from taking his slave into any State, than it could prohibit him from taking there any kind of property whose safe possession was guaranteed to him by the Constitution.* This, of course, intensified the struggle between North and South for the control of Nebraska and "bleeding Kansas." Southern slave-owners saw that they must have an outlet for their surplus slave population. If they lost Kansas and Nebraska they must seize Cuba or Mexico, or both, or secede from a Union in which the Slave States would be in a minority, and at the mercy of the Free States. The struggle went on till, in 1859, Kansas adopted, by a majority of 4,000, the Wyandotte Constitution, prohibiting slavery. President Buchanan seems to have prepared for the worst, because he now began secretly to pour munitions of war and arms, which were the common property of the North and the South, into Southern strongholds. The Democratic party split into a Southern and a Northern wing over the Dred Scott case, so that in November, 1859, the Republicans elected Mr. Abraham Lincoln as President, pledged to maintain the principle that freedom was the normal condition of the Territories, which Congress must preserve and defend—though slavery in the old Slave States was not assailed as a domestic institution.

The difference between North and South was thus sharp and clear. The North desired to maintain the *status quo* with regard to slavery, and to prohibit the extension of its area. The South demanded the extension of its area into the Territories, and all new States that might be carved out of them. Lincoln's election was followed, at the beginning of 1860, by the secession of South Carolina. By the end of February, 1861, her example was imitated by Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, and Alabama. Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Missouri were wavering. When Congress met, President Buchanan, in his last Message, explained how events were drifting, denied the right of the Southern States to secede, but doubted the power of Congress to levy war on seceding States. The Crittenden compromise was now proposed, but it came too late.† Another attempt was

* The minority of the Judges seem to have taken a less pedantic view, and one more in accordance with the policy of the Republic, which had always been one of compromise with regard to slavery. They held that it was not by Federal but State law that a negro was made property. They contended that neither the laws of nature nor of nations, nor the Constitution of the United States, recognised him as property, so that the rights of owners over this species of property must logically be limited to the Territory where, by municipal law, it was recognised as property.—See The Constitutional History of the United States, by Simon Stern, of the New York Bar (Cassell and Co.), p. 190.

† According to it, slavery was prohibited north of parallel 36° 30′, but south of this it was to be [illegible] and never interfered with by Congress, and the Federal Government would pay for all slaves [illegible]

made to conciliate the South by an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting Congress from ever meddling with slavery in the United States. By this time the seceding States had met at Montgomery, and had organised the Government of the Confederate States of América. The constitution adopted differed from that of the United States in that it recognised slavery, extended the term of the President's office, and prohibited tariffs for other purposes than raising revenue.* Being producers, not of manufactured goods, but of raw material, the governing class in the South were naturally Free Traders. Mr. Jefferson Davis was chosen President, and Mr. Alexander H. Stephen Vice-President, and their Government prepared to carry on war. In Congress, the withdrawal of the Southern representatives enabled the Republicans by large majorities to admit Kansas as a Free State, to organise Nevada, Colorado, and Dakota as Territories, and to adopt a new protective tariff mainly in the interests of the Eastern States and Pennsylvania.

With the exception of two or three small forts, the Government of the seceding States took quiet possession of all fortresses and places of arms in their territory. This was easily done, because in most instances the officers in command, though holding Federal commissions, betrayed their masters. Major Anderson, however, was an exception. He held Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbour, for the Federal Government. Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated as President on 4th of March, 1861. In his Message to Congress he said that the Government was determined to relieve Fort Sumter, and whilst denying the right of the South to secede, he asserted the right of the Federal Government to preserve the Union. On the 13th of April, 1861, Fort Sumter was attacked by the rebel, or Confederate forces, and on the 14th it surrendered. On the 15th Lincoln issued his first call for troops, and by this time only an insignificant section of the Democratic Party remained true to their principle that secession was a constitutional right, and that the Federal Government had no legal authority to coerce a State. Within a fortnight after the first shot was fired, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas joined the South. Small majorities, however, held Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri for the North. The capture of Fort Sumter stirred up a war feeling in the loyal States which astonished the Confederate leaders. So eagerly did the Northern men respond to Lincoln's call that the Federal Government, ere the end of the year, had half a million of troops at its disposal. As, however, most of the officers of the regular army had gone over to the South, the Federal troops chiefly consisted of armed mobs of volunteers.

In England up to this point the main current of public opinion set in favour of the North. Lord Shaftesbury gave expression to the general voice when he said, in a letter to the *Times*, "the triumph of the South [illegible]

* There had always been a more or less tacit understanding that whilst the Northern States were to be allowed to have their manufactures protected, the Southern States, as a set-off, were to have slavery tolerated and safeguarded.

...abolition of slavery, and his sympathies, therefore, were wholly for the North.* But the inflated language in which Northern partisans discounted their easy conquest of the South, and denounced the "unnatural rebellion" of the Confederate States, tended to strengthen the aristocratic faction who were in favour of the South. It was asked sarcastically if Secession could possibly be more illegal than the revolt of the Thirteen Colonies from which the Federal Union sprang? Had not Americans defended, with wearisome iteration, the sacred right of insurrection in Monarchical countries? Was it consistent with English Liberalism to scan too closely the legitimate origin of States, either in the Old world or the New, which having struck out an independent existence, were prepared to defend it? As for slavery, had not President Lincoln overruled General Fremont's order liberating slaves in Missouri? In fact, the partisans of the South grew bolder every day. The asperity of the Northern Press and Government, when they found they could not command the unanimous support of England, favoured the progress of the Southern cause in England. In concert with the French Government, Lord Palmerston not only adopted a policy of neutrality, but recognised each party to the struggle as belligerents. He would indeed have been foolish to treat the people of twelve organised States as a small mob of rioters, and armed ships flying their flags, as pirates. For this step England was as violently denounced in the North, as France was fulsomely praised. The classes who have no anchorage in principles for their plastic opinions were fast veering round to the side of the South, and Mr. Lincoln's strong measures, which caused *Habeas Corpus* to be suspended in Washington, suppressed newspapers, and imprisoned persons suspected of disloyalty, helped to obscure the real issue in the eyes of the English people.

In August the Federal troops attacked the Confederate position south of the Potomac at Bull's Run, and were defeated; but the Northern levies effectually protected Washington, and held down wavering States like Maryland. Then an incident happened which threatened to extinguish the small party which among the wealthier classes in England still favoured the North. On the 8th of November, 1861, Captain Wilkes, of the *San Jacinto*, a Federal man-of-war, stopped and boarded the English mail steamer, *Trent*, which had the day before sailed from Havannah with passengers for Europe. Among these were Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Envoys accredited by the Confederate Government to the English and French Courts. Captain Wilkes arrested them and carried them away to the *San Jacinto*, in spite of the protests of the Commander of the *Trent*. On the 27th of November, when the news reached England, the partisans of the Southern States strove hard to lash the country into war. The arrest was an outrage, but instead of inquiring whether Captain Wilkes acted under orders, the sympathisers with the South, headed by the

* Life of Lord Shaftesbury, by Edwin Hodder. Vol. III., p. 136.

[illegible], clamoured for war against the United States. The [illegible] [illegible] increased every day, and the Prince Consort, then [illegible] [illegible] his last illness, grew anxious as to the result. The Crimean War [illegible] taught him that with popular passions roused, and a bellicose Minister [illegible] Palmerston in power, there was no limit to the folly which Englishmen might perpetrate. The Queen, who had steadfastly opposed every suggestion which had been made in the direction of manifesting sympathy with the Southern Confederacy, became nervous lest her policy of scrupulous neutrality should be thwarted. She was informed on the 29th of November that the Cabinet were determined to demand reparation, and Palmerston had indicated that he was ready to assume Captain Wilkes had been positively instructed by Mr. Lincoln's Government to insult the British flag. To the Queen this seemed an absurd assumption. But she knew that if the idea was in Palmerston's mind it would most certainly appear in some offensive form in Lord Russell's despatches. Yet, if it was offensively manifested there, it would tempt the United States Government to refuse reparation—for Mr. Lincoln had also to contend with a stupid, boastful party in the Northern States, who were as eagerly clamouring for war with England as the like stupid party in England were clamouring for war with America.

On the 30th of November, 1861, Lord Russell forwarded the despatches to Windsor, and they confirmed the Queen's suspicions. She disliked their tone, and took them to the Prince Consort, who quite endorsed her opinion. Though he was so ill that he could hardly hold his pen, he drafted a Memorandum for the Queen, complaining of the dispatch to the American Government, and suggesting a more courteous and friendly way of stating the case against them. Even this draft the Queen herself revised and slightly toned down. The point on which she and the Prince Consort insisted was that all through Lord Russell should emphasise the assumption that as the United States Government could not have intended to wantonly insult England, they would naturally be desirous of offering reparation for any breach of international law Captain Wilkes had committed, either by disobeying or misunderstanding his instructions. The words of the royal draft were adopted, and with the happiest result. When the despatch arrived at Washington, Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, told Lord Lyons, the British Minister, that the wording of it meant peace or war. He begged him, therefore, to let him see it privately before it was presented officially. It was sent to him. After reading it, Seward went immediately to Lord Lyons and told him that the tone of the despatch was so courteous and friendly that it would enable him to [illegible] war, in spite of the recriminatory outcry of the press, the vote of thanks [illegible] Congress had passed to Captain Wilkes, and the ovations he had received [illegible] [illegible]. Seward was now able to extricate his Government from a false position, by the loophole of escape which the Prince Consort's sagacity had opened for him. With some difficulty he reconciled the Government and

[illegible]

people of the North to admit that Captain Wilkes acted without [illegible] that a breach of international law had been committed, but [illegible] must be "cheerfully liberated." The difficulty of his task was [illegible] aggravated by the menacing warlike preparations of the English Government and the departure of troops for Canada before he had an opportunity of [illegible]ing the despatch. On the 9th of January, 1862, the news that the dispute [illegible] settled reached the Queen. She replied, in a note to Lord Palmerston, that she was sure he would recognise that the peaceful issue to which the quarrel had been brought was "greatly owing to her beloved Prince," whose Memorandum altering the despatch to the American Government "was the last thing he ever wrote."* Palmerston's warlike preparations, which nearly rendered a diplomatic solution of the difficulty impossible, cost the country £5,000,000.

Although the houses of the *grandes dames* of politics were opened earlier than usual in 1862, and politicians flocked to town sooner than was their custom, it was generally known that the Session would be dull and uneventful. The death of the Prince Consort overshadowed Society, and the leaders of both parties generously agreed that political strife should be suspended till the Queen was better able to bear the anxieties of party conflicts which lead to Ministerial crises. Lord Russell was well pleased with the termination of the American quarrel, because it left the Foreign Office free to assert the ascendency of England in the councils of Europe. Lord Palmerston was not displeased that his Government had won a diplomatic victory, for which the public, ignorant of the true effect of his extravagant military preparations on American opinion, gave him credit. Rumours had at this time gone abroad that his health was seriously impaired by the death of the Prince Consort, but these he was at pains to disperse by his conspicuous energy in the hunting-field. Lord Derby did not complain of the settlement of the Trent affair, because he saw it would enable Lord Palmerston to hold office for life. But the rank and file of the Tory Party, and a small fringe of aristocratic Whigs, were disappointed, for a war in which England would have fought on the side of the Southern Confederacy had been averted. Mr. Disraeli, who obtained great credit for never manifesting his sympathies in favour of the slave-holding confederacy, did not conceal them from his intimate friends. In conversation with Count Vitzthum he said, "The effects on England (of the American War) are incalculable. Considering the probable loss to English trade, we (the Tory leaders) cannot, of course, proclaim openly the satisfaction we naturally feel at the collapse of Republican

* At the time, credit was given to M. Thouvenel, the Foreign Minister of France, for bringing the American Government to reason. Count Vitzthum, however, states that "the French Ambassador at Washington knew that at the eleventh hour the American Cabinet would yield, and had [illegible] Government to this effect. When Thouvenel, therefore, in his despatch of December [illegible] strongly the justice of the English demands, he risked little, and only gave a fresh [illegible] Tuileries prefer siding with the gods to Cato."—Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. [illegible]

"But speaking privately, we can only congratulate ourselves if the . . . principle comes into favour on the other side of the Atlantic."*

Parliament was opened on the 6th of February, 1862. The Speech from the Throne touched on the death of the Prince Consort, the termination of the dispute with the United States, and on the Convention with France and Spain, the object of which was to obtain redress from Mexico for wrongs committed by the Mexican Government on foreign residents. It alluded to a Land Transfer Bill, and vaguely to "other measures of public usefulness" which would be submitted to Parliament. The debate on the Address mainly consisted of eloquent eulogies on the late Prince Consort—Lord Palmerston declaring that it was no exaggeration to say that so far as the word "perfect" could be applied to human imperfection, it was applicable to the character of the Prince. Out of respect to the Queen, politics were but lightly touched, Ministers promising to give full information as to the blockade of the Confederate ports, and the Mexican enterprise.

National education, curiously enough, was the first subject that produced anything like an earnest discussion in Parliament. During the Recess a Revised Code had been drawn up by Mr. Lowe, which had roused the wrath of those interested in sectarian education. The objection to the old system was that the State did not get value for the subsidies which Parliament voted for Primary Education. Subventions to the Training Colleges seemed to lessen rather than stimulate voluntary efforts to maintain them; in fact, 80 per cent. of their cost was now borne by the State. Of the 2,200,000 children who ought to be in inspected schools, only 920,000 attended them, and of these only 230,000 received adequate instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The Revised Code proposed to pay by results. A penny a head was to be given for each attendance over 100, provided the children (grouped according to age) passed examinations in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Failure in any one branch was to lead to the loss of one-third of the grant. Failure in all was to cut off the whole grant. The sectarian party, alarmed at the application of Mr. Lowe's stern practical test to their work, first of all raised the cry of "Religion in Danger." But when Parliament met, the Opposition attacked the Code on the ground that the Government, by embodying it in an Order in Council, had tried to evade Parliamentary criticism. This was a futile objection, for the scheme was not only criticised but modified under the fire of sharp assaults in both Houses of Parliament. These attacks were ultimately concentrated in the Resolutions which Mr. Walpole laid before the House of Commons. He condemned (1), the individual examination of the pupils; (2), the system of paying exclusively by results; and (3), the plan of grouping by age. It was, however, admitted on all sides that the existing system could not be defended. The only point to be decided

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 148.

[illegible] was the right method of altering it. The existing [illegible] neither cheap nor efficient, but Mr. Lowe contended that his [illegible] both, would be either the one or the other. Ultimately a compromise [illegible] arranged. It was agreed that 4s. a year was to be given on the [illegible] annual attendance of each pupil; that 8s. would be given for reading, [illegible] and arithmetic to every pupil who put in 200 attendances, 1s. 8d. [illegible]

THE CLOCK TOWER, WESTMINSTER PALACE, 1870.

deducted in case of failure in attendance; and managers were to be permitted to group pupils for examination as they thought best. Neglect of religious instruction in Anglican schools would forfeit the grant, and any future revision of the Code was to be laid before Parliament for a month before it became operative. In this struggle the Tories, therefore, carried most of their points.

The Civil War in America naturally caused many discussions. The Cabinet, on the whole, were loyal to the policy of the Queen and the Prince Consort, which was that of scrupulous neutrality. But they were not quite loyal to her Majesty's desire that neutrality should be tempered by [illegible] consideration for the great and unprecedented difficulties with which President Lincoln's Administration had to contend. The effect of the virtual [illegible]

[illegible] from public life was soon seen in the [illegible] Russell's despatches, and in the latitude of criticism in which Lord [illegible] too frequently indulged in his references to American affairs in the House of Commons. The partisans of the Southern States made strenuous efforts to induce the Government to declare that the blockade of the Southern ports would not be recognised. But Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, greatly to their credit, refused to yield to pressure on this point, although it was known that the French Emperor would have supported them gladly if they had yielded. The argument of the Opposition, beaten out over many long wearisome speeches, simply came to this—that the blockade was inefficient, and was, therefore, by international law invalid. It will always be difficult to understand how responsible persons could gravely maintain that position in face of the fact that Lancashire was starving because she could not get cotton out of Southern harbours, and that English trade was suffering because English goods could not get into them. The affair of the *Trent* gave rise to a brisk passage at arms between Mr. Bright and Lord Palmerston. Mr. Bright complained that whilst the Foreign Office was busy settling the dispute by firm but conciliatory diplomacy, the War Office and Admiralty were spending £1,000,000 on provocative preparations for war, which inflamed popular excitement in America, and really rendered it difficult for the United States Government to admit that they were in the wrong. "It is not customary," said Mr. Bright, "in ordinary life for a person to send a messenger with a polite message to a friend, or neighbour, or acquaintance, and at the same time to send a man of portentous strength, wielding a gigantic club and making every kind of ferocious gesticulation, and still to profess that all this is done in the most friendly and courteous manner." Lord Palmerston's defence was that Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet was in danger of being overawed by mob dictation, and that the preparations for war which Mr. Bright condemned, neutralised the pressure of popular passion in the United States Government. A curious illustration of the provocative tone adopted by the Ministry in their dealings with the United States was given by their condemnation of an order issued by General Butler, the military governor of New Orleans. The ladies of that city, after its occupation by Federal troops, appear to have been in the habit of publicly insulting their conquerors by methods which most respectable persons would hesitate to adopt. General Butler put a stop to these practices by ordering the military authorities to treat the culprits as if they were loose women plying a disreputable vocation. What the British Government had to do with the police arrangements of a foreign army in a foreign city it is not possible to conceive. Still, Lord Carnarvon, Sir John Walsh, and Mr. Gregory insisted that the Government should protest against General Butler's order; and Lord Palmerston considered himself entitled to denounce the order as "infamous," to assert that "Englishmen must blush to think that it came from a man of the Anglo-Saxon race."

[illegible] that the course which the Cabinet would take [illegible] consideration." As Lord Palmerston took no "course," it is [illegible] that he preferred to "blush" for General Butler, rather than run [illegible] being snubbed by Mr. Seward. On the 18th of July Mr. Lindsay, [illegible] of protests from Mr. Ewart, Mr. Clay, and some others, persisted in [illegible] a motion in the House of Commons which, if carried, would have [illegible] the Government to mediate between the belligerents in the interests of the Southern States. The debate was an elaborate argument on the part of Tory speakers for the recognition of the Confederate Government. But the responsible leaders of the Opposition took no part in it, and Lord Palmerston refused to abandon his policy of neutrality.

Towards the close of the Session it was seen that the operatives of Lancashire must quickly sink into pauperism. The blockade of the Southern ports cut off the exports of cotton. The cotton mills in Lancashire, it was evident, must soon be stopped, and a teeming industrial population must become a prey to famine. Mr. C. Villiers, President of the Poor Law Board, accordingly introduced a Bill enabling Boards of Guardians to meet extraordinary demands for poor law relief. It provided that any parish which was overburdened by extraordinary pauperism might claim a subvention from the common fund of the Union to which it belonged, and that in certain cases one Union might call upon others in the county for assistance. Mr. Cobden, Mr. Ayrton, and Mr. Puller were strongly in favour of permitting distressed Unions to raise money by loans as well as by a rate-in-aid, and Mr. Villiers ultimately yielded to the pressure which they put on him.*

Mr. Gladstone's Budget was hotly attacked. His estimated expenditure—including supplementary estimates—for the year 1861-62 had been £71,374,000. The actual expenditure had been less than that by £536,000. But still the revenue had only amounted to £69,674,000, so that there was a deficit of £1,164,000. Had there been no supplementary estimates voted there would, however, have been a surplus of £335,000. The harvest had been bad, and the American War had depressed trade. Hence it was not natural to look for elasticity in the revenue. Yet Mr. Gladstone estimated the revenue for 1862-63 at £70,190,000. As the expenditure would be £70,040,000, he could not look for a surplus on the existing basis of taxation of more than £150,000. He would not, he said, impose new taxes. But on the other hand he could not remit any old ones. He even proposed to abolish the duty on hops, and as a set-off readjust brewers' licenses, so as to sacrifice by this change only £45,000 of revenue. His scheme, in fact, consisted of a Budget without a [illegible]

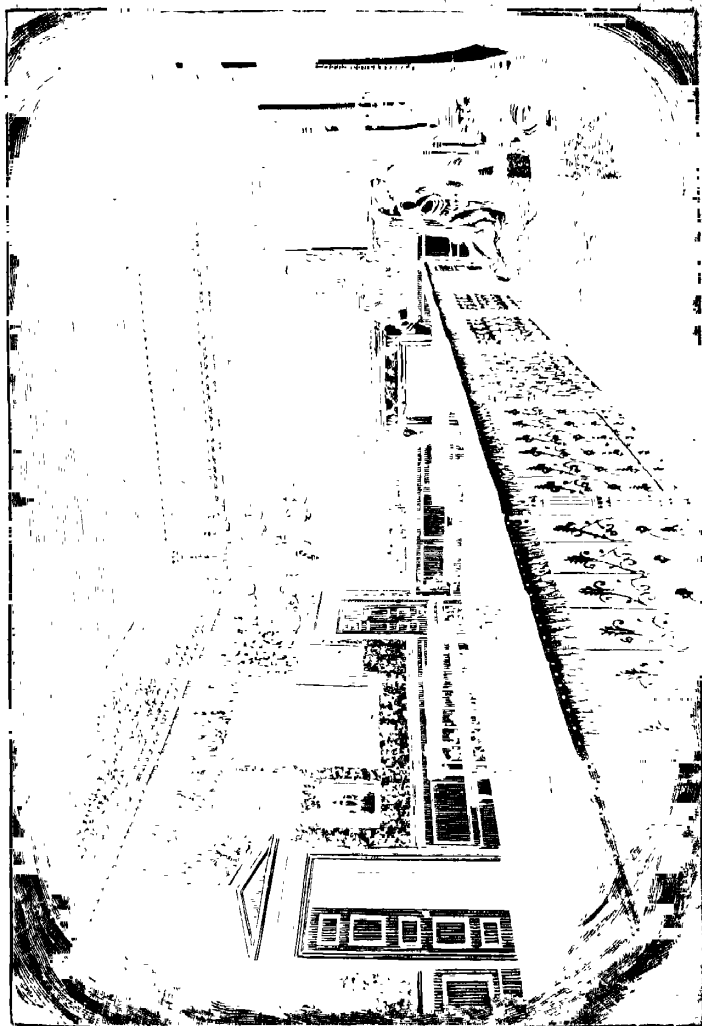
* It was decided by the House of Commons that the liability to a rate-in-aid of the other [illegible] of a Union should arise when the rate came to 3s. in the £, and that Guardians, subject to the sanction of the Local Government Board, might raise loans on the security of the [illegible] aggregate expenditure of the whole Union reached 3s. in the £ of its rateable property.

[illegible] and its only popular feature was the simplification of the wine duties.* Why had Mr. Gladstone failed to provide a surplus? Had not [illegible] said that one ought always to begin the year with a surplus? Why was the Paper Duty surrendered, seeing it would have provided a surplus?

MR SEWARD.

Why did Ministers persist in exceptional expenditure when they assured the country that their relations with the only foreign Government that could be distrusted were friendly and satisfactory? Our expenditure was due to distrust of Napoleon III., whose objects were the same as ours. And yet,

* [illegible] 1860 there were four duties—1s., 1s. 9d., 2s. 5d., and 2s. 11d.—on wines, with varying [illegible] from 18 up to 42 degrees. In 1862 Mr. Gladstone substituted for these two duties [illegible] on wines below 26 degrees and 2s. 6d. on wines above 26 and below 42 degrees.

and Mr. Disraeli, instead of acting cordially in alliance with [illegible] purpose of maintaining English influence in the councils of [illegible] Palmerston had tried to attain that end by exerting what was [illegible]

QUEEN ANNE'S ROOM, ST. JAMES'S PALACE.
(From a Photograph by H. N. King.)

"moral power" of the country, which really meant "bloated [illegible] time of peace." If the conduct of France justified distrust, why [illegible] war with her? If she was not giving us cause for distrust, why [illegible]

preparing for war with her? Such were the questions and arguments which Mr. Disraeli put forward. But Peel's doctrine of the surplus was of course never meant to apply to all circumstances. As for the Paper Duty, to expect Mr. Gladstone to revert to it was as absurd as to ask Nature to bring back the Mastodon. It was more difficult to escape from Mr. Disraeli's dilemma as to the relations of England and France, but Lord Palmerston satisfied the House at this time that by outstripping the armaments of France he really freed her from any temptation she might have to become an enemy. The Radical Party, however, induced Mr. Stansfeld to move a resolution asserting that expenditure could be reduced with safety to the country, and the Tories showed their sympathy with the attack, when Mr. Walpole gave notice of another expressing a hope that expenditure might be cut down. Lord Palmerston said such attacks involved the fate of the Ministry—which settled the matter. Mr. Stansfeld's resolution was rejected. Mr. Walpole, loving Lord Palmerston better than retrenchment, withdrew his motion, for which Mr. Disraeli, to the consternation of his party, assailed him bitterly, and Lord Palmerston carried unanimously a vote of confidence in himself.

The fight in March between the Confederate iron-clad *Merrimac*, and the Federal *Monitor*, indicated that wooden war-ships were henceforth useless. The Admiralty were therefore pressed to push forward the construction of iron-clad ships. Nay, it was suggested that the new type of iron-clads, working guns from revolving turrets, was better for coast defence than the costly fortifications on which Lord Palmerston had persisted in spending enormous sums of money. Why not, it was asked, stop the building of forts at Spithead till the value of iron-cased gunboats for coast defence had been fully considered? Strong supporters of Lord Palmerston's fortification scheme—like Sir J. Hay—declared that their opinion as to the necessity for the Spithead forts had changed, because a ship of the *Monitor* type being a movable fort was of course more useful than any fixed fortification. Then, if the country spent, as it would probably have to spend, £20,000,000 on a great fortification scheme, how were the forts to be manned? Was the House of Commons prepared to vote for a corresponding increase in the Army? The Government, however, insisted on getting the money for fortifications voted, though events subsequently justified the criticism of their opponents. The economists consoled themselves by making a fierce but futile assault on the Ministry at the end of the Session, in the course of which Mr. Cobden declared that Lord Palmerston's policy was based on a phantom of French aggression, and that it had cost the country £100,000,000. Colonial defence was more radically dealt with, for early in the year the House of Commons adopted a resolution to the effect that self-governing colonies should in the main provide for their own defence.

Foreign politics gave rise to no important debate in the House. Abortive attempts were made to induce the Government to make representations to

[illegible]

[illegible] on behalf of the Poles, which would probably have [illegible] imploring the Ministry to deal more generously with Ireland. [illegible] the Pope and of the deposed Italian despots also indulged in [illegible] demonstrations of hostility against the new Kingdom of Italy. A Session which was, from a party point of view almost colourless, ended on the 7th of August, the only discernible result of its proceedings being an aggravation of the feud between Lord Palmerston and the Radicals, who, as Mr. Cobden said, would now be better pleased to see the Tories in power. But the Tories had no desire to hold office till they were strong enough to resist Radical dictation. The Queen, too, was more than usually desirous that, in the circumstances, a Cabinet should remain in power which could avert Ministerial crises. Thus Lord Palmerston's dictatorship was again confirmed.

The policy of intervention in Mexico in conjunction with France and Spain was not one which found much favour in England, although King Leopold of Belgium endeavoured to win the Queen over to support it in the interests of his son-in-law, the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. It was for this purpose that his Majesty carried on his intrigues at Osborne early in February. The real object of his policy was to establish a monarchy in Mexico, and to persuade the Queen that the Mexicans desired to have Maximilian as their ruler. This, however, was not divulged at the time, and thus, so far as England was concerned, she stood committed — despite King Leopold's secret negotiations at Osborne—to nothing save to act with Spain and France in obtaining from Mexico satisfaction for wrongs done to certain British subjects. The French Emperor, however, was bent on creating a Latin Monarchy in the New World, under French protection, as a counterpoise to the great Anglo-Saxon Republic. After the allies landed, dissensions soon became manifest when the French contingent was doubled. Spain objected to convert Mexico into a French dependency, nominally under the rule of an Austrian Archduke. Hence, when the Mexican Government of Juarez offered to submit to the original demands of the allies, England and Spain accepted their proposals, and withdrew their forces. The French had permitted a Mexican conspirator called Almonte to accompany their expedition, and as his object was to overthrow the Mexican Government, President Juarez demanded that he should be sent back to Paris. The French refused, and made the demand an excuse for declining to treat with the Mexican Government. This, of course, broke up the alliance, and General Lorencez was ordered to march on Mexico, and enable the natives to choose a Government with which France could negotiate; which meant that they were to vote for a French Protectorate under the Archduke Maximilian. As a preliminary token of their appreciation of this proposal, the Mexican troops stopped the march of Lorencez at Orizaba. General Forey, with reinforcements, was accordingly sent out from France to prosecute the war, which was already unpopular with all Frenchmen who were not slaves of the Ultramontane Party.

... the last six months of the year, events in Italy and Greece ... the Cabinet. Indeed, affairs in Greece took a turn that for the moment ... the Queen from the depths of her sorrow.

Baron Ricasoli, who succeeded Count Cavour, did not hold office long. The object of his policy was to win Rome for Italy, which rendered him obnoxious to Napoleon III. Moreover, he was too stiff and formal in his manners for the loose-living King of Italy, and so his fall was inevitable. To him succeeded Ratazzi—a Minister who was acceptable to Napoleon because he thought more of winning back Venice, than of expelling the French from the Holy City. How far Victor Emmanuel and Ratazzi participated in an intrigue, the result of which was that General Garibaldi began to raise the "Party of Action," is not clear. At any rate, Garibaldi, at a meeting of a rifle club in Palermo, at which the Heir Apparent to the Crown was present, announced his intention of opening a new campaign of liberation. From Sicily he led a band of "Red Shirts" to the mainland, evidently under the impression that he was to repeat his former exploits with the secret connivance of the Italian Government. Before he advanced into the heart of Calabria, he found he had been deceived. Victor Emmanuel's troops attacked and dispersed his irregular forces at Aspromonte, before they came into collision with the French. Garibaldi himself was wounded, and though at first sent as a prisoner to Spezia, he was soon afterwards set free, and his "rebellion" forgiven. Napoleon III. then induced Russia and Prussia to recognise the Kingdom of Italy. But in November Ratazzi resigned rather than face a vote of censure, and Farini succeeded him.

Italian intriguers had been busy at Athens fomenting rebellion against King Otho. Their object was to depose him, and seat Prince Thomas, the Duke of Genoa, on the throne. Russian and French intrigues seem also to have been going on. But every conspiracy, whether of native or foreign origin, had for its object the expulsion of King Otho, whose authority had been undermined by Palmerston's treatment in 1850, and whose reign had done nothing to gratify Greek aspirations for an extension of territory. Otho's opposition to progressive reform rendered him an obstacle to those who thought that Greece in the Ottoman Empire, might play the part of Piedmont in Italy. He was therefore driven from his throne, and the Crown of Greece offered to Prince Alfred of England, on whose behalf it was declined. England, however, showed her goodwill to Greece by declaring herself ready to surrender the Ionian Islands, an offer which gave Lord Palmerston an opportunity of emphasising his belief in "the doctrine of nationalities," which he had so strenuously insisted on applying in Italy. In 1863, when the Greeks chose a Danish Prince for their King, these islands were transferred to Greece.

In Germany the cause of Reform slept. Austria apparently had increased her influence because the King of Prussia was in conflict with the representatives of the Prussian people as to the reorganisation and strengthening of

the Army. But Hungary and Venetia had still to be held ...
The Queen, however much she might regret the contest between the ...
and the nation in Prussia, did not view it with the scornful levity that ...
fashionable at the time in England. She knew that the carrying out of ...
military policy of Prussia was the condition precedent to the incorporation ...
North Germany under Prussian leadership. She was well aware that ...
the Bernstorff Ministry fell, Count von Bismarck, Prussian Minister at Pa...

VIEW IN BERLIN: THE PALACE BRIDGE AND PLEASURE GARDEN.

would become President of the Council, and she knew what purpose he h...
in view. Von Bismarck had, in fact, visited London in July, 1862, and
had conversed freely and frankly with the leaders of both parties. At ...
dinner party given by Baron Brunnow in his honour, he revealed his plans ...
Mr. Disraeli, who on the same evening repeated the conversation to Cou...
Vitzthum. "'I shall soon,' said in effect the Prussian statesman, 'be compell...
to undertake the conduct of the Prussian Government. My first care will ...
to reorganise the Army, with or without the help of the Landtag. The Ki...
was right in undertaking this task, but he cannot accomplish it with ...
present advisers. As soon as the Army shall have been brought into such ...
condition as to inspire respect, I shall seize the first best pretext to de...

against Austria, dissolve the German Diet, subdue the minor States, and give national unity to Germany under Prussian leadership. I have come here to say this to the Queen's Ministers.'"* Count Vitzthum adds that Mr. Disraeli's commentary was, "Take care of that man! he means what he says." On the other hand, the late Lord Ampthill—who was present at the dinner—told Mr. Lowe, the biographer of Prince Bismarck,† that Mr. Disraeli described the Bismarckian policy as the "mere moonshine of a German Baron."‡ The Landtag refused to sanction an increase in the Army, for which it saw no obvious use. The King could not publicly avow why the increase was wanted. The Cabinet confessed itself helpless in the dilemma, whereupon the King telegraphed for Count von Bismarck, who was holiday-making in the Pyrenees, to come to Berlin. He arrived there on the 19th of September. On the 23rd, after seven days' debate, the Chamber refused to vote the Army Estimates and the Ministry resigned. The King's retort was the appointment as Prime Minister of the man whose policy was that of "blood and iron." From that moment the history of Continental Europe took a fresh departure, which was watched by the Queen with anxious eyes. Like the Prince Consort, her sympathies were with the new Prussian policy. Only, she would have endeavoured to attain Von Bismarck's ends without using his methods. That the Bismarckian methods were adopted in less than a year after the Prince Consort's death, only serves to illustrate how quickly the policy of the Court of Berlin changed after the King of Prussia was emancipated from Prince Albert's moderating influence.

As might be expected, the struggle in America was followed in England with keen interest, and step by step. The Confederate States found no difficulty in raising troops, and in supplying them with capable leaders. They seemed to have raised money on the security of their stocks of cotton. But they evidently were soon in financial straits, for Mr. Mason told some of his intimate friends in London in February that it would be hardly possible for

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II, p. 172.

† Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I, p. 278 (Cassell and Co).

‡ It is well known that Count Ferrol. in "Endymion," was drawn from Prince Bismarck. The novel was written in Lord Beaconsfield's old age, and there is a passage in it which curiously confirms Count Vitzthum's report of Count von Bismarck's conversation with Mr. Disraeli. It is as follows:—"The Count of Ferrol about this time made a visit to England. He was always a welcome guest there, and had received the greatest distinction which England could bestow upon a foreigner—he had been elected an honorary member of White's. 'You may have troubles here,' he said to Lady Montfort, 'but they will pass. . . . . We shall not get off so cheaply. Everything is quite rotten throughout the Continent. This year is tranquillity to what the next will be. There is not a throne in Europe worth a year's purchase. My worthy master wants me to return home and be Minister; I am to fashion for him a new Constitution. I will never have anything to do with new Constitutions; their inventors are always their first victims. Instead of making a Constitution, he should make a country, and convert his heterogeneous domains into a patriotic dominion.' 'But how is that to be done?' 'There is but one way—by blood and iron.' 'My dear Count, you shock me!' 'I shall have to shock you a great deal more before the inevitable is brought about.'"

the Confederacies to find money for their troops much longer. The war was then costing them £500,000 a day. The Federal Government was more prosperous. In a few months it had 800,000 men under arms, and even its enemies bore testimony to the fact that these troops were always well paid and well fed. General McClellan, during the autumn and winter of 1861, organised a great army for the defence of Washington, which was menaced by the Confederate forces. Instead of dispersing these, McClellan contented himself with watching them. Early in January the Federals at Mill Springs, Kentucky, foiled an attempt of the Confederates to attack Ohio. Next month Burnside captured the Confederate garrison of Roanoke, in North Carolina, and in March he also took Newbern. Fort Henry, on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, yielded to General Grant, and Pope seized a Confederate post on the Mississippi, called "Island No. 10." On the 24th of February Commodore Farragut, after a brilliant action, forced the defences of New Orleans, from which the Confederates retreated, and the city was then occupied by General Butler. So far victory had crowned the Federal banners. But on the 6th of April the fortune of war favoured the Confederates, when General Albert Sydney Johnston surprised Grant at Pittsburg Landing, on the west side of the Tennessee River, opposite to Savannah. The timely arrival of General Buell and the galling fire of two Federal gunboats on the river saved Grant's army from utter destruction, and when night fell he still stood at bay on the river's bank. Next morning (the 7th) he renewed the struggle with characteristic obstinacy, and drove the Confederates back to their lines at Corinth. In this action General Johnston was killed. To him succeeded Beauregard, who for many weeks held, by sheer audacity, the lines at Corinth against Halleck and 150,000 Federal troops. At last Beauregard and his army suddenly vanished, leaving Halleck and his lieutenant, Pope, in a state of stupefaction at their disappearance.* The Western States echoed with the tramp of armed men on both sides, but save for a Confederate defeat at Corinth in October, and a Federal surrender at Hartville in December, nothing worth recording happened. The lesson from the year's campaign in this region was that the Confederates blundered by trying to do too much when they attempted to hold the line of the Ohio. Vicksburg was the only strong post which they retained on the Mississippi. On sea they were more successful. They nailed iron rails on to the hull of the old United States warship *Virginia*, and sent her forth in March from the Navy Yard at Norfolk as the *Merrimac* to spread terror through the Federal transport fleet. The United States ironclad, *Monitor*, however, fought her on the 9th of March and drove her into port. At close quarters the shot glanced

* Pope at first pretended that he had discovered the line of Beauregard's retreat, and had captured his rearguard. This turned out to be an impudent fabrication, put about to divert attention from the almost inconceivable incapacity of Halleck, who let his enemy slip through his fingers after wasting the season in looking at him.

protected sides of the ships, and it was not till the *Monitor* fired into an unprotected part of the *Merrimac's* hull that she disabled her. This action—as we have seen—aroused naval critics in England, and convinced them that the "wooden walls" of the country were obsolete.

Meanwhile great expectations had centred in the Army of the Potomac. Its leader, McClellan, was one of the most highly trained and scientific soldiers in the service of the Federal Government. Its numbers were overwhelming, and yet month after month passed by and it did nothing. It permitted the Confederates to retreat unmolested from their lines at Manassas in spring, when McClellan pursued them for two days. He then suddenly returned to Washington, and made arrangements to convey his army from the Potomac to the peninsula between York River and James River. From that point he meant to deliver a crushing blow against Richmond, the Confederate capital. At this moment President Lincoln deprived McClellan of the Command-in-Chief, and gave Generals McDowell and Fremont independent commands in Northern Virginia. It is not fair to forget, therefore, in criticising McClellan's movements, that he thus lost the right to dispose of McDowell's division as he pleased, for the protection of his left flank. McClellan's campaign was unfortunate. General Joseph Johnston artfully seduced him into the swamps of the Chickahominy River, where he settled down and entrenched himself behind earthworks, while Stuart, with the Confederate cavalry, worked round the Federal right, looted part of their camp, and returned in safety to Richmond. General Jackson—"Stonewall" Jackson—dashing through the Shenandoah Valley, had driven the Federals under Banks back to the Potomac, and was menacing Washington. McDowell, who was hastening to McClellan's aid, was suddenly recalled to protect the Federal capital, and McClellan, whose position was now hopeless, had to retreat, after repeated attacks, to Harrison's Landing, on the James River—a manœuvre which was termed by the New York Press "a strategic movement to the rear." He then embarked his army at Aquia Creek, and took it to Alexandria. To cover McClellan's retreat, Pope advanced from the Rapidan to the Rappahannock, but was met by the Confederate General, Robert Lee, who fought a drawn battle with him at Cedar Mountain on the 9th of August. Jackson, by a rapid movement westward, crossed the Blue Mountains and thrust himself between Pope's rear and Washington, and again Stuart made a raid on the Federal camp. Pope was now completely outmanœuvred, so he was fain to fall back on the Potomac and the strong lines of Washington. Lee pushed on, intending to raise Maryland. He was checked by McClellan at Antietam, and recrossed the Potomac, but without being pursued. Jackson now captured the Federal garrison at Harper's Ferry.

A month elapsed before McClellan renewed his advance on Richmond, and in November he was dismissed from his command. Halleck was now Commander-in-Chief, and Burnside, McClellan's successor, transferring the struggle

to the Rappahannock, undertook to advance on Richmond—a movement which was partly forced on him by the Government at Washington, in order to redeem the *prestige* it had lost through McClellan's failures. On the 13th of December he was defeated by Lee with great slaughter at Fredericksburg,

MR. PEABODY.

the news of this victory creating much excitement in England. This ended the campaign for the year. New Orleans was all that the Federals had to show for two years' campaigns. Their invasion of Virginia was rolled back, and the partisans of the Southern States in England pointed to this fact as a proof that the Union could never be restored by force. In the Northern States the Abolitionist faction had now absorbed the Republican Party. Slavery was abolished in the district of Columbia, and Lincoln was [illegible]

[illegible] that he was now ready to restore the Union with or without slavery. [illegible] he issued his proclamation on the 22nd of September, declaring that [illegible] would recommend Congress to pass a Bill to free all slaves in rebel States. In England the proclamation was sneered at as an act of confiscation, and Lord Russell sent a despatch to Lord Lyons, scoffing at it with ill-concealed malice as "a measure of war, and a measure of war of a very questionable character." The naval operations of the belligerents also gave Lord Russell several opportunities for controversy. He waxed very indignant over the blockade of Charleston harbour, where the Federals had sunk ships loaded with ballast. In January the Confederate cruiser *Nashville*, after preying on American commerce, ran into Southampton Water for repairs. Mr. Adams, the American Minister in London, warned Lord Russell that her conduct had been almost piratical, to which Lord Russell replied that as she bore the commission of a recognised belligerent she would be allowed to make such necessary repairs as would not increase her fighting power, and that care would be taken to prevent the Foreign Enlistment Act from being infringed. The excitement created by the *Trent* affair was dying out, when the country was startled to find a United States cruiser, *Tuscarora*, moored in Itchen Creek, and watching the *Nashville*. Her officers and men were accused of prowling suspiciously close to the *Nashville*, and people began to ask if the Government was going to tolerate such an outrage as a naval engagement in an English creek. Lord Russell warned Mr. Adams that Captain Craven of the *Tuscarora* must respect our neutrality, and that whichever ship left first must have twenty-four hours' "law" before the other was allowed to follow. H.M.S. *Dauntless* and *Shannon* were sent to Southampton to overawe Captain Craven, who ultimately put to sea. The *Nashville* followed, and thus escaped her antagonist.

A more romantic and perplexing case was that of a British ship, the *Emilie St. Pierre*. She had sailed from Calcutta for St. John's, New Brunswick, and had gone to Charleston to see if the port was blockaded. The Federal cruiser, *James Adger*, seized her, and put a prize crew on board. The skipper of the *Emilie St. Pierre*—a Scotsman called Wilson—aided by the cook and steward, one morning overpowered the prize crew and their officers by a clever stratagem, and after escaping many dangers brought the ship safely into Liverpool on the 31st of April. Wilson for the moment was the idol of the seafaring population, and Mr. Adams, somewhat nettled at the defeat of the prize crew, demanded the surrender of the vessel. Lord Russell refused, alleging that the Government had no legal power to seize her, or "interfere with her owners in relation to their property in her."

These controversies rather embittered the relations between Americans and Englishmen in this country. It was therefore most gratifying to the Queen [illegible] kind-hearted citizen of the United States, whose princely [illegible] his memory to the English-speaking race, had bestowed

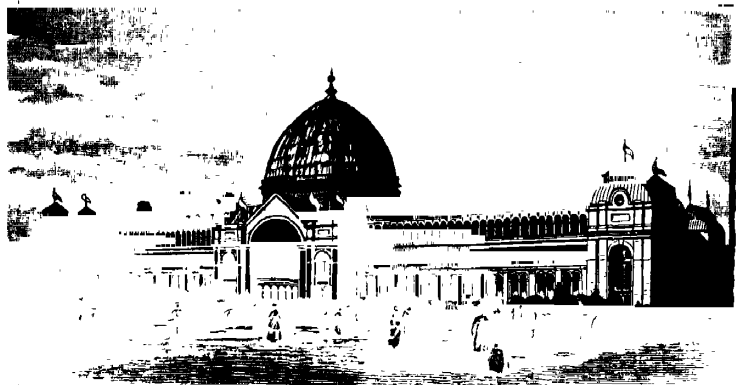
on the poor of London a gift of surpassing munificence. Mr. George Peabody had a high reputation as a merchant in the City, where his generosity and courageous use of his credit had saved many firms from ruin in the financial crisis of 1857. In the spring of 1862 he made over to Trustees the sum of £150,000, to be applied for the benefit of the poor of London, his only stipulation being, that the management and application of the fund should be free from all sectarian bias. He did not limit the discretion of the Trustees, though he suggested that they would best spend the money in providing improved dwellings for the people. His ideas were not quite carried out, for the blocks of buildings erected by the Peabody Trustees were soon occupied, not by the poor of London, but by the lower middle class, who were not meant by Mr. Peabody to participate in the benefits of his gift.

The 1st of May had been fixed for the opening of the Great Exhibition of 1862, and the ceremony was a somewhat mournful one. The sable liveries of the lackeys who appeared in the grand procession served to remind the people of the late Prince Consort, who had been the life and soul of the project. His place was taken by the Duke of Cambridge and the Crown Prince of Prussia, who was associated with him by the special request of the Queen, as one of her representatives. South Kensington was crowded with sightseers, and it was admitted that the ceremonial was one of the most imposing pageants that had ever been witnessed. To the daïs, where the formal business of inauguration was transacted, none but persons in uniform were admitted, and the scene was therefore bright with rich masses of colour, glittering with the flashing jewels of knightly Orders and military decorations. When the Duke of Cambridge and the other Special Commissioners had taken their seats, the National Anthem was sung, and Earl Granville, as the representative of the Exhibition Commissioners, placed an address to the Queen in the hands of his Royal Highness. To this the Duke replied, alluding in touching terms to the death of the Prince Consort, and to the affliction which had prostrated the Queen with sorrow. The brilliant procession then slowly filed down from the daïs to the eastern dome, where Meyerbeer's *Overture en forme de Marche*, written for the occasion, was performed, and Tennyson's fine ode, set to music by Professor Sterndale Bennett, was given. Its allusions to Prince Albert went home to every heart:—

> "O silent father of our Kings to be,
> Mourn'd in this golden hour of jubilee,
> For this, for all, we weep our thanks to thee!
> The world-compelling plan was thine,
> And lo! the long laborious miles
> Of Palace: lo! the giant aisles,
> Rich in model and design"—

were lines that gave expression to the feeling of the country with rare felicity and power. It was admitted on all hands that the building [illegible]

... was far grander and far larger than that of 1851. But on the ... hand the witchery of the Palace, with its walls of crystal and its strong ... of diffused light, had vanished. The roof and walls of the new building were solid, and these and the windows "factory-patterned," as a singer in *Punch* called them, destroyed the sensation of unconfined space which one felt on entering the Crystal Palace of 1851, and which gave to that structure its magical charm.

On the 14th of June the Prince of Wales, who had completed the Eastern tour that had been planned for him by his father, returned to England. He had left Osborne on the 6th of February with General Bruce and a carefully

THE EXHIBITION BUILDING OF 1862

selected suite, of whom Dr. A. P. Stanley (afterwards Dean of Westminster), who joined him at Alexandria, was a member. On the 1st of March he landed at Alexandria, where, despite his *incognito* as Baron Renfrew, he was saluted with royal honours. At Cairo he enjoyed the hospitality of the Viceroy of Egypt, and on the 4th of March left the city for the Pyramids, which were reached just as the mysterious outline of the Sphinx was vanishing in the fading light of sunset. At dawn the Prince ascended the Great Pyramid without assistance, much to the amazement of the Bedouins, who asked, sceptically, "Is that the Governor? If so, why does he go alone?" The party then went up the Nile as far as the First Cataract, viewing the Temple at Esneh by torchlight. After Assouan and its antiquities were explored, the Prince returned down the river, halting three days at Thebes, where he met the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg. On the 21st of March a tournament between some Arnauts and Arab chiefs was held; then Memphis was visited, and Cairo again reached on the 23rd. After some other excursions the Prince proceeded to Jerusalem, which he entered on the 31st of March. He was received by the

[illegible] a picturesque escort of wild horsemen, who kept [illegible] the party, brandishing their spears and firing their guns in [illegible] His Royal Highness pitched his tent on the northern side of the [illegible] the Damascus Gate, and visited all the sacred places—even those from [illegible] Christians are excluded being opened to him.* He left Jerusalem on the [illegible] of April, and next day arrived at Nablûs, on the eve of the [illegible]

THE PRINCE OF WALES AT THE PYRAMIDS. (See p. 136.)

Passover. He ascended Mount Gerizim, and saw this last vestige of the old Jewish ritual performed, the sun sinking behind the western hills as the Paschal sheep were sacrificed. On the 15th he encamped at the foot of Mount Carmel, and on Easter eve saw the sun set on the Sea of Galilee. At Damascus he received but a churlish welcome from the sullen, fanatical population, and on the 6th of May he visited Beyrout. On the 10th he landed at Tripoli, and on the 12th explored the cedar groves of Lebanon. On the 15th the Royal yacht touched at Rhodes, on the 17th at Patmos, and—after visiting Smyrna,

* This was difficult to arrange. Even the Sultan did not dare to do more than recommend [illegible] Pasha to admit the Prince to the Sanctuary of the Patriarchs. For a long time the Pasha [illegible] but the Prince's anger at being balked was so great that Suraya at last consented, [illegible] party himself with a strong armed escort to protect his Royal guest from [illegible]

Constantinople, Athens, Cephalonia, and Malta—the tour ended at Marseilles. A brief visit was paid to the French Emperor at Fontainebleau, and on the 14th of June the travellers reached Windsor. Three days afterwards the Queen heard, to her deep regret, that General Bruce—long a trusted friend of her family—had died from Syrian fever, contracted during his journey. He had sacrificed his life to the chivalrous discharge of his duties as the Prince's Governor, and the Queen felt only too keenly that his loss was an irreparable calamity at a time when his wise guidance and exquisite tact rendered his services to her eldest son of supreme importance.*

During the greater part of the year the Queen led a life of absolute seclusion. The first public sign of her renewed interest in current events was given when the tidings of the Hartley Colliery accident sent a thrill of horror through every English heart. On the 16th of January the beam of the steam-engine in the Hartley coal-pit snapped. The shaft was blocked and shattered by the wreck of the machinery, and some two hundred and four miners were consigned to a lingering death in the workings, into which the water poured at the rate of 1,500 gallons a minute. For nine days rescue parties toiled without stint or ceasing to reach the prisoners. They even heard their efforts to cut their way out, but were unable to reach them. When a gang was at last able to penetrate to the workings they found men and boys lying dead in groups, surrounded by mournful relics and painful records of their last hours of agony. The male population of three hamlets was swept away; every cottage contained a coffin, some, alas! more than one, over which widows and orphans wailed out their hearts in unavailing sorrow. Among the first to express sympathy with the bereaved ones was the Queen. *Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* was probably the thought that flashed across her mind when she sent her anxious telegraphic messages to the scene of the disaster, whilst as yet there were hopes that some lives might be saved. After the funeral, the scene at a great religious meeting held at the pit was most touching, when the incumbent of Earsdon read to the assembly of mourners a letter which her Majesty had dictated to Sir Charles Phipps, and which had been addressed to the head viewer (or overseer) of the mine. It ran as follows:—

"OSBORNE, *January 23rd*, 1862.

"SIR,—The Queen, in the midst of her own overwhelming grief, has taken the deepest interest in the mournful accident at Hartley, and up to the last had hoped that at least a considerable number of the poor people might have been recovered alive. The appalling news since received has afflicted the Queen very much.

"Her Majesty commands me to say that her tenderest sympathy is with the poor widows and mothers, and that her own misery only makes her feel the more for them.

"Her Majesty hopes that everything will be done, as far as possible, to alleviate their distress, and her Majesty will have a sad satisfaction in assisting in such a measure. Pray let us know what is doing.

"I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

"C. B. PHIPPS."

* General Bruce was the second son of Thomas, Seventh Earl of Elgin, and brother of the celebrated Governor-General of Canada and India.

It was estimated that £17,000 would be needed for the relief of the [illegible] and orphans. In London alone £20,000 was sent to the Lord Mayor, and by the end of February it was necessary to close the fund, for upwards of £81,000 had been generously subscribed by the public.*

A glimpse of the early days of the Queen's widowhood is afforded in the "Diaries" of one of her chaplains in Scotland—the late Dr. Norman Macleod, Minister of the Barony Parish Kirk, Glasgow. Her Majesty was advised to retire to Balmoral in the first week of May, and when she reached her Highland home she commanded the attendance of Dr. Macleod. He seems to have been somewhat nervous at being called upon to undertake the delicate duty of offering spiritual consolation to his widowed Sovereign. On the 12th of May, however, Dr. Macleod, writing to his wife, says, with a sense of relief, "All has passed well—that is to say, God enabled me to speak in private and in public to the Queen in such a way as seemed to me to be truth, the truth in God's sight; that which I believe she needed, though I felt it would be very trying to her spirit to receive it. And what fills me with deepest thanksgiving is that she has received it, and written to me such a kind, tender letter of thanks for it."† Writing in his Journal on the 14th of May, Dr. Macleod jotted down, whilst the facts were fresh in his mind, the chief incidents of his visit to the Queen at this painful period of her life. "After dinner," he says, "I was summoned unexpectedly to the Queen's room. She was alone. She met me, and, with an unutterably sad expression, which filled my eyes with tears, at once began to speak about the Prince. It is impossible for me to recall distinctly the sequence or substance of that long conversation. She spoke of his excellences — his love, his cheerfulness, how he was everything to her. She said she never shut her eyes to trials, but liked to look them in the face; how she would never shrink from duty, but that all was at present done mechanically; that her highest ideas of purity and love were obtained from him, and that

* The medical evidence showed that the miners in the pit had died painlessly from poisoning by carbonic oxide gas The Coroner's jury recommended that all mines should have two shafts instead of one only, and that engine-beams should be made of wrought, and not of cast iron.

† Dr. Macleod's ministrations at this time extended to other members of the Royal Family, and appear to have been conducted with the supple tact characteristic of the true-born Celt. "Your Royal Highness knows," he said to one of them, "that I am here as a pastor, and that it is only as a pastor I am permitted to address you. But as I wish you to thank me when we meet before God, so would I address you now." Again, in his letter to Mrs. Macleod, dated 12th of May, 1862, he writes:—"Prince Alfred sent for me last night to see him before going away. Thank God I spoke fully and frankly to him—we were alone—of his difficulties, temptations, and of his father's example; what the nation expected of him; how, if he did God's will, good and able men would rally round him; how, if he became selfish, a selfish set of flatterers would truckle to him and ruin him, while caring only for themselves. He thanked me for all I said, and wished me to travel with him to-day to Aberdeen, but the Queen wishes to see me again."—Life of Norman Macleod, D.D., by his brother, Rev. Donald Macleod, B.A., 2 vols. London: Daldy, Isbister, and Co., [illegible] Vol. II., p. 123.

... would not be displeased with her love. But there was nothing morbid in her grief. I spoke freely to her about all I felt regarding him—the love of the nation and their sympathy; and took every opportunity of bringing before her the reality of God's love and sympathy, her noble calling as a Queen, the value of her life to the nation, the blessedness of prayer."

"Sunday: the whole household, Queen and Royal Family, were assembled

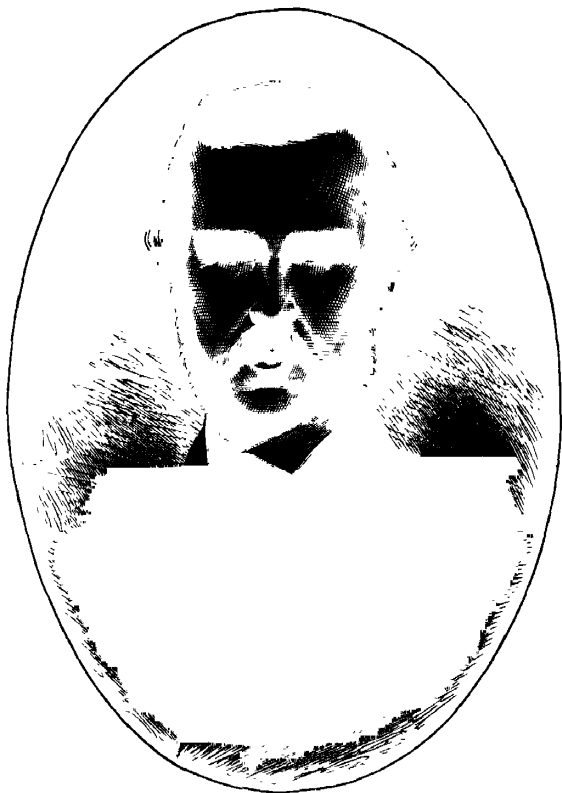
MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ALICE. (See p. 142.)

at 10.15. A temporary pulpit was erected. I began with a short prayer, then read Job xxiii., Psalm xlii., beginning and end of John xiv., and end of Revelation vii. After the Lord's Prayer I expounded Hebrews xii. 1—12, and concluded with prayer. The whole Service was less than an hour. I then, at 12, preached at Crathie* on 'All things are ours.' In the evening at Crathie on 'Awake, thou that sleepest.' The household attended both Services."

"On Monday I had another long interview with the Queen. She was much more like her old self—cheerful—and full of talk about persons and things. She, of course, spoke of the Prince. She said that he always believed he was to die soon, and that he often told her that he had never any fear of death. I also saw the Princesses Alice and Helen—each by herself. No

* The Queen's parish kirk.

words of mine can express the deep sympathy I have for all [illegible] The more I hear about the Prince Consort, the more I [illegible] what the Queen said to me about him on Monday, 'that he really [illegible] seem to comprehend a selfish character or what selfishness was.'"*

After her father's death, the Princess Alice was so deeply affected by her

PRINCE LOUIS OF HESSE-DARMSTADT.

mother's grief and her own bereavement, that for a time Prince Louis of Hesse thought she would not hold to her engagement with him. However, this fear soon passed away, and it was duly announced that the Princess would be married on the 1st of July. The ceremony took place in private at Osborne, and was performed by the Archbishop of York, in the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was suffering from a severe illness. The Queen

* Life of Norman Macleod, Vol. II., pp. 123, 124.

in deep mourning, but her agitation was so great that, when the service was ended, she had to be led away to her room. The Crown Prince of Prussia, all the bride's brothers and sisters, the parents, brothers, and sisters of the bridegroom, and many other near and dear relatives, were present. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha gave the Princess, his niece, away at the altar, and the married couple, after the ceremony was over, drove off quietly to St. Clare, near Ryde, which Colonel and Lady Catherine Harcourt had placed at their disposal. There they remained three days. On the 9th of July they left for Hesse-Darmstadt, accompanied by the kindliest wishes of all classes in the country, who had watched with sympathy and interest the affectionate solicitude with which the Princess had solaced the Queen under the first shock of her bereavement.

"Dear to us all by those calm earnest eyes,
And early thought upon that fair young brow,
Dearer for that where grief was heaviest, thou
Wert sunshine, till he passed where suns shall rise
And set no more: thou, in affection wise
And strong, wert strength to her, who even but now
In the soft accents of thy bridal vow
Heard music of her own heart's memories.

"Too full of love to own a thought of pride
Is now thy gentle bosom; so 'tis best,
Yet noble is thy choice, O English bride!
And England hails the bridegroom and the guest
A friend—a friend well-loved by him who died.
He blessed you both; your wedlock shall be blessed."

In these simple and pathetic lines *Punch*, dropping the jester's cap and bells, gave graceful expression to the popular feeling with which the nation bade the Princess good-bye. The parting between mother and daughter was a mournful one, though both kept their feelings well under control. Writing from the Royal yacht to bid adieu to the Queen, the Princess said, "My heart was very full when I took leave of you and all the dear ones at home; I had not the courage to say a word—but your loving heart understands what I felt."* And again after she reached Darmstadt, she recurs to this sad theme. "Away from home," is the concluding sentence of one of her letters to the Queen, "I cannot believe that beloved papa is not there; all is so associated with him."

Indeed, it may be doubted whether the loss of her daughter's society for a time had not a salutary influence on the Queen. It stimulated her to take a fresh interest in her family life, for a correspondence, intimate and affectionate, was carried on between mother and daughter, in which the Queen had to transmit budgets of home news, the mere collecting of which diverted her thoughts from the heart wound that tortured her. From this

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, pp. 27 and 29.

rrespondence we gather that in those days the Queen's life was full of gloomy hours. It is clear that the shadow of death at times fell very darkly on r spirit, and that she poured out her heart to her daughter without reserve. ie Princess Louis of Hesse—as Englishmen had to learn to call the Princess ice—on her side sympathised with every varying mood of her mother's ubled mind, although her letters indicate how each reference to her father, iom she had idolised from her childhood, made her own wounds bleed afresh. ie is sedulous in cheering her mother with accounts of her new home. She ters into all the Queen's plans for perpetuating the Prince Consort's memory. om her we gather that, outside of public business and family duties, these ans now filled the Queen's life. Commissions were given to sculptors like r. Theed to carve busts of the Prince. Marochetti's equestrian statue was ojected, and the Princess Louis, soon after reaching Darmstadt, presses the ieen to tell her how it is progressing. The Queen also makes a collection the Prince's speeches, and this again stimulates the interest of her daughter, io expresses her pleasure at hearing that Mr. (afterwards Sir Arthur) Helps has en selected by her mother to write an introduction to them for publication. What can it be," she writes in one of her letters to the Queen, "but autiful and elevating if he has rightly entered into the spirit of that pure d noble being?" But even these occupations failed entirely to divert the ind of the Queen from brooding over her bereavement, and now and again r letters, so full of despondency and hopelessness, alarmed her daughter. one of these the Princess replies from Auerbach, in the month of igust, as follows:—"Try and gather in the few bright things you have maining, and cherish them, for though faint, yet they are types of that finite joy still to come. I am sure, dear mamma, the more you try to preciate and to find the good in that which God in His love has left u, the more worthy you will daily become of that which is in store. That rthly happiness you had is indeed gone for ever, but you must not think at every ray of it has left you. You have the privilege, which dear papa iew so well how to value, in your exalted position, of doing good and ing for others, of carrying on his plans, his wishes, into fulfilment, and you go on doing your duty, this will, this must, I feel sure, bring you ace and comfort." *

In the meantime preparations for an interesting and important event the Royal Family had to be made. It has been already mentioned that the ince of Wales had been much attracted by the fascinating society of the incess Alexandra of Sleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, whom he met shortly fore his father's death whilst visiting Germany. The feeling had ripened to a warm attachment, and it soon came to be rumoured that the lady d listened favourably to his suit as a lover. In autumn it was decided

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and tters, p. 37.

Queen should proceed to the Continent and arrange the preliminaries of this alliance with the parents of the Princess. It was also her Majesty's wish to visit Gotha—consecrated to her now by many tender memories—as soon as she was able to endure the fatigue of travel. Lord Russell was selected to accompany her Majesty as Minister in attendance.

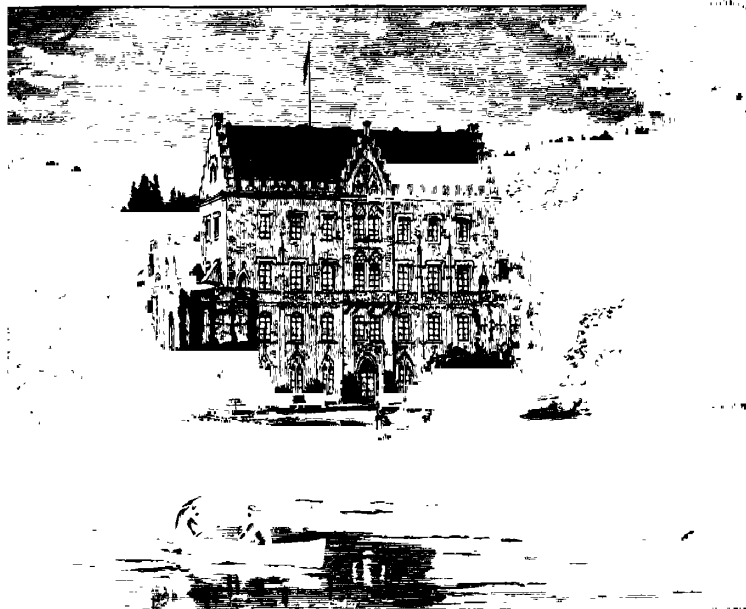
Writing in his Diary on the 1st of September, Count Vitzthum says, "The Queen, who returned two days ago to Windsor, held a Privy Council there, in order to make the necessary arrangements for the period of her absence. Lord Palmerston did not attend this sitting, but has come down to town to receive her Majesty's last commands. The Queen embarks to-day at Woolwich, and goes first to Brussels to meet for the first time the Princess Alexandra and her parents. A few days later the Prince of Wales will also come to Brussels, when the betrothal will be officially declared. The indiscretion of the newspapers, which speak of the betrothal as a settled affair before it has actually been announced, has given great annoyance at Windsor Castle."* The impression which the youth and beauty of the Danish Princess made on the Queen was most favourable, and the preliminaries of the marriage were soon arranged. Her Majesty then proceeded to Germany, where she retired to the little shooting-box of Reinhardsbrunn, a residence so small that even Lord Russell had to stay at Gotha for lack of accommodation. In a letter to Count Vitzthum, he gives us a casual glimpse of the Queen's retreat. "I went to Reinhardsbrunn yesterday (17th September)," says Lord Russell, "and took an opportunity of speaking to the Queen about the proposed visit of Prince George of Saxony. Her Majesty appreciated the kindness of the King of Saxony, whom she regarded, she said, in the light of a relation. The Queen has no room in the house she inhabits to lodge any one, but if the Prince George could come any day after to-morrow (Friday), about three o'clock to pay her a visit, she would be happy to see him. The Prince of Wales is in high spirits, and willingly accepts congratulations on his marriage." †

In the middle of October the Princess Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt and her husband came to England, awaiting at Windsor the arrival of the Queen, who was then at Osborne. The thoughtful affection of the Princess herself prompted this visit. It was feared that the anniversary of the Prince Consort's death might bring on one of those attacks of nervous prostration from which the Queen suffered, during the first year of her bereavement, and at such a moment the presence of the Princess Alice afforded comfort, consolation, and confidence to the Royal family.

On the 18th of December the Queen emerged from her seclusion to superintend the removal of the Prince Consort's remains from St. George's Chapel

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 207.

† *Ibid.*

the Mausoleum at Frogmore Park. This sepulchral edifice
her special directions as a monument of the affection
hich she and her children bore to the dead Prince. It is
an, the arms of the cross radiating from a central cell, lit by
rcular windows in the clerestory, to the cardinal points of the
lished shafts of cold grey granite decorate the outside of the building,
an octagonal roof of copper a gilded cross gleams on a square-set

REINHARDSBRUNN, NEAR GOTHA.

he transepts are also square, and lit by a clerestory corresponding with that
the central cell. Monoliths of Aberdeen and Guernsey granite flank the
eps of the entrance porch, and the whole exterior is faced with polished
ranites and parti-coloured masonry. When the Prince's remains were laid
ere, the interior—remarkable for its almost Oriental richness of subdued
lour and for the splendour of its golden decorations—was unfinished, nor
as Marochetti's recumbent statue of the Prince, which was to be placed
er his sarcophagus, completed.

Early on the morning of the 18th of December the remains of the
ere taken from St. George's Chapel, Windsor, to Frogmore, the
ing conducted in extreme privacy. The coffin was first placed in a

was followed by the Prince of Wales and Prince Louis of Hesse in a mourning coach. The Lord Chamberlain, the Dean of Windsor, Sir Charles Phipps, Colonel Grey, and other officials and domestics of the Royal Household formed the rest of the procession. The ceremony was very brief, simple, and solemn, and when the coffin was placed within the sarcophagus, the Princes laid upon it floral wreaths, which the Princesses had woven with their own hands for their father's grave.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

England in 1863—The Prince of Wales Summoned as a Peer of Parliament—His Introduction to the House of Lords—Cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece—Mr Disraeli's Policy—The Prince of Wales's Income—The Dowry of the Princess—Approaching Marriage of the Prince of Wales—The Voyage of the "Sea-King's Daughter"—Reception of the Princess Alexandra at Gravesend—Her Entry into London—The Scene in the City—The West End *en fête*—Loyalty of Clubland—Accident to the Royal Party at Slough—The High Churchmen and the Queen—Objections to a Royal Marriage in Lent—The Dispensing Power of the Primate—A Visit to Frogmore—The Queen at the Prince of Wales's Marriage—The Scene in St. George's Chapel—The Wedding Presents—The Ceremony—The Wedding Guests hustled by Roughs—Riots in Ireland—Illuminated London—Foreign Policy—The Polish Question—The Russian Rebuff to Lord Palmerston—Napoleon III Proposes a Congress of Sovereigns—Lord Russell Condemns the Proposal—The Death-Knell of the Anglo-French Alliance—France and Mexico and the Archduke Maximilian.

But for the controversy that was waged in the Press over the Civil War in America, and the sufferings of Lancashire, where the people were lying under the blight of the Cotton Famine, the year 1863 would have presented a record of unruffled calm. The classes and the masses still wrangled over the rights and wrongs of the Southern States; but the leaders of political parties, adhering to the policy of neutrality, discouraged all projects for interfering between the belligerents. The organs of public opinion in the Northern States bitterly condemned England because her aristocracy displayed strong Southern sympathies. The organs of public opinion in the Southern States reviled the English Government because Lord Russell refused to join the Emperor of the French in recognising the Southern Confederacy. For some mysterious reason France, whose policy was thus absolutely hostile to the Federal Government, was not only popular in the South but in the North. Both belligerents were, however, surprised to find that events falsified the anticipations which they had based on the effect of the Cotton Famine. So far from forcing England to interfere in the struggle, the destruction of her cotton industry was seen to produce local suffering rather than national disaster. The foundations of British trade, in fact, had, by the fiscal policy of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, been laid so broad and so deep, that the nation easily withstood the shock from the ruin of its most productive

[illegible] Losses in the cotton trade were [illegible] increased gains in other forms of commercial enterprise, [illegible] ar's Day the revenue had increased so unexpectedly, that Mr. [illegible] t only began to dream of surpluses, but was busy hatching [illegible] fresh reduction of taxation. Indeed, the lavish subscriptions to the [illegible] r relieving distress in the cotton districts indicated how little the [illegible] mine had affected the aggregate amount of disposable wealth in the [illegible] y the end of January this princely fund had reached three-quarters of a illion sterling—a sum which did not, of course, represent the unestimated ntributions of manufacturers who, like Mr. John Bright, ran their mills on ort time at a loss, rather than turn their workpeople into the streets.

Parliament was opened by Commission on the 8th of February—the first ragraph in the Queen's Speech announcing the approaching marriage of e Prince of Wales to the Princess Alexandra. The offer of the Crown Greece to Prince Alfred was alluded to, and the continuance of the vil War in America, with its attendant Cotton Famine in Lancashire, plored. But as to legislation, the Royal Speech said nothing definite. l promises were conveyed in Lord Palmerston's stereotyped formula, that various measures of public usefulness and improvement" would be sub-itted for the consideration of Parliament. The debates on the Address tracted less popular interest than the ceremonial proceedings of the House Lords, when, on the first day of the Session, the Prince of Wales took s seat in that august Assembly. The scene on that occasion was a memor-le one. In the side galleries near the Throne the Duchess of Cambridge, e Princess Mary of Cambridge, and a brilliant array of Peeresses had cured places. The Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers and Members of the ouse of Commons were also well represented. After the Royal Speech was ad the Commissioners retired, and at about a quarter to four the Lord ancellor, in his ordinary black silk robe, wig, and three-cornered hat, tered the House, preceded by the Great Seal, and seated himself on the olsack. The Bishop of Worcester having read the prayers, a brilliant ocession of Peers was then seen defiling from the Prince's Chamber, and it arched with slow and stately formality up the floor of the House, led by r Augustus Clifford, Usher of the Black Rod, who was followed by Sir arles Young, arrayed in the robes of the Garter-King-at-Arms. He was llowed by an equerry carrying the coronet of the Prince of Wales on a rgeously embroidered cushion. Then came the Prince himself, wearing the arlet and ermine robes of a Duke over a general officer's uniform, and corated with the insignia of the Garter, the Golden Fleece, and the Star of dia. Accompanying him were the Dukes of Cambridge and Argyll, the [illegible] Derby and Granville, Earl Spencer and Lord Kingsdown, Lord [illegible] Eresby, Hereditary Grand Chamberlain, and Lord Edmund [illegible] nting the infant Duke of Norfolk, as Hereditary Grand [illegible]

entered the House, the Peers rose and remained standing during the ceremony—the Lord Chancellor alone retaining his seat, and wearing his cocked hat. The Prince bowed, and advancing to the woolsack, delivered his patent of nobility and writ of summons to the Lord Chancellor. He then returned to the table where Sir J. Shaw-Lefevre, Clerk of the Parliaments, administered the oath to him, as Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, Earl of Chester and Carrick, and Lord of the Isles. Having signed the roll, the procession passed round behind the woolsack, till the Prince reached the right-hand side of the Throne, where he took his seat formally on the Chair of State reserved for the Heir-Apparent to the Crown. As he seated himself he placed his hat on his head. Then uncovering he rose, advanced to the woolsack, and shook hands with the Lord Chancellor, who very slightly raised his hat as he went through the formal salutation. The procession then left the House, and business was suspended till five o'clock, when the Prince reappeared in ordinary walking-dress, with the Duke of Cambridge, beside whom he sat on one of the cross-benches throughout the debate on the Address.

In both Houses the Government was attacked, mainly on account of its foreign policy. The Tories pretended to see in the proposed cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece the premonitory sign of the fall of the British Empire. Their argument turned on a strange misconception, not only of the arrangements made at Vienna in 1815, but of the Queen's prerogative. The Ionian Islands were never British territory. They formed an independent Republic, placed by the European Powers under the protection of England.* But the primary aim of that protectorate was to foster the spirit of Greek nationality, and not to give Corfu to England as a place of arms. When the Ionians therefore desired annexation to Greece, and Greece was able to protect them, England would have been false to the trust she undertook in 1815, if she had maintained her protectorate by force. Earl Grey clearly proved that it was quite within the prerogative of the Queen to cede a protectorate without consulting Parliament. In fact, as the magnificent island of Java, which was a possession and not a protectorate, was given to the Dutch without Parliament being consulted on the subject, it is difficult to understand why the Opposition raised the question of prerogative in this instance. Mr. Disraeli's complaints that certain Ministers—of whom Mr. Gladstone was one—had made speeches during the recess indicating a

* The history of the Protectorate is as follows.—After the downfall of Napoleon I. in 1815, England [illegible] six of the Ionian Islands. Austria offered to undertake their government, because she said that their position enabled their population to disturb her Adriatic coast. Count Capo d'Istrias, on behalf of Russia, objected, and at the time the voice of the Czar Alexander was all-powerful. He [illegible] partisan of Greece, and avowedly so because he believed that the spirit of Greek nationality would be repressed under Austria, whereas it would be fostered under England. He insisted on the [illegible] being placed under a British protectorate, so that they might have the benefit of free [illegible]

desire to recognise the Confederate Government in the United [illegible] more difficult to meet. These speeches compromised the policy of [illegible] neutrality which had been accepted by the Cabinet, and on [illegible] they had caused considerable annoyance to the Queen. The absence of [illegible] lative proposals from the Royal Speech naturally gave Lord Derby [illegible] for some gibes, which, however, did not in the least affect Lord Palmerston's

THE VANDYKE ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE.

peace of mind. The position of the Tories at this time was frankly avowed by Mr. Disraeli in a conversation with Count Vitzthum just before Parliament met. "I have not, indeed," said Mr. Disraeli, "yet settled with my friends our plans for the coming Parliamentary campaign; but I think I can tell you at once that there will be no serious fighting. Something, of course, may turn up, but at present there seems to be nothing that could force us to quit our waiting attitude. We shall not form a weak Ministry a third time. We can wait, and shall upset nothing. If we take the helm again, we shall do so with the prospect of a longer and safer tenure. Whether this will happen or not before Lord Palmerston dies I don't know; for the present, at any rate, the old man need fear no serious attack from us." The change of strategy here is obvious. In 1862 the policy of the Opposition was [illegible]

[illegible] to the general feeling that the Queen should, during the first [illegible] of her widowhood, be spared the anxiety of party conflicts, which [illegible] involved Ministerial crises. In 1863 the Tories adopted the policy of patriotically supporting Lord Palmerston's Ministry simply because they were themselves unable to form a strong Cabinet, and Mr. Disraeli had determined that they must not "form a weak Ministry a third time."*

But an event was approaching which diverted the minds of the nation from politics, namely, the marriage of the Prince of Wales, which it was now known would take place before Easter. The object of one of the first proposals laid before Parliament was to make an adequate provision for the future establishment of the Heir-Apparent. A message from the Queen to both Houses on the subject evoked a loyal congratulatory Address, and Palmerston himself moved the formal resolutions called for by the occasion in the House of Commons. He said that the Government considered that £100,000 a year would be a fair income to allow the Heir-Apparent, and, as he derived £60,000 a year from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, the House would be asked to vote only £40,000 a year out of the Consolidated Fund. For the Princess of Wales, it was proposed that a separate allowance of £10,000 a year should be sanctioned, and, further, that in the event of her surviving her husband, a jointure of £30,000 should be secured to her. No objection could be fairly made to an arrangement which was at once moderate and business-like. Indeed, the Radicals were agreeably surprised to find that Parliament was not called on to vote anything approaching the enormous sum which was sanctioned by the precedent of 1795.† As for the domestic arrangements relating to the marriage, they were proceeding apace, and the nation was pleased to know that the Queen was able to participate in them with ever-quickening interest.

It has been said already that during the visit of the Queen to Brussels in the autumn of 1862, the preliminaries of this marriage had been arranged, and in November the Princess Alexandra had paid a brief visit to the Queen at Osborne, where her winsome manners charmed all hearts. In February, 1863, the King of Denmark and his subjects alike testified their approval of her marriage by bestowing on her many valuable gifts. On the 26th the Princess left Copenhagen with the good wishes of all classes sounding in her ears. The day was kept as a public holiday, and the crowded streets from the palace to the railway station were gay with festal flags and garlands.

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 228.

† In 1795 the Prince of Wales was voted £138,000 a year. In the reigns of the Queen's predecessors the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall were absorbed by the Crown. But when the Prince of Wales was born, the Prince Consort, finding these revenues sadly encumbered, set them apart for the use of the Heir-Apparent. During his minority they had been so ably administered by Prince Albert that in 1862 they yielded a free income of £60,000 a year. This enabled the Government to cut down the Parliamentary vote to £40,000.

from the windows of the houses the Princess, who was escorted by her brother, Prince Frederick, was pelted with bouquets of flowers, and at the station she was met by all the high functionaries of State, who took leave of her in formal farewell addresses for which her father, Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, Heir-Presumptive to the Danish throne, returned thanks. The Royal party travelling by Kiel, Hamburg, Hanover, and Coblentz, reached Brussels on the 2nd of March, where they were received by the Duchess of Brabant, the Count de Flandres, and the English and Danish Ambassadors. On the 5th they left for Antwerp, where they embarked on board the *Victoria and Albert* yacht and sailed for Flushing, where Rear-Admiral Smart's squadron of escort was waiting for them. At eight in the evening the Royal yacht, which had passed Flushing, was sighted by the two chief vessels of the escort. Royal salutes from each awoke the echoes of the deep, yards were manned, and rockets went hissing up into the air, falling round the Royal yacht in a sparkling shower of stars. Without stopping for a moment, the bridal party and their convoy sped on through the darkness, gliding over the glassy surface of what might have been a summer sea. Before midnight the *Victoria and Albert* had anchored in Margate Roads. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 6th the *Revenge* and the *Warrior* were dressed with flags, and again a royal salute thundered over the waves. Admiral Smart, by hurrying at racing speed across the North Sea, had earned the gratitude of the Princess and her companions, for soon after the bridal party entered English waters the German Ocean was swept by south-westerly gales. At four o'clock in the afternoon the squadron was sighted from Sheerness, whereupon the ships at the Nore manned their yards and saluted. Bonfires blazed along the beach. The word "Welcome" in letters ten feet high gleamed in the radiance of blue lights, and a long line of torches glimmered along the sea-wall. Next morning the Royal yacht, escorted by the *Warrior*, steamed up the Thames, arriving at Gravesend at noon. Here the Prince of Wales met his bride, and they landed amidst Royal salutes from the warships. The Mayoress presented the Princess with a bouquet. The Mayor and municipal dignitaries presented loyal addresses, but the prettiest part of the ceremony was the procession from the landing-place to the Royal carriage. A band of young ladies dressed in white—wearing red burnous cloaks and straw hats decked with wreaths of oak-leaves—tripped gaily along in advance of the Princess, strewing her path with flowers. At the railway station the party was greeted by crowds whose cheers betokened their desire to welcome the "Sea-King's daughter." When the Royal train reached London it stopped at the Bricklayers' Arms Station, which was gay with crimson drapery, and here a boudoir and ante-chamber for the travellers had been fitted up. Among the brilliant crowd of about 700 privileged persons who were admitted to the station were the Duke of Cambridge, the Prince of Prussia, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the Count de Flandres, Sir George Grey, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, Sir Richard Mayne, [illegible]

Commissioner of Police, Mr. Layard, and others. Here the Royal party partook of luncheon, received some congratulatory addresses, and left the station at ... minutes past two o'clock.

There was some fear lest the entry of the Princess into the capital would not be an unalloyed triumph. The officials of the Court had contrived to irritate the populace by several of their arrangements. The people were at first annoyed because they had been told the procession was to pass through the metropolis at a smart trot. Then the municipal dignitaries were greatly affronted because in the original plan they were to have no part in the procession. The reason given for this prohibition was that the Lord Mayor would necessarily have headed the pageant, but inasmuch as his unwieldy State coach must proceed at walking pace, his presence would have prevented the Royal carriages passing along at high speed. But when the Corporation met and expressed their anger at this interference with their prerogative, the Court officials yielded, and so it was arranged that the Lord Mayor and his train should head the procession as far as Temple Bar. But the moment the Princess appeared, her grace, her beauty, her charming simplicity of manners, carried all hearts by storm, and London was quite delirious with joyful excitement when she came on the scene. As the *cortège* left the station it was headed by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and by the High Bailiff of Southwark, escorted by Horse Guards. Loyal crowds lined the *route*, which was decked with flags and triumphal arches. The officials of Southwark left the procession at London Bridge, which had been decorated in the most lavish manner by the Corporation. Venetian masts, surmounted by the Danish arms, medallions of the Danish Kings, tripods of incense, and banners innumerable were seen on all sides. Near Fishmongers' Hall, a huge triumphal arch, seventy feet high, spanned the roadway. It was a gorgeous but somewhat confused mass of allegory and symbolism, bearing statues of Saxo Grammaticus, Holberg, Thorwaldsen, and Juel; a group of horses in plaster crowning the whole structure. As for the centrepiece, it was a fearful and wonderful work of art, blazoned with gold and flaunting colours. Britannia, surrounded by all the Pagan gods and goddesses; a portrait of the Queen in widow's weeds; banners and heraldic devices and armorial escutcheons, all combined to make this structure unforgettable. In the City, it must be allowed, the local authorities rivalled the Court officials in their capacity for mismanagement. They refused all offers of assistance from the Horse Guards and the Home Office. Neither the Duke of Cambridge's Cavalry nor Sir Richard Mayne's Police were permitted to keep the crowds in order—that duty being entrusted to the City Police, the Honourable Artillery Company, and some Volunteers. Hence the streets were blocked up, and, according to Lord Malmesbury,* "if it had not been for the good temper of the people some terrible catastrophe must

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 294.

have occurred. At the Mansion House a brilliant group of ladies, of whom the Lady Mayoress was the central figure, was waiting in the portico to welcome the Princess. Here the procession paused, and a bouquet was presented to her Royal Highness. But whilst this ceremony was going on, the authorities lost control of the crowd, and dense masses began to press on the Royal carriages with such persistency, that the Danish dignitaries in the train of the Princess were thrown into a panic, which was, however, allayed by the presence of mind of the Prince of Wales. The procession then drove on

ENTRY OF THE PRINCESS ALEXANDRA INTO LONDON: THE PROCESSION PASSING TEMPLE BAR. (See p. 158.)

to Temple Bar, which was transformed into a grand triumphal arch, crowned with a tent of cloth of gold. At the corners smoking tripods sent up clouds of incense. Here the Civic dignitaries left the *cortège*, which was then headed by the High Steward of Westminster and other officials, who fell out at Hyde Park.

Clubland was in gala array, and the Princess seemed quite interested when Marlborough House was pointed out to her by the Prince as her future home. On the balcony at Cambridge House in Piccadilly Lord and Lady Palmerston were the most conspicuous figures in a group of aristocratic sightseers, and were honoured with gracious salutes from the Royal party. But of all the houses in Piccadilly that of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby was the most florid in its decorations

decked with evergreens, flags of all nations, and numberless banners. The small space under the drawing-room windows was draped with white and gold, and with blue hangings studded with golden stars. "We went," writes Lord Malmesbury, in his Diary, "to Lord Willoughby's house at a quarter before one to see the entry of the Princess. The houses along Piccadilly were decorated, with few exceptions, but I saw nothing really pretty except Lord Willoughby's and Lord Cadogan's. There were a good many people in the drawing-room. It was the coldest day we have had for a long time, no sun, with occasional showers, and we were half frozen standing on the balconies. The Duke of Cambridge rode by two or three times with his staff, and was greatly cheered. Lord Ranelagh passed at the head of his brigade of Volunteers. Then appeared the Royal carriages; and I was never more surprised or disappointed. The first five contained the suite and brothers and sisters of the Princess Alexandra; the carriages looked old and shabby, and the horses very poor, with no trappings, not even rosettes, and no outriders. In short, the shabbiness of the whole *cortège* was beyond anything one could imagine, everybody asking 'Where is the Master of the Horse?' The Princess kept bowing right and left very gracefully. The moment the procession had passed the crowds dispersed, but there were universal remarks and compliments on the Princess's beauty." * Through a double line of seventeen thousand Volunteers the procession drove to Paddington Station, and there the Royal Party took the train for Slough, where they were received by the Princes of Prussia and Hesse, and Princes Arthur and Leopold. Night was now closing in, and rain fell fast. To add to the discomforts of the travellers, the horses of the first carriage became restive. The leaders of the second turned right round on the wheelers, and great confusion prevailed. All the harness became entangled. "Altogether," writes Lord Malmesbury, "everything done by the Court authorities was bad." It was past ten o'clock when Eton was reached, the boys of the College cheering the Princess vociferously, after which the *cortège* was met and welcomed at the triumphal arch at Windsor by the municipal authorities. The shouts of the people and the loyal and royal town rang in the ears of the Princess as she drove into the Castle. Here she was received by the Queen and the Princesses Louise and Beatrice, who had been waiting anxiously for her coming.

Next morning (Sunday) the Queen, her family, and her guests attended service in the private chapel, where the Bishop of Oxford preached from the text "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." Wilberforce had to handle his theme with great delicacy and tact, because the Queen had been sadly annoyed by the carping criticism of some zealots of the High Church Party. They had taken offence because her Majesty had permitted her son to be married in Lent, and they even threatened to absent

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 294.

themselves from all the national festivities that were to mark the [illegible]. The Queen had invoked Wilberforce's aid in pacifying these persons, and in a letter to the Bishop of Salisbury he writes as follows:—"I am *very* sorry for the time of the marriage, but everything possible has been done to get it changed, and in vain. I *think* the best thing now possible would be for the Archbishop to write a letter saying that for high State reasons, that time having been thought necessary, he, as Archbishop, thinks it his duty to express that he, so far as it is lawful for him to do so, dispenses for that day with the Church's ordinary rule, or add that all may, without scruple, legally devote it to rejoicing." * This advice, however, was not acted on. But Wilberforce issued a letter to each of his Archdeacons for the guidance of the clergy in his diocese, in which he said that "any rejoicing, to be real, must be on the day of the marriage." He held that the Archbishop's Episcopal authority gave him the right to abrogate the Lenten Fast for such an occasion, and he added that from communications he had received he considered "that the Primate had exercised his dispensing power." † Wilberforce's sermon, however, pleased and impressed his illustrious audience. In his "Diary," and in that of Dr. Macleod, some interesting facts of the Queen's life at this period are disclosed. After referring to the sermon on the 8th of March, Wilberforce writes: "Saw the Queen in the afternoon, and had much talk with her; always the Prince—expecting him in old places. Large dinner; after, presented to the Princess Alexandra; she *very* pleasing—such a countenance, mien, demeanour, and conversation!" Some days previously Dr. Macleod had visited her Majesty at Windsor, and she took him, with Lady Augusta Bruce and the Princess Alice, to the Mausoleum at Frogmore. "She (the Queen)," writes Dr. Macleod, "had the key, and opened it herself, undoing the bolts, and alone we entered and stood in silence beside Marochetti's beautiful statue of the Prince. I was very much overcome. She was calm and quiet. . . . I had a private interview at night with the Queen. She is so true, so genuine, I wonder not at her sorrow. To me it is quite natural, and has not a bit of morbid feeling in it. It but expresses the greatest loss that a Sovereign and wife could sustain." ‡ The bridal festivities of the Princess were overcast to some extent by the cloud of melancholy which had settled on the Queen's heart.

But there was no lack of joyous display on the part of the public. On Monday, the 9th of March, the Lord Mayor of London and several members of the Corporation brought their wedding gift to the Princess—a diamond necklace

* Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol III., p. 86

† This letter did not satisfy all the clergy. Several of them challenged sharply Wilberforce's decision of the Archiepiscopal dispensing power, and indeed entangled him in controversial correspondence on the subject. Those interested in the matter will find Wilberforce's argument more fully elaborated in a letter quoted in his "Life," Vol. III., p. 87. He says he had discovered in his muniment box at Lavington such a dispensation to one of his own predecessors granted by Archbishop Laud.

‡ Life of Norman Macleod, D.D., Vol. II., p. 122.

... worth £10,000. The Princess spent the day in driving about the neighbourhood of Windsor, and in the evening there was a splendid State banquet in St. George's Hall, followed by a party and a magnificent show of fireworks in the Home Park. On the 10th the marriage took place in the Chapel Royal at Windsor, in the presence of a brilliant assembly, the Queen—shrouded

THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

(From a Photograph taken about the time of her Marriage.)

in the deepest mourning—taking no part in the ceremony, which she watched with tearful eyes from the Royal closet. Shortly before noon the Archbishop of Canterbury, the assisting bishops and clergy, entered the Chapel—the prelates walking to the altar, the Archbishop to the north side, and the Dean of Windsor to the south. The Chapel was one mass of gorgeous colour, softened in tone by the rich light that streamed through the painted window of the choir. Massive sacramental plate of gold and silver, superb golden candlesticks,

[illegible], quaint and curiously-wrought chalices and patens, [illegible] glittering pile on the altar. The reredos, hung with rich crimson [illegible] with its fine panels of Christ and the Woman of Samaria, the [illegible] the Institution of the Holy Communion, shone with the virgin purity of [illegible] alabaster. Time and space would fail to catalogue the dazzling array of [illegible] and Princely guests, of Ambassadors and Ministers of State, whose [illegible] uniforms and sparkling decorations almost fatigued the spectator's eye. The

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, FROM THE GARDEN.

Princess Alexandra was clad in rich white satin robes, trimmed with Honiton lace and orange blossoms. Her necklace, earrings, and brooch of pearls and diamonds were a gift from the Prince of Wales; her *rivière* of diamonds was the gift of the Corporation of the City of London. On her wrists shone three bracelets—two being of opals and diamonds, one of which was given to her by the Queen, the other by the ladies of Manchester, whilst the third, of diamonds, was the gift of the ladies of Leeds. Her bouquet was a magnificent collection of orange blossoms, white rosebuds, lilies of the valley, and costly orchids, made up at Osborne in accordance with the Queen's directions, and throughout, the mass of floral bloom was relieved by sprigs of the myrtle which had served for the bridal bouquet of the Princess Royal. The design of the

... flounces of Honiton lace on her robe was a sequence of ... with roses, shamrocks, and thistles, arranged in festoons and interspersed with ... national emblems.* As for the Prince of Wales, he wore a General's uniform, with the mantle of the Garter, the gold collar and jewel of that Order, and the decorations of the Golden Fleece and the Star of India. His chief supporters were the Crown Prince of Prussia, and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-and-Gotha. The Princess was led in by her father, Prince Christian of Denmark, and the Duke of Cambridge, and her bridesmaids were eight unmarried daughters of Dukes, Marquises, and Earls, namely, Lady Victoria Scott, Lady Diana Beauclerk, Lady Elina Bruce, Lady Victoria Howard, Lady Emily Villiers, Lady Agneta Yorke, Lady Feodore Wellesley, and Lady Eleanor Hare. As the procession reached the altar, the band and organ performed Handel's march from *Joseph*. The choir next sang one of the late Prince Consort's chorales—Jenny Lind's sweet birdlike notes ringing high above all other voices. The Archbishop then read the service, and when the ring was placed on the finger of the Princess, distant guns thundered forth a salute, and the bells of Windsor rang out a peal of joy. After the benediction the Psalm was chanted with great solemnity, and the united processions of the bride and bridegroom left the Chapel, the choir singing Beethoven's Hallelujah Chorus from the *Mount of Olives*. At the Grand Entrance to Windsor Castle the bride and bridegroom and their train were received by the Queen, whose features bore traces of deep emotion, and were by her conducted to the Green Drawing Room and White Room, where the marriage was attested in due form by the Royal guests, the ecclesiastical dignitaries, the Ministers of the Crown, and M. de Bille, the Danish Minister. Breakfast was served in the Dining Room to the Royal guests, and in St. George's Hall to the company present at the ceremony, upwards of four hundred in number. The wedding cake on the table at St. George's Hall is said to have weighed eighty pounds. At four in the afternoon the Prince and Princess of Wales left for Osborne, amidst hearty cheers from loyal crowds, who greeted them as they drove along to the station.

Dr. Norman Macleod, describing the ceremony, says in his Diary, "Two things struck me much. One was the whole of the Royal Princesses weeping, though concealing their tears with their bouquets, as they saw their brother, who was to them but their 'Bertie' and their dear father's son, standing alone, waiting for the bride. The other was the Queen's expression as she raised her eyes to heaven, while her husband's chorale was sung. She seemed to be with him before the throne of God." The Bishop of Oxford, in a letter to Sir Charles Anderson, gives a less pathetic description of the scene. He writes:—"The ceremony was certainly the most moving sight I ever saw. The Queen, above all, looking down, added a wonderful chord of deep feeling to all the lighter notes of joyfulness and show. Every one behaved quite at their best. The

* Mrs. Tucker, of Branscombe, near Sidmouth, was the designer.

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. (See p. 152.)

Princess of Wales calm, feeling, self-possessed. The Prince [illegible] manner than ever before. Princess Mary's entrance was grand. [illegible] Prince William of Prussia, between his two little uncles* to keep him [illegible], both of whom—the Crown Princess told me—he bit on the bare Highland [illegible] whenever they touched him to keep him quiet."† There was, however, one jarring incident in the proceedings which irritated the Queen not a little, and to which reference is made by Lord Malmesbury and Count Vitzthum. Lord Malmesbury says in his Diary, "Nothing could exceed the splendour of the scene in St. George's Chapel. The foreigners were all much struck with it; it was so grand as to be overpowering. Mr. Paget confirmed all I had heard of the confusion on the departure of the special train for London. The Duchess of Westminster, who had on half a million's worth of diamonds, could only find place in a third class carriage, and Lady Palmerston was equally unfortunate. Count Livradio had his diamond star torn off and stolen by the roughs." Count Vitzthum writes, "The confusion at the railway station when the special train was leaving was incomprehensible. We men were in full uniform, and the unfortunate ladies in full Court attire and covered with jewellery. It had never occurred to the police to close the entrances to the platform, and the returning guests were hemmed in by a noisy and disorderly crowd."‡

In every part of the kingdom the 10th of March was kept as a national holiday. London and all the great cities were brilliantly illuminated—in fact, it was only in Ireland that the event was not marked by universal manifestations of popular loyalty. There was some rioting in Dublin and Cork; indeed, in the latter city, troops had to be called out to restore order. The appearance of Edinburgh on the evening of the 10th was particularly memorable, the "grey metropolis of the North" naturally lending itself to effective illumination. After a brief honeymoon at Osborne, the Prince and Princess of Wales returned to London. But Lord Malmesbury, who describes their entry to St. James's Palace, says, the scene struck him "as very melancholy, when one considered the cause of the Queen's absence." A few days afterwards, he was invited to Windsor Castle. "The Queen," he writes, "was quite calm and even cheerful, and looks well, but she complains of not feeling strong, and being unable to stand much."

So far as the Queen was able to take an active interest in the management of the Foreign policy of the country, the only questions to which she paid close attention were those relating to Poland and the Duchy of Sleswig-Holstein. For two years rebellious agitators had disturbed Poland, and at last the Russian Government, in a moment of irritation, resolved to seize the youth of the upper

* Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold, who, as usual on such occasions, wore the picturesque Highland dress.

† Life of Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 88. In this letter Wilberforce says he was quite charmed with the manner in which the Crown Prince of Prussia spoke of his wife. "Bishop," said he, "[illegible] it has been one long honeymoon."

‡ Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 216.

[illegible] middle classes, who represented the discontented sections of the people, and [illegible] them into the Imperial Army as conscripts. The rigour with which this measure was enforced roused a great deal of popular sympathy in England on behalf of the Poles, and strong pressure was put on the Government by the Tories, by some Radicals like Mr. Stansfeld, who were friendly to Continental revolutionary movements, and even by a large section of the Evangelical party, led by Lord Shaftesbury, to interfere on behalf of the Polish insurgents. For in February, 1863, the Committee of the Polish National Insurrection had issued its first proclamation, after which, Mieroslavski raised the standard of revolt on the Posen frontier. A pamphlet, called "Napoleon III. et la Pologne," had been published in Paris, under the auspices of the French Emperor, and it not only created a sensation on the Continent, but it roused the suspicions of the Queen. Palmerston's personal sympathies were naturally with the Poles. But, on the other hand, the Queen could not forget that the restoration of Poland was one of the many devices which the Emperor of the French had in reserve for upsetting the Treaties of 1815, in order to give him a pretext for seizing the left bank of the Rhine. It was not, therefore, from any sympathy for the Czar's autocratic policy of repression that the English Court was averse from encouraging the Polish insurrection, or that the King of Prussia and his Minister, Herr Von Bismarck, actively aided Russia in coercing the Poles by massing troops along the frontier of Posen, and delivering up Polish fugitives who fled to Prussian territory. The Courts of Berlin and St. James's alike dreaded a general European war — and to that issue the Queen honestly believed a policy of intervention must tend. For a time Lord Palmerston's Ministry tossed about aimlessly in a vortex of embarrassments. They were afraid to develop a policy of intervention, lest it might encourage an outbreak of anti - Russian opinion in England, and drive them into a war, with Napoleon III. as a self-interested ally. They were equally afraid that a policy of cold neutrality might be resented by the populace, whose sympathies were being roused daily on behalf of Poland. At last they sent a secret agent— Mr. Laurence Oliphant—to Poland, to discover the real character of the revolutionary movement. His report was very discouraging to Lord Palmerston, but it strengthened the hands of the Queen. Mr. Oliphant found that the conscription enforced by Russia was really an act of precaution against an insurrection which had been carefully planned in secret, and was ordered and guided by a Central Committee of Social Democrats in London. The movement was not, therefore, a national one in its origin, though resistance to the conscription had drawn a large body of the nobles and the middle classes into the ranks of the insurgents. In order to free themselves from the dictation of the Socialists, they had made Langiewicz Dictator; but after a time he left them and fled to Austria. The Committee of Insurrection, which was then formed, had nothing to do with the Socialist Committee in London, and it was fighting, not for Constitutional reform under the Czar, but for the restoration of the Polish

Kingdom of 1772, an object of which England, as a party to the Treaties of 1815, could hardly approve. The insurgents had no military organisation or competent leaders, and they were carrying on guerilla warfare with the tenacity of despair.* As for the peasants, they had no reason to love their old tyrants, the nobles. For them the Government of the Czar was a lesser evil than the *régime* of 1772, and so they held aloof.† Still, some steps had to be taken to satisfy public opinion and ward off attacks in Parliament. Ministers accordingly decided to remonstrate gently with Russia—the excuse being that

CORRIDOR, OSBORNE HOUSE.

(*After a Photograph by J. Valentine and Sons, Dundee*)

the Treaties of 1815 gave England a moral right of interference between Russia and Poland. The policy of France, on the other hand, was interference, not on the basis of the Treaties of 1815, which, the Emperor declared in his Speech to the Chambers, were dead, but in the interests of humanity outraged at the excesses which Poles and Russians were alike committing.

* For a curious account of Mr. Oliphant's Secret Mission, see Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., pp. 240, 241.

† English writers often draw an analogy between Ireland and Poland. There is the greatest difference between the position of the two nationalities. In Poland the Imperial Government has crushed the nobility, by taking sides with the peasantry. In Ireland the Imperial Government has striven to hold the country by allying itself with the territorial aristocracy. Had the peasants joined the nobles in Poland, Russia could not have resisted the demand for autonomy.

Austria, on the other hand, considered that she could only approach Russia as a neighbouring Power, like Prussia, possessing Polish subjects, whose institutions might with advantage be imitated in Russian Poland. The attitude of Prussia was that of declared friendliness to Russia.

Thus the Powers were grouped as before the Crimean War: England, France, and Austria in accord, but each with a different end to serve, and a different idea underlying their respective policies: Russia and Prussia, on the other hand, solidly in alliance. Ultimately, Lord Russell suggested on the 17th of June that Russia might submit the whole Polish Question to a Conference of the Eight Powers who had signed the Treaty of Vienna, on the basis of an understanding that there should be an amnesty, and an armistice, and that moderate constitutional reforms should be carried out in Poland. The weak point in the proposal was that Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell ignored the warning of their own secret agent to the effect that the Poles had no organised leadership. Russia was therefore able to ask ironically with whom did Lord Russell propose to negotiate an armistice? and how did he propose to guarantee obedience to it by migratory bands under guerilla chiefs? It was therefore the contention of Russia that surrender must precede any negotiations for peace, and that were it not for the hope of aid from France and England, the Poles would have long since ceased to resist. Russia, in a word, refused to accept the basis of negotiations. She offered, however, to discuss the affairs of Poland with Austria and Prussia—the other partitioning Powers —probably anticipating the refusal of Austria to separate herself from England and France. Finally, she declined to accept any foreign interference whatever in her domestic affairs. Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell meekly submitted to this rebuff, and concurred with France and Austria in remonstrating with Russia, on the grave responsibility she incurred in haughtily rejecting their good offices.

The speech of the Emperor Napoleon at the opening of the French Chambers has already been referred to. The sentences alluding to the Treaties of 1815, and to the summoning of a European Congress, not only to settle the Polish Question, but other questions affecting nationalities struggling to be free, soon received a practical comment, for in Paris the Funds fell with startling rapidity. A few days after the speech was delivered the Emperor addressed a circular to the Powers which fully justified the warnings that the Queen had given to her Ministers, from the day the Polish Question was raised. Napoleon, in fact, invited the Sovereigns of Europe to meet in Congress and settle the affairs of the Continent, and the tone of the circular, combined with the veiled threat of war in his speech, really transformed the invitation into a summons. Italy and Prussia accepted the proposal, the former because she saw in it an opportunity for wresting Venice from Austria. As for Lord Russell, he met the project with a refusal couched in terms that stung the French Emperor to the

quick. Writing on the 29th of November, Lord Malmesbury, in his "Diary says, "Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald arrived from Paris, where he says t refusal of our Government to attend the Congress proposed by Napoleon, a especially the rude tone of Lord Russell's despatch, has created great irritatio The correspondence between the English and French Governments respecti the Congress is published in to-day's papers. Lord Russell's despatch published in the *Gazette*, and I am not surprised that the French are angr for not only is it very rude, but it was sent without the least delay, a published in the *Times* before it was delivered to Drouyn de Lhuys.' The despatches, however, merely reveal the customary combination of dogma argument with a supercilious affectation of infallibility, which gives distinctive mark to all Lord Russell's diplomatic correspondence. Napoleo too, had laid himself open to a rebuff by not sounding England his proposal, before he sprang it on the world. Count Vitzthum sa that the despatch was approved at a meeting of the Cabinet on the 19 of November, after which it was submitted next day to the Queen Windsor, who, according to Lord Russell's statement to the Count, "h given her assent with pleasure to the refusal to take part in the Congress.' Still Napoleon was not without his consolations. In Mexico Forey's victor enabled the French to bring together a Mexican Assembly of their partisa who recommended the establishment of a mimic Bonapartist Empire und the Archduke Maximilian. This unfortunate Prince consented to take t Crown, provided the Mexicans sanctioned his dynasty by a *plébiscite*.

Much more serious for the Queen was the rapid development of t Sleswig-Holstein Question, as to which her opinions were known in Socie to be in undisguised conflict with those of her Ministers. The death Frederick VII. and the succession of the father of the Princess of Wa to the Danish Crown rendered this question urgent.

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol II., p 308.

† Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 261

CHAPTER VII.

LORD PALMERSTON'S LAST CONTEST WITH THE QUEEN.

The Sleswig-Holstein Question—The Danish Succession—Palmerston's Partisanship—The "Danification" of the Duchies—The Letters-Patent of Christian VIII—The Revolution of '48—The Sleswig-Holstein Treaty of Berlin—Salic Law in the Duchies—Palmerston's Intrigue with the Russian Ambassador—The Protocol of 1850—The Queen's Objections to it—Prince Albert's Advice to the Prince of Noer—The Treaty of London—Lord Malmesbury's Fatal Blunder—His Mistake as to the Mandate of the Diet—Letters-Patent of Frederick VII.—His Death—Accession of Christian IX.—Revolt of the Duchies—Proclamation of the Duke of Augustenburg as Sovereign—Mr. Gladstone's Popular Budget—Death of Sir George Cornewall Lewis—The Dispute with Brazil—The Prison Ministers Bill—A South Kensington Job—Hoodwinking the Commons—A Ministerial Defeat—Sir George Grey and the City Police—The Civil War in America—Escape of the *Alabama*—Illegal Seizure of the *Alexandra* Blockade Running—Proclamation Abolishing Slavery—Progress of the War—The Queen and the Ballast-heavers—Rebuking a Brutal Exhibition—The Queen at Balmoral—End of the Cotton Famine.

LORD PALMERSTON is said to have declared that only one man in Europe knew all the history and details of the Sleswig-Holstein Question, and that his opinion about it seemed to be contrary to common sense. Since 1846 the problem had engaged the subtlest of European diplomatists and Jurisconsults in chronic controversy. The Kings of Denmark were also Sovereign Dukes of Sleswig-Holstein, and when they were absolute monarchs, the Germans in the Duchies were on the same footing as the Danes. They were equally in bondage. On the death of Frederick VI., in 1839, his great-nephew, Christian VIII., succeeded him as King of Denmark, and all the subsequent trouble rose from the fact that his only son, the Prince Frederick, was not likely to have an heir. The question of the succession was further complicated because the Salic Law which existed in the German Empire obtained in the Duchies of Sleswig and in Holstein—the latter, indeed, being actually one of the States of the Germanic Confederation. The Landgravine Louise of Hesse would, on the death of Prince Frederick, be the nearest heir to the Danish throne. But as the Salic Law excluded a woman from the Sovereignty of the Duchies, her succession must destroy the integrity of Denmark. It was of the utmost importance to Russia to preserve this integrity, because, in the first place, the Romanoffs had themselves claims to part of the Duchies, which, on the extinction of the Royal House of Denmark, might be extended over the whole country; and, in the second place, if the Duchies broke away from Denmark they would naturally be absorbed by Germany, which would thus gain not only a valuable seaboard, but the formidable naval station of Kiel, from which she might dispute Russian supremacy in the Baltic. Two leading ideas, therefore, are from this point seen to dominate diplomacy in treating the question of the Duchies. The first is the Teutonic idea, which was, by every legitimate means, to prevent the Duchies from being absorbed by Denmark, and to draw closer and closer their connection with Germany. The

second is the Slavonic idea, which was to maintain, at all costs, the integrity of Denmark, and as far as possible encourage the policy that promoted a closer union between her and the Duchies. In this conflict of diplomatic forces the policy of England was vacillating and inconsistent, and for an excellent

FREDERICK CHARLES, DUKE OF AUGUSTENBURG.

reason. Palmerston committed the fatal blunder of identifying British interests with the veiled designs of Russia, and he became a violent partisan of Denmark, whose policy was solely directed to what was called the "Danification" of the Duchies. On the other hand, the Queen had what Palmerston lacked—patience to master the complicated facts of the Danish question, and she became convinced that law and justice were on the side of the German Party in Sleswig-Holstein. The Prince Consort, again, was

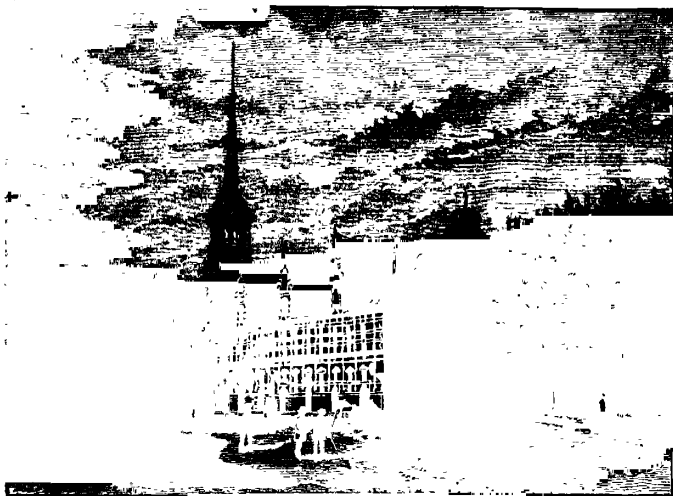
perhaps the only eminent man of his time who detected the hand of Russia in the game of intrigue at Copenhagen, from which sprang the policy of absorbing the Duchies against their will. He had the sense to see that British interests could hardly depend on maintaining the integrity of a small State like Denmark against the will of its people, and against the public law of Europe, and with no other practical result than that of preventing Germany from establishing herself as a rival power to Russia in the Baltic. Prince Albert's death merely strengthened the Queen in her loyalty to his ideas—which in this instance were in harmony with her own conclusions. Hence, in 1863 and 1864, when the Danish Question became acute, the Queen and Lord Palmerston were in irreconcilable conflict, which explains why English policy seemed to the world at the time, a tissue of unintelligible inconsistencies. Happily for the English people, this conflict ended in the humiliating defeat of Palmerston—who, however, fought for his hand to the bitter end, with a courage and an obstinacy worthy of a better cause. No Tudor Sovereign ever strove more unweariedly and with more complete success than did the Queen at this time, to thwart the policy of her Minister, in the interests of peace, progress, and civilisation.

The first sign of trouble in the Duchies was given in 1846, when Christian VIII., as the Queen and Prince Consort knew, acting at the instigation of Russia, issued letters-patent extending the Danish law of female succession to all his dominions. These letters were a flagrant outrage on the public law of Europe, which excluded female sovereignty from his German provinces. Still Germany could only interfere on behalf of Holstein, which, as one of the States of the Germanic Confederation, was—as we have seen—under Salic Law. On the other hand, the German Party in the Duchies agitated against the letters-patent as an infringement of their autonomy; they demanded the union of the two Duchies, and their full and final absorption by the German Bund or Diet. The Diet, however, merely promised to defend their rights in Holstein, and vindicate the claims of all legal agnates in the succession to the Sovereignty of the Duchies. The death of Christian VIII. on the 20th of January, 1848, gave the German Party an opportunity for revolt. A Provisional Government was formed for the Duchies, and Prussia helped the Germans in Sleswig-Holstein to expel their Danish masters. The dispute dragged on till the 2nd of July, 1850, when a Treaty between Denmark and Prussia was signed at Berlin, vesting the Danish succession in Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and on his issue in the male line by his marriage with Louise, Princess of Hesse, heiress of the Crown of Denmark, who ceded to him all her rights. But the rights of the German Federation as regards Holstein and Lauenburg were not prejudiced by this Treaty. As for the heir to the Sovereignty of the Duchies under Salic Law—the Duke of Augustenburg—he sold his claims for 3,500,000 dollars. But obviously such a Treaty had no validity till it was sanctioned

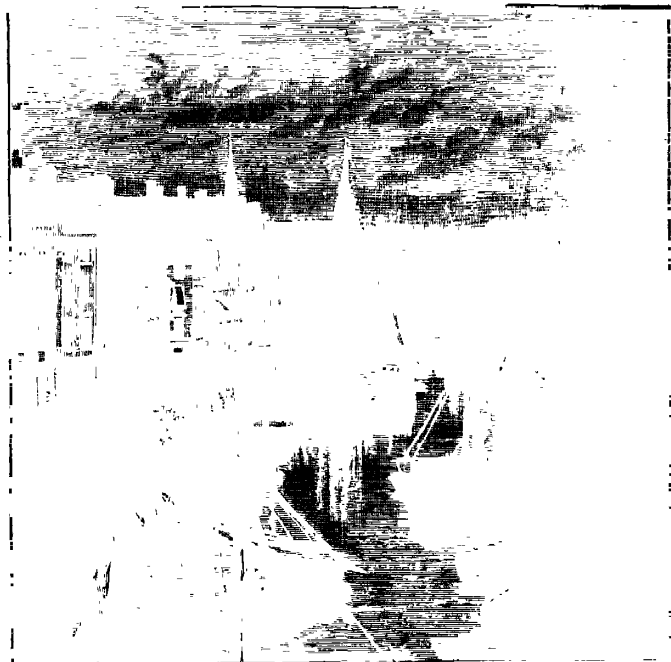
by the German Diet, inasmuch as it changed the legal succession in Holstein. An acknowledgment of the principle of maintaining at all hazards the integrity of Denmark, to be of use, must therefore have European sanction. To pave the way for a Treaty embodying this sanction Russian diplomacy at once set to work, and, unfortunately, Palmerston's indiscretion at this juncture put him at the mercy of Baron Brunnow, the Russian Minister in London. It will be remembered that Palmerston's policy of coercing Greece to recover Don Pacifico's bad debts, had caused France to withdraw her Minister from London. But Russia took up the quarrel quite as fiercely as France, and Baron Brunnow not only absented himself from the official dinner at the Foreign Office on the Queen's birthday, but finding that, through Lady Palmerston's agency, means were taken to persuade the Queen that he meant to insult her personally, Brunnow called on Prince Albert privately and told him why he could not be present. It need hardly be said that this explanation did not soften her Majesty's feeling towards Palmerston. Then came the censure which the House of Lords passed on him on the 17th of June. It was morally certain that if Russia followed France in withdrawing her Minister, the House of Commons would have confirmed the censure of the Lords, whereupon—condemned alike by the Crown and by both Houses of Parliament, by the Tories, the Radicals, and the Peace Party—Palmerston's career must have ended. And every moment Brunnow's demand for his passports was expected. At this crisis Palmerston, says Count Vitzthum, "turned to the Russian Minister with the inquiry whether there were no means of reconciling the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. After some consideration, Brunnow proposed a bargain: 'Give us Denmark,' he said, 'and then we will give you Greece and forget the past.' Of course it was not a question of ceding the Danish Kingdom, but of converting it into a Russian dependency, and giving the Emperor Nicholas a prospect of obtaining the harbour of Kiel."* But how was this to be done? The first step was to get the integrity of Denmark affirmed as a European interest. Playing on Palmerston's ignorance, Brunnow invented Russian claims to the Duchies based on those rights to the Gottorp portion, which the Emperor Paul had surrendered. These claims, Brunnow said, would be revived by the Czar Nicholas when the Danish line of kings became extinct with the death of Frederick VII. At such a suggestion Palmerston entered quite eagerly into the project of settling the succession to the Danish Crown on the basis (1), of recognising the integrity of Denmark as a European interest; (2), of passing over all male heirs to the sovereignty of the whole Danish Kingdom, in favour of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, the husband of the female heir. The points in the game which Russian diplomacy scored were three. The bargain kept Kiel out of German

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 221.

which were alone strong enough to hold it against Russia. By getting the integrity of Denmark recognised, Russia rendered it easy for her to demand the whole kingdom whenever the time came to revive the Czar's so-called claims to the Duchies as heir to the House of Gottorp. By getting the sovereignty of Denmark vested in Christian of Glücksburg, Russia contrived to seat on the Danish throne a Prince whose line of succession was not unlikely to fail.

When the bargain was struck France and Sweden recognised it. The

THE EXCHANGE, COPENHAGEN

Czar, as usual, "answered" for Prussia and Austria, and it was embodied in the Protocol of the 4th of July, 1850. The Queen, however, objected most strenuously to the whole arrangement. She warned her Ministers that it arbitrarily set aside the legal rights of nineteen agnates nearer in succession to the childless Frederick VII. than Christian of Sleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg. The Prince Consort declared in one of his letters to Stockmar that it violated law, equity, and honour, and predicted that trouble would spring from it. "But," writes Count Vitzthum, "though he alone saw through the Russian game, he shrank from bringing the direct pressure of his influence to bear on the English Ministry in a matter which might expose him to the charge of sympathising too strongly with his Fatherland." Yet he seems to have taken very strong means privately to neutralise the policy of Palmerston and Brunnow. He advised the Prince of Noër, one of the nineteen agnates who were set aside, to protest formally against the settlement of the Danish succession, so that the idea of challenging it was at all events kept alive in

Germany. The Prince of Noër warned the Powers that he would only acquiesce in the new order of succession on condition of its being stipulated by an International Treaty, similar in principle to that of Utrecht, that the Czar of Russia should in no case be permitted to wear the Danish Crown. After the intrigue between Palmerston and the Russian Minister, it was of course impossible to put this condition, which would alone have protected

THE HARBOUR, COPENHAGEN.

British interests, into the Protocol, which was subsequently expanded into the Treaty of 1852 and signed by Lord Malmesbury. This Treaty was known as the Treaty of London (8th of May, 1852), and so completely did Palmerston in 1863-64 feel that his policy and prestige were bound up with it, that he dragged the country to the verge of war to uphold its provisions. When the Treaty of London was signed, an inexplicable blunder was made by the Tory Government. The document was legally worthless unless ratified by the German Diet. But Lord Malmesbury permitted himself to believe that Austria and Prussia signed it as mandatories of the Diet, whereas, as a matter of fact, they took care merely to sign it in their individual capacities, as independent States.

other German States afterwards gave their sanction to it, but most of them with the reservation that the ratification of the Diet—that is, of Germany in her corporate capacity—should be obtained. Thus Palmerston's settlement of the Danish succession was a Treaty which settled nothing, because he and Lord Malmesbury had been reckless enough to take it for granted that Austria and Prussia, in signing it, acted on a mandate from Germany, which they had neither sought nor obtained.

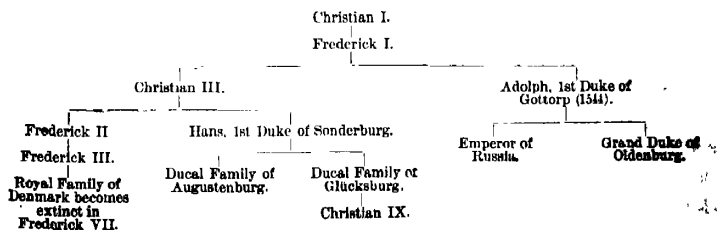
The arrangement of 1852 not only changed the Danish succession, but before it was made Denmark pledged herself to fulfil all her obligations to the Diet in regard to Holstein, to respect the old autonomy and privileges of both Duchies, to maintain their union, and never to incorporate them into Denmark proper. Frederick VII., under the influence of the Democratic party and a meddlesome mistress, repeatedly violated these engagements. He was perpetually attempting to undermine the independence of the Duchies, and the Diet was perpetually protesting against his policy.* At last, in March, 1863, he issued decrees dissolving the union of Sleswig and Holstein, and practically incorporating them in Denmark. Frederick VII. died on the 15th of November, 1863, and the father of the Princess of Wales succeeded him as Christian IX. His first act, done under Democratic menaces at Copenhagen, was to decree that legislative power in respect to the common affairs of Sleswig and Denmark, was to be vested in the King and the Danish Rigsraad, and that no law passed by the Rigsraad was to be dependent upon the passing of a similar law by the legislatures of either Sleswig or Holstein. This completed the subjection of the Germans in the Duchies to the Danes, and the very day after Christian IX. ascended the throne they accordingly retaliated by disputing his right to rule over them. The young Duke of Augustenburg thereupon claimed the sovereignty of the Duchies. True, his father had surrendered his rights. But, it was argued, a hereditary sovereign cannot surrender hereditary rights without the consent of his heir-apparent — just as the owner of an entailed estate cannot sell it, without the consent of his heirs in tail. On the 21st of November the Holstein Legislature refused to swear allegiance to Christian IX., after which Saxony, Bavaria, Hesse, and other German States resolved to support the claim of the Duke of Augustenburg to Holstein, and the Prussian Chambers passed a resolution in favour of vindicating the rights of the Duchies and of the Augustenburg family. On the 27th of December the Duke of Augustenburg was proclaimed Sovereign of Sleswig-Holstein, and on the 30th he made his entry into Kiel. On the 31st the Danish Cabinet resigned, and a new Ministry was formed by Bishop Monrad. The question of the Succession, so far as the German Diet was concerned, was simple enough. For the Diet the Treaty of London had no existence. Therefore the Landgravine Louise of Hesse

* Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 322.

was Queen of Denmark. As the Salic Law excluded her from the sovereignty of the Duchies, it was for the Diet purely an open question who had the best right to them.*

The domestic policy of the Government was not of much interest in 1863. Very early in the Session Mr. Gladstone introduced his Budget. The American War had sent the price of cotton up from 7d. to 2s. 1d. a pound, and trade was prostrate and stagnant in Lancashire. The agricultural wealth of Ireland from 1856 to 1860 had been, on the average, about £39,437,000 † a year. But in 1863 it had fallen to £27,327,000 - a decrease of £12,000,000, a sum not far short of the established annual valuation of the country, which was but £13,000,000. Ireland and Lancashire ought therefore to have made havoc with Mr. Gladstone's estimates for the past year. So far from that being the case, the revenue, under the expansive influence of Free Trade, had risen to £67,790,000, or £805,000 over the estimates. ‡ The expenditure had been £69,302,000, or £806,000 less than the estimates. For the coming year Mr. Gladstone accordingly estimated a revenue of £71,490,000 on the existing basis. Hence he had in view a surplus of £3,741,000, so that he saw his way to lessen the pressure of taxation on the people. He therefore reduced the Income Tax from 9d. to 7d. in the pound, readjusting its incidence so as to give more relief to small incomes. He reduced the tea duty to 1s. in the pound, and equalised the duties on chicory and coffee, but his attempts to levy Income Tax on public charities and trust corporations were defeated § after a somewhat acrid controversy. Mr. Gladstone's argument was that their corrupt management really deprived most of the rich incorporated charities of a right to an appeal *ad misericordiam*. He, however, pressed his point too far. His lurid picture of their administrative abuses tempted people to doubt whether the penal imposition of a sevenpenny Income Tax was the best means of dealing with such gigantic evils.

The lamented death of Sir George Cornewall Lewis in April not only brought confusion into the Cabinet, but it deprived the Queen of a valued

* The position of the chief claimants in the Succession may be illustrated in this way.

† This is calculated on the basis of the oats, wheat, and potato crop, with one-third the actual value of the total: the live stock added to represent the value of stock for the given current year.

‡ Customs and Income Tax showed an increase, but there was a decrease on Excise.

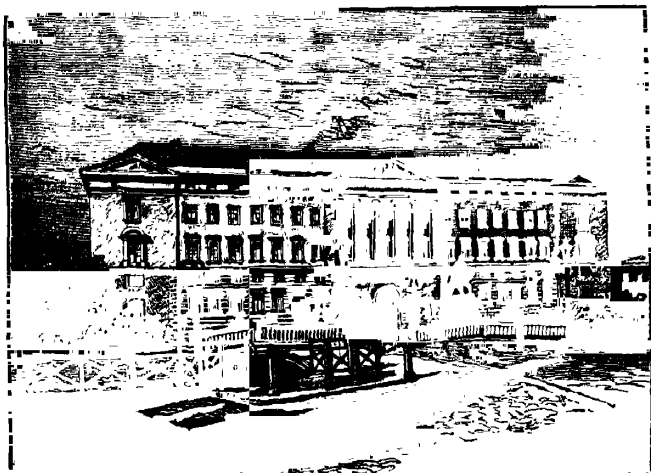
§ This cost the revenue a loss of £216,000.

[illegible] whose services she could ill afford to lose. "To me, dear Lady [illegible]," the Queen says in a letter to Sir George's widow (15th April), "this is a heavy loss, a severe blow! My own darling had the very highest esteem, regard, and respect for dear Sir Cornewall Lewis; we delighted in

GENERAL GRANT.

his society; we admired his great honesty and fearless straightforwardness. We had the greatest confidence in him, and since my terrible misfortune, I clung particularly to characters like his, which are so rare. I felt he was a friend, and I looked to him as a support, and a wise and safe counsellor. He is snatched away, and his loss to me and to the country is irreparable. How little did I think, when I talked to him the last time here, and he spoke so kindly of my popularity, as he so kindly expressed it, that I should never

see his kind face again."* He was leader of "the Court Party" in the Cabinet, and was succeeded at the War Office by Earl de Grey.

Only one question provoked anything resembling a party division during the Session, and that was the Prison Ministers Bill. The object of the measure was to allow prisoners to be attended by clergy of their own denominations and persuasions. As the Roman Catholics would derive most benefit from the Bill, it was opposed warmly by a powerful body of the Tory Party. The Liberals naturally supported the measure, and on this occasion they were joined by a few of the more enlightened Conservatives,

CHRISTIANSBORG CASTLE, COPENHAGEN.

such as Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Henley, and Sir John Pakington. As Mr. Disraeli was at the time favouring an intrigue for detaching the Roman Catholic Party from the Liberals, it was with ill-concealed chagrin that he listened to the bigoted attacks of his followers on the Bill, which was, however, passed. The suspension of amicable relations with Brazil,† the vote for the purchase of the Exhibition Buildings, the reorganisation of the London

* Quoted by Sir T. Martin in his Life of the Prince Consort, Ch. CVIII.

† When the British ship *Prince of Wales* was wrecked in June, 1861, on the coast of Rio Grande, it was reported that the crew had been murdered. A demand was made by the English Foreign Office on Brazil for compensation. Mr. Christy, the British Minister, happened to be an imitator of Palmerston's hectoring manner of negotiating with weak Powers. His demands were rejected by Brazil because the compensation claimed was monstrous, and because he sought to impose conditions which were not compatible with the dignity and honour of an independent State. Reprisals were then ordered to be made. In the first instance it seems the Brazilian Government had been guilty of negligence. But Mr. Christy's high-handed action soon put England in the wrong.

[illegible], and the attitude of the Government to the belligerents in the American Civil War, were the only other topics that created serious or practical Parliamentary discussion.

The vote for the purchase of the Exhibition Building of 1862 was extremely unpopular, and but for the Queen's influence it would probably have been rejected by the House of Commons. The country even then viewed with strong suspicion the tendency to centralise all National collections in the distant Court suburb of Kensington. It was also insinuated that the Royal Family had pecuniary interests in building land the value of which would be enhanced by creating a Science and Art Department in this quarter. That insinuation is contradicted by Sir Theodore Martin, who asserts that Prince Albert never was able to save any money out of his private income to purchase such lands for his heirs.* This perhaps accounts for what has long been a popular mystery—the fact that his will was never submitted to Probate. As a matter of course, if he had no money to leave to his heirs, the Prince must have left no will that was worth proving. But in 1863 these insinuations had sunk deep in the public mind, and the manner in which Lord Palmerston managed the question gave colour to them. He knew that the proposal to buy the Exhibition Building of 1862 was hateful to the taxpayers. The edifice was architecturally unfit for the reception of a permanent national collection of paintings, and its distance from London rendered all schemes for transferring to it the pictures from the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square objectionable in the extreme. Palmerston, however, at the outset disarmed his critics by proposing merely to buy from the Exhibition Commissioners, for £67,000, the site of the Exhibition, and it was tolerably cheap for a metropolitan site, in days when land in the City fetched £119,000 an acre. This site, he said, was wanted for a building to house the new Patent Office, some natural history collections from the British Museum, and for a National Portrait Gallery. Then he asked the House of Commons to vote £120,000 for the purchase of another "lot" of seventeen acres belonging to the Commissioners adjacent to the Exhibition site, and, finally, he desired it to vote £80,000 for the building itself. Very artfully he had the votes put separately, and Mr. Gladstone aided him by positively assuring the House that the project of buying the building—which was universally unpopular — was one quite apart from the other projects. By a vote of 267 to 135 the House agreed, but grudgingly, to the purchase of the ground, intending to fight the taxpayers' battle on the question of buying the building. When, however, they came to the vote for the building, Mr. Gladstone informed them they had no option but to purchase it, for the contractors were under no obligation to remove it—a fact which Lord Palmerston had carefully concealed from the House. Members were thus in possession of a site burdened with a useless building which it was nobody's business to

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. LXI.

remove. If the Government pulled it down, and then put up another structure in its place, the operation would cost much more than the £105,000 which was needed to buy and adapt it to public uses. The House was furious at finding itself trapped by Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. Bitter complaints of Courtly jobbery were heard on all sides, and a Ministerial defeat was the result. Lord Malmesbury, writing on the 5th of July in his "Diary," says:—"Several people called, who told me that the scene in the House of Commons when the division took place on the vote for the purchase of the Exhibition Building was extraordinary. Sir Stafford Northcote's speech * was the signal for a storm, and he was forced to sit down. Disraeli had canvassed his supporters, telling them that he had a letter in his pocket from the Queen. This had a disastrous effect, and when he got up the hooting was so terrific that he could not be heard. Gladstone's speech had already excited great indignation, for it showed how completely the Government had deceived the House when Lord Palmerston had induced them to vote for the purchase of the land, leaving them under the delusion that the contractors for the Exhibition were bound to remove the building if it was not sold within a certain time. Gladstone had told them that there was no engagement of the sort, and that he believed they were not obliged to remove it at all. This, whether true or not, was taken as a menace to force them to buy the building, and infuriated the House of Commons the more, as Lord Elcho proved that the purchase would be a most disadvantageous one, entailing an enormous expense. So the House rose *en masse*, and, after a scene of the utmost confusion and excitement, defeated the Government by more than two to one, Gladstone and Disraeli looking equally angry." † It need hardly be said that Mr. Disraeli's indiscreet use of the Queen's name in this questionable transaction was unwarranted and unwarrantable.

The inefficiency displayed by the City Police at the entry of the Princess Alexandra into London tempted Sir George Grey to propose that the Metropolitan and City Forces should be amalgamated under the control of the Home Office. This was hotly opposed. The Lord Mayor and Mr. Alderman Sidney protested against a scheme for giving the Home Secretary control of what might become a large standing army in the City of London.‡ Other members raised the cry of "centralisation," and denounced the measure as an attack on the principle of local self-government. It was now the turn of London to be assailed, but Manchester and Birmingham and all other powerful cities would soon share the fate of the Metropolis. All over England municipal bodies naturally made common cause with the City of London, and it was soon apparent that the Government must either bend or break. Luckily it was

* Sir Stafford was denounced as one of the Exhibition clique. He moved the reduction of the vote by £25,000—the amount estimates for altering the building—as a compromise.

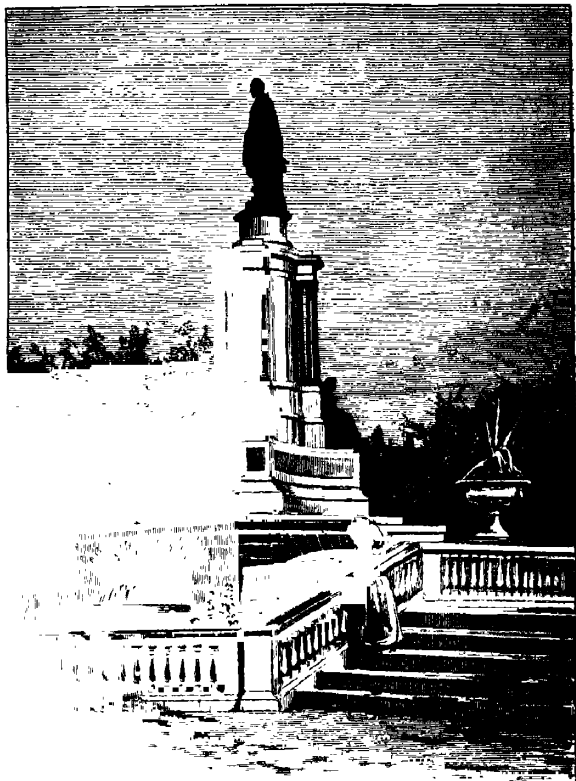
† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., pp. 299—300.

‡ The strength of the City Police was 1,000 men.

discovered that the Bill was not a public but a private Bill, and, as such, subject in respect of notices to certain Standing Orders which had not been obeyed. This omission gave Sir George Grey a technical excuse for withdrawing it.

Vigorous efforts were made during 1863 to induce the Government to recognise the Southern Confederacy, but they were made in vain. Mr. Roebuck, in the House of Commons, proposed a motion in favour of recognition, alleging that in an interview with Napoleon III. he had discovered that France would co-operate with England for that purpose — nay, he warned Lord Palmerston that France might recognise the South without waiting for our co-operation. The Tory Party, though strongly sympathising with Mr. Roebuck's views, were restrained by their leaders from harassing the Cabinet, and it was the general feeling that Ministers should be left quite free to act. As for the Government, through Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, it repeatedly declared that it was bent on adhering to a policy of scrupulous neutrality. But this was a matter of some difficulty. Many Englishmen had engaged in the lucrative trade of blockade - running. When their vessels failed to pass the Federal cordon round the Southern ports, and were seized, their owners, as Lord Russell said, "put on an air of injured innocence, and came to the Foreign Office demanding redress." In Parliament, too, their friends attacked Ministers for meekly submitting to violations of International Law by officers of the Federal Navy, and the investigation of these cases, especially when the seizures were of doubtful legality, raised many irritating controversies between the two Governments. Swift - armed cruisers were built in English ports for the Confederate States, and then taken out to sea, and fitted with their guns and armaments. The difficulty of preventing their escape — at all times serious — was aggravated by the uncertain state of English law on the subject. One of these cruisers, the *Alabama*, had been allowed to sail from the Mersey, and had committed fearful depredations on Federal commerce. The American Government alleged that her escape was due to Lord Russell's culpable negligence. The truth was that the Government meant to arrest the *Alabama*, but owing to the temporary mental derangement of the Judge Advocate-General there was delay in going through certain legal formalities, and before this was overcome the ship had put out to sea. On the other hand, when another vessel of the same class—the *Alexandra*—was seized, her seizure was pronounced illegal by the English Law Courts. Lord Russell's action was either too slow or too quick, and in each case it served to irritate both North and South. But the country gave the Government a generous support, recognising their sincerity in endeavouring to maintain a neutral policy, in spite of the pressure which was put upon them by Southern partisans.

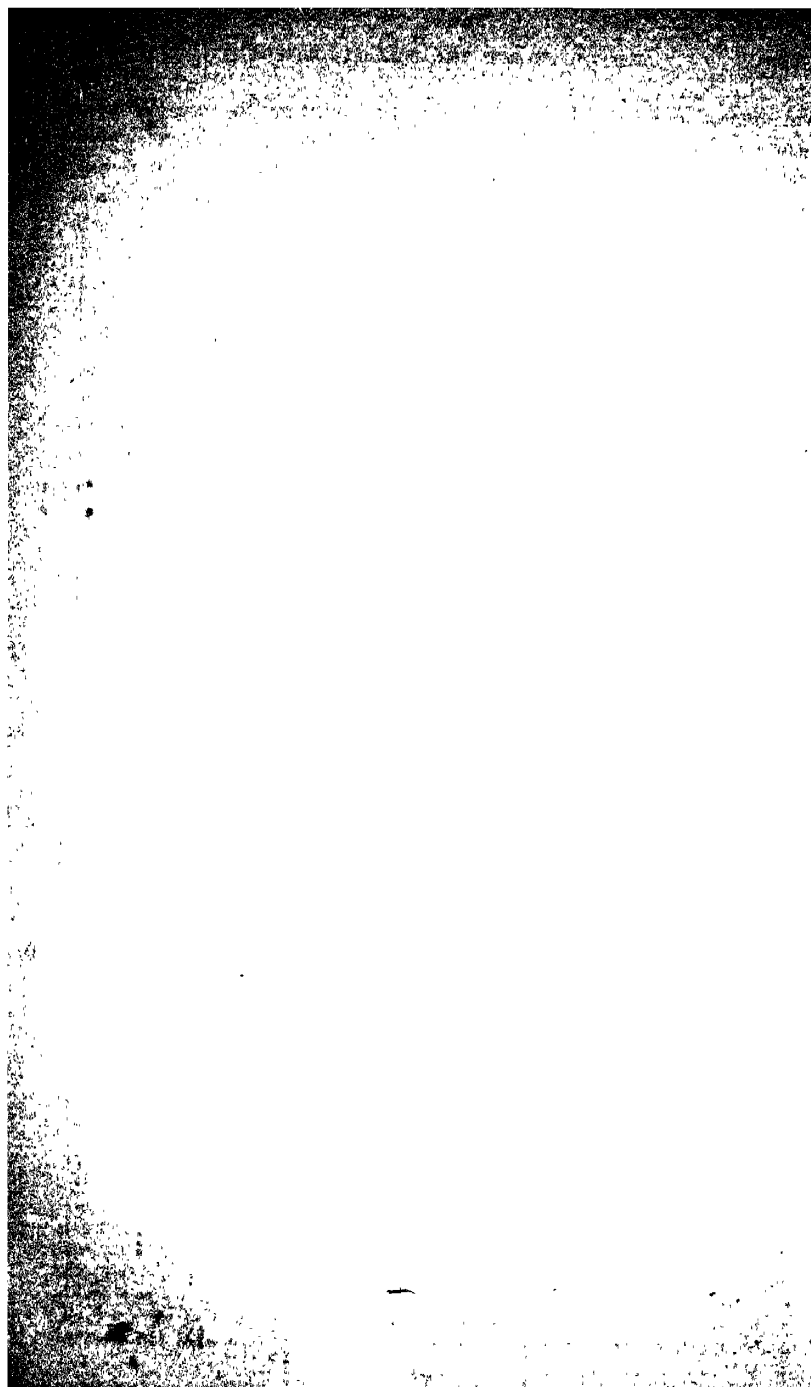
In America the war dragged slowly on. On the 1st of January Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation abolishing slavery in the rebel States took effect, but without producing a servile insurrection, as was anticipated. After

the drawn battle of Murfreesborough, with which the year 1862 closed, and the Federal defeat at Fredericksburg, the efforts of the North were chiefly directed against Charleston. In April Admiral Dupont was repulsed in an attack on the harbour, and in summer Admiral Dahlgren resumed siege operations, but without success. In May General

MEMORIAL OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION IN THE ROYAL HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY'S GARDENS, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

Hooker led the Army of the Potomac across the Rappahannock, and took up positions above and below that held by the Confederates at Fredericksburg. Lee, by a rapid movement westward, crushed Hooker's force at Chancellorsville, and then suddenly doubling back easily defeated Sedgwick's division which had occupied Fredericksburg. The Army of the Potomac retraced its steps across the Rappahannock, and Richmond was no longer menaced. On the 4th of July Grant captured Vicksburg after a series of

[illegible] operations, and then Port Hudson surrendered to Banks. This was a great gain for the Federals, for not only did they clear the Mississippi of rebels, but the powerful garrisons, with their material of war, which President Davis had, by an inconceivable blunder, shut up in the river forts, fell into their hands. At the beginning of summer Lee outflanked Hooker, defeated Milroy on the Shenandoah, and then, by a daring movement, crossed the Potomac, and, to the terror of the Government at Washington, carried the war into Maryland and Pennsylvania. Hooker was dismissed, and Meade, summoning all available troops to his standard, marched in haste to arrest Lee's progress. They met at Gettysburg, where, after terrible slaughter, Lee confessed his failure, and retreated unmolested to Virginia.* Beauregard's successful defence of Charleston consoled the Confederates for the failure of Lee's invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and in September they were further cheered by Longstreet's victory over Rosecrans at Chickamauga in Tennessee. Though the obstinate valour of General Thomas's division enabled Rosecrans to rally his troops on Chattanooga heights, the position of the Federals in Tennessee was perilous. Rosecrans at Chattanooga, and Burnside at Knoxville, were separated in the midst of a hostile population, and Lee was hurrying on reinforcements to strengthen General Bragg, who was threatening the Federal Commanders. On the other hand, Grant, who had the chief command in this region, was reinforced by Sherman, and he determined to attack Bragg as the easiest way of relieving Burnside. This he did on the 23rd of November at Missionary Ridge, his plan being to overwhelm Bragg's right by hurling masses of Sherman's troops against it till he broke it up. When Sherman was repulsed, the Federals then attacked the left centre of the Confederate position, compelling Bragg to retreat to the frontier of Georgia. Grant then fell back on Chattanooga, Burnside holding his entrenchments at Knoxsville, from which Longstreet drew off his forces. Thus, though the Northern campaign in Virginia was unsuccessful, the Federals were masters of the Mississippi and of Tennessee when the year closed. The Confederate Government, failing to induce Lord Russell to recognise the Southern States, withdrew their envoy, Mr. Mason, from London.

In early summer (8th May) the Queen and the Princess Alice paid a visit rather unexpectedly to Netley Hospital, the foundation-stone of which had been laid seven years before by the late Prince Consort. She visited ward after ward, conversed with the invalided soldiers in a soft, low voice, questioning

* Sir Francis Hastings Doyle tells a curious story which he obtained from an American officer, whose authority he vouches for as good, which throws some light on Lee's failure, which was one of the turning-points of the war. One of his subordinate generals — "a hot-tempered, impetuous man"—received a document from Lee containing the plan of invasion, and giving him orders to carry it out. Something in these irritated him. He tore up the letter in a rage, and flung the pieces on the ground. At the moment his troops moved on, the pieces were all picked up by a Northern partisan, pasted together, and conveyed to the enemy.—Reminiscences and Opinions of Sir F. H. Doyle, p. [illegible].

the officials about their cases, and even penetrated to the married men' quarters, where she carefully inquired into the comfort of the soldiers' wive and their families. One of the men, in whose case she had interested hersel was dying, and in broken accents exclaimed, as she went away, "I than God that He has allowed me to live long enough to see your Majesty wit my own eyes." On the 9th of June the Queen and the younger members c her family came to town from Windsor to inspect privately the memorial c the Great Exhibition—which also took the character of a memorial to th late Prince Consort—in the Royal Horticultural Society's Gardens at Ken sington. It was inaugurated next day by the Prince and Princess of Wale attended by a company of ladies and gentlemen from the Court.

On the 12th of June the Queen received an extraordinary address on th birthday of the late Prince Consort from the ballast-heavers of the Po of London, which touched her very deeply. In it they said, "Before h (Prince Albert) came to our aid we could only get work through a bod of riverside publicans and middlemen, who made us drink before they woul give us a job, made us drink while we were at it, and kept us waiting fc our wages, and drinking after we had done our work, so that we could onl take half our wages home to our families, and that half too often throug a drunkard's hands." The Prince, it seems, on getting an appeal from then privately persuaded the Government to insert a clause in the Merchant Shippin Act putting these men under the control of the Corporation of Trinity Hous Then he used his influence in the Corporation to pass rules for the employmen of ballast-heavers, which met most of their grievances, and he even gave the a house where they might wait for work, supplied it with papers and book and helped them to start a benefit society. The men said in their address tha they were in the habit of celebrating their deliverance from bondage by a annual treat on the Queen's birthday, and they added, "Your Majesty wi not wonder that we then think with equal gratitude of our deliverer. H year by year asked after us, and rejoiced to hear of our improvement whil he lived on earth." They were, however, desirous of having a portrait c the Prince to hang in their room, and begged the Queen to give them on "We hope," they said, "your Majesty will excuse our boldness in askin this favour, but we feel we may speak to our Prince's wife; and, therefor praying you to grant our humble request, we are your Majesty's mo obedient and faithful servants." The Queen's answer came from her heart. I was as follows:—

"WINDSOR CASTLE, June 12.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the honour to lay before her Majesty the Queen the addre from the ballast-heavers of the Port of London, which you have forwarded to me for presenta tion. Her Majesty has been deeply touched by this spontaneous testimony to the activ benevolence of her beloved husband, and amongst all the tokens of sympathy in her grie which she has gratefully received from all classes of her people, no one has been more gratif ing to the Queen, and no one more in harmony with her feelings, than the simple an unpretending tribute from these honest, hard-working men. I am commanded to request th

[illegible] assure the ballast-heavers that the interest in their welfare, so especially displayed by him whose life was employed in endeavouring to benefit the people of this country, is fully shared by her Majesty, and that her Majesty rejoices to hear of the happy change in their moral and social condition. The Queen has the greatest pleasure in complying with the request contained in the address, and has ordered two prints of the Prince Consort, one in uniform, and one in ordinary dress, to be framed and presented, to be hung in the room in which the ballast-heavers wait; to these her Majesty has added one of herself, as the Queen would wish, in the remembrance of these grateful men, to be associated with her great and good husband, whose virtues they have so highly and justly appreciated.

"Believe me, sincerely yours,

"Fredk. J. Furnivall, Esq." "C. B. PHIPPS."

Nor was this the only occasion during the year on which the Queen manifested her vigilant interest in the lot of her poorer subjects. In July a wretched woman named Geneive had been forced by her husband to walk on a rotten tight rope, suspended thirty yards above the ground, at a Foresters' Fête in Aston Park, Birmingham. The rope broke, and the poor creature, who was far advanced in pregnancy, was dashed to pieces in the most shocking manner. Yet the fête was continued, the Committee callously determining "to go on with the programme, omitting the dangerous parts." On the 25th of July the Mayor of Birmingham was somewhat startled to receive from Sir C. B. Phipps a letter in the following terms:—"The Queen has commanded me to express to you the pain with which her Majesty has read the account of a fatal accident which has occurred during a fête at Aston Park, Birmingham. Her Majesty cannot refrain from making known through you her personal feelings of horror that one of her subjects—a female—should have been sacrificed to the gratification of the demoralising taste, unfortunately prevalent, for exhibitions attended with the greatest danger to the performers. Were any proof wanting that such exhibitions are demoralising, I am commanded to remark that it would be at once found in the decision arrived at to continue the festivities, the hilarity, and the sports of the occasion after an event so melancholy. The Queen trusts that you, in common with the rest of the townspeople of Birmingham, will use your influence to prevent in future the degradation to such exhibitions of the Park which was gladly opened by her Majesty and the beloved Prince Consort, in the hope that it would be made serviceable for the healthy exercise and rational recreation of the people." The Mayor explained that when he became a patron of the fête he did not know that a dangerous exhibition was contemplated, and though Aston Park was outside his jurisdiction, he promised to use his influence to prevent such exhibitions from being held there in future.

On the 11th of August the Queen left London for Antwerp, from which she proceeded to Laeken with the King of the Belgians. From Belgium she went on to Gotha, where she stayed at the Castle of Rosenau till the 7th of September. On the 8th of the month her Majesty journeyed to Kranichstein, near Darmstadt, and spent the day with the Princess Louis of

Hesse. Leaving at night, the Queen was in Antwerp early next
(9th), and on the 10th at Greenhithe, whence the *Fairy*, steam tender to
royal yacht, conveyed her to Woolwich. Driving to Nine Elms, she
train to Windsor, greatly pleased by the hearty greetings she received
crowds of people at the chief stations on the way. The autumnal holi
was, as usual, spent at Balmoral, where a kindly and sympathetic family pa

THE QUEEN UNVEILING THE STATUE OF PRINCE ALBERT AT ABERDEEN.

gathered round the Queen. Prince Louis of Hesse and the Princess (Al
stayed with her at the Castle. The Crown Prince and Princess of Prus
with their family, were lodged hard by at Abergeldie. The Princess Loui
Hesse devoted herself to her mother, and with characteristic energy endeavo
to dispel the heaviness of heart which was again settling on her. For
purpose she urged the Queen to resume the old open-air life among
mountains, from which she had derived incalculable benefit in times p
The Princess therefore organised an expedition to Clova, which her ma
was induced to join. The party consisted of the Queen, the Princess L
of Hesse, the Princess Helena, the Queen's coachman, Smith, and her g
John Brown, and "Willem," a little black page-boy in the service of
Princess Louis. The excursion was marred by an alarming accident

[illegible] party on the way home. The coachman lost his way in the dark, [illegible] about two miles from Altnagiuthasach the carriage was upset—the Queen being flung violently on her face to the ground. "Alice," writes the Queen in her "Journal," was "soon helped up, by means of tearing all her clothes to disentangle her; but Lenchen (Princess Helena), who had also got caught in her dress, called out very piteously, which frightened me a good deal, but she was also got out with Brown's assistance, and neither she nor Alice was at all hurt. I reassured them that I was not hurt, and urged that we should make the best of it, as it was an inevitable misfortune. . . . Meantime the horses were lying on the ground as if dead, and it was absolutely necessary to get them up again. Alice, whose coolness was admirable, held one of the lamps while Brown cut the traces, to the horror of Smith, and the horses were speedily released, and got up unhurt." The Queen's common-sense advice to "make the best of it" was taken, and the Royal party encamped in this desolate mountain solitude, while Smith was sent on to get another carriage. Then the Princesses discovered that their mother had been bruised severely on the face, and that her right thumb was sprained. "A little claret," the Queen says, "was all we could get either to drink or wash my face and hands." Luckily, the groom, who had gone on in front with the "shelties," or rough little mountain ponies, which the Queen and her family use for hill climbing, got alarmed at their long absence, and he very sensibly rode back to see if any accident had happened. When he came up the Queen insisted on mounting at once and riding all the way home, which she reached after ten o'clock at night, to find the Crown Prince of Prussia and Prince Louis of Hesse at the door of the Castle anxiously looking out for her. A week after this accident (13th of October) the Queen was present at the inauguration of Marochetti's statue to the Prince Consort at Aberdeen. "I could not reconcile it to myself," she said, in replying to an address from the subscribers, "to remain at Balmoral while such a tribute was being paid to his (Prince Albert's) memory, without making an exertion to assure you personally of the deep and heartfelt sense I entertain of your kindness and affection, and at the same time to proclaim in public the unbounded reverence and admiration, the devoted love, that fills my heart for him whose loss must throw a lasting gloom over my future life." It was a mournful ceremony for the Queen, whose emotion was so great that she had to depute Sir George Grey, the Minister in attendance, to read her reply. Dense crowds of people filled the streets, but forbore to cheer, greeting the Royal widow merely with silent and respectful sympathy. In a letter to the Lord Provost of the city, the Queen, on her return to Balmoral, assured him how fully she appreciated the consideration which was shown for her feelings, not only by those who took part in the ceremony, but by the townspeople generally, "on an occasion which was one of severe and painful trial" for her. During the months of September and October the Princess Louis of Hesse was in attendance on the

Queen, who was much cheered and benefited by her affectionate [illegible] ship. But her visit came to an end in October, when the Princess, [illegible] letter to her Majesty written from Buckingham Palace, on her way [illegible] Darmstadt, says of her sojourn, "It was such a happiness to speak to you, in return to hear all you had to say, to try and soothe you, and try to [illegible] your burthen lighter. . . . I can only say again, trust, hope, and courageous, and every day will bring something in the fulfilment of [illegible] great duties which will bring you peace and make you feel that you not forsaken, that God has heard your prayer, felt for you as a loving Fa[illegible] would, and that dear papa is not far from you."* The 14th of Decemb[illegible] the anniversary of the Prince Consort's death—was passed in deep secl[illegible] by the Queen at Windsor. As the year closed the country was relieve[illegible] all anxiety as to the Cotton Famine in Lancashire. The crisis had, in[illegible] passed early in summer, and the nation no longer feared that the cala[illegible] would prove unmanageable. The history of the Cotton Famine may be te[illegible] a history of agreeable disappointments. It was predicted that the prostr[illegible] of trade in Lancashire would deal a mortal blow at English commerce— the revenue would dwindle to a vanishing point—that the problem of [illegible] taining vast masses of pauperised labour, whose pauperism must be but [illegible] harbinger of general bankruptcy among their employers, would prove inso[illegible] —that their starvation would breed pestilence and lead to outbreak[illegible] violence and crime, ending with seditious attacks on the Government an[illegible] institutions that upheld law and order. Already it has been shown [illegible] commerce, so far from declining, flourished apace during 1862-63, and that revenue increased so rapidly that Mr. Gladstone actually remitted taxes.

The problem of relieving the distress was solved with ease and simpli[illegible] There were no epidemics of pestilence, and, save in Stalybridge, no ri[illegible] disturbances. The noble resignation, the heroic patience of the sufferers, their perfect confidence in the sympathy and the helpfulness of their cou[illegible] men, in fact compelled the admiration of the civilised world. In the m[illegible] of December, 1862, there were 500,000 cotton operatives receiving relie[illegible] Lancashire, and the loss in wages from lack of employment was estim[illegible] at £168,000. Cotton then came in, though in small quantities, and some [illegible] were able to run. Emigration and the transference of labour to other [illegible] ployments also relieved the pressure, so that in June, 1863, only 25[illegible] persons were receiving relief in the afflicted districts. At the end of the [illegible] this number was reduced to 180,000. So far from the health of the p[illegible] suffering, it rather improved. There was less infant mortality than usu[illegible] the cotton districts, possibly because female operatives, being thrown ou[illegible] work, were able to devote more attention to their children.† [illegible]

* Alice: Grand Duchess of Hesse, Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 58.

† The Registrar-General, in his Quarterly Report of 30th April, 1863, says: "On comparing returns of the deaths in the eleven divisions, with one exception the deaths were [illegible]

[illegible] gave the people more power to resist disease, and sanitary precautions which, at the instance of the Executive Committee in Manchester, were taken by local authorities also tended to keep the villages wholesome. The funds by which distress was relieved came from special local rates levied by consent of Parliament in the unions; from loans raised by local authorities

SIR CHARLES PHIPPS.

under Parliamentary sanction, and spent on public works which gave employment to the operatives; and, last of all, from voluntary subscriptions, which were sent from all quarters of the world. At first it was thought that little could be expected from the cotton districts themselves. "Lancashire," said Mr. Cobden to Lady Hatherton, "with its machinery stopped is like a man in a fainting fit. It would be as natural to attempt to draw money

[illegible] than in the March quarter of 1862; and the single exception is found in that division where the staple industry, on which half-a-million of persons are dependent, is overthrown, and for a [illegible] four-fifths of that number have subsisted, unless the pittance has been aided by previous savings, or sale of household stock, on less than 4d. a day."

from the one as blood from the other." * But in one form or another, in voluntary contributions, rates, loss of wages, depreciation of fixed capital, business losses, Lancashire spent an aggregate of £12,445,000 in coping with the Cotton Famine. Lancashire, indeed, raised £1,400,000 of the voluntary contributions received up to April, 1863, which came to £2,735,000. The work of administration was chiefly centred in the Executive Committee at Manchester, the President of which was the Earl of Derby. The

THE ALBERT BRIDGE, WINDSOR.

voluntary labour at their command must have been very great, for the cost of administration came only to 15s. for every £100. What was afterwards called "the Conservative reaction" in Lancashire set in after this Fund was distributed, for in time, when the old generation of Radicals died out, their successors in the districts which had been saved from starvation by the almoners of the Fund, who were often zealous Anglicans, nearly all went over to the Tory Party. The Queen did her utmost to contribute to the success of the Fund, and her joy was unalloyed when she saw that its administrators had, in the beginning of 1864, averted the disaster that menaced her Northern Duchy.

* Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXXI.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DANISH WAR.

Stagnant Politics—Excitement over the Danish War—Attitude of the Queen—Withdrawal of the Danes from Holstein—Lord Wodehouse's Mission—The *Quarterly Review* advocates War—Mr. Disraeli Repudiates a War Policy—Lord Palmerston's Secret Plans—The Case against Germany—The Queen's Warnings—Mr. Cobden's Arguments—Lord Russell's "Demands"—Palmerston drafts a Warlike Queen's Speech—The Queen Refuses to Sanction it—Lord Derby Summoned to Osborne—He is Pledged to a Peace Policy—Austria and Prussia in Conflict with the Diet—The Occupation of Sleswig—War at Last—Retreat of the Danes to Düppel—Palmerston's Protests Answered by German Victories—The Invasion of Jutland—Storming of the Düppel Redoubts—Excitement in London—Garibaldi's Visit to London—Garibaldi and the Dowager Duchess of Sutherland—Anecdotes of Garibaldi's Visit—Clarendon's Visit to Napoleon III.—Expulsion of Garibaldi by Palmerston—Napoleon III Agrees to Accept the Proposal for a Conference—Triumph of the Queen's Peace Policy—Palmerston's Last Struggle—His Ministry Saved by Surrender to Mr. Cobden—The Treaty of Vienna—End of the War.

THE year 1864 gives one a vivid illustration of the stagnant condition of politics in England under Lord Palmerston. The mind of the country was absorbed in one question, and one only, namely, whether England should make war in Prussia and Austria to maintain the integrity of Denmark and uphold the Treaty of London. Ten years before, England had rushed headlong into war for a cause that was more shameful, and for "British interests" that were much more visionary than those which were now at stake. But great progress had been made during these ten years. The disasters and disgrace which had fallen on the nation during the Crimean struggle had not been endured for nothing. Englishmen had no longer boundless confidence in the aristocratic war party, whose clumsy diplomacy and military incapacity had involved the country in the inglorious contest with Russia. Moreover, while the Court was neutral in that struggle, latterly leaning, if to any side, to the side of the war party, in 1864 the Queen was obstinately determined to keep out of war, and Palmerston found in her a much more formidable antagonist than either Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright. Mr. Morley, in his "Life of Cobden," asserts that it was his (Cobden's) influence, and the pressure brought to bear on the Ministry by Lancashire, that thwarted Palmerston at the end of the struggle. Count Vitzthum, on the other hand, credits the Queen with the honour of defeating the Premier. The truth is that neither the Queen nor Mr. Cobden, acting alone, could have saved their country from a fate as melancholy as that which smote Austria to the dust at Sadowa.*

* Lord Malmesbury, who, like most of the Tories, did his best to urge the Government to go to war, at this time makes an observation in his "Diary," which is refreshing in its frigidity. "It is," he remarks, "perhaps as well that we did not enter into this contest, as our army was not armed at that time like the Prussians, with the breechloader, and we should probably have suffered in consequence the same disaster as the Austrians did two years later."—*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Vol. II., pp. 3—4.

But, acting together, though quite independently of each other, they ... sented a combination of social and political forces, which would have ... not only Palmerston, but his Cabinet, had he continued to resist them ... blind oppugnancy.

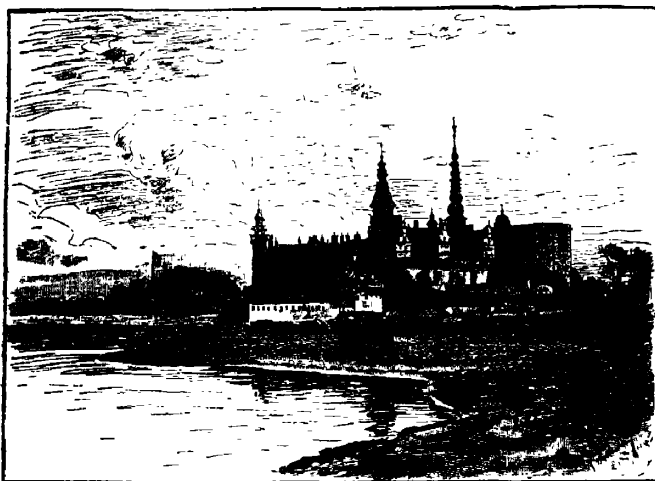
At the beginning of the year the Danes, acting on English advice, ... withdrawn from Holstein, where Prussia and Austria had put in Federal ... cution on behalf of the Diet. Danish and German troops therefore f... each other on the Eider, which divided Sleswig from Holstein, and Eu... waited with almost breathless excitement for the first shot that would kindle ... far-darting flames of war. Councils of moderation had been pressed by I... Russell on the Danish Government, but in vain. They were urged by I... Wodehouse, who had been sent on a special mission to Copenhagen, to w... draw the Constitution of November which had provoked the intervention ... Germany. His mission was a failure. Politicians at home and abroad ... alarmed by an extraordinary essay known to be from the pen of Lord Ro... Cecil, which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, advocating war against Germ... on behalf of Denmark, and it was supposed to represent the policy of the ... Party. It, however, did not represent the views of Mr. Disraeli, who, in a co... dential conversation with Count Vitzthum, disowned it, and as for Lord De... he had no well-defined views on the subject. Had it been otherwise, ... Palmerston could have easily frightened his Cabinet into war. "Any dou... writes Count Vitzthum, "as to the validity of the Treaty of 1852 offende... deeply the *amour propre* of the Prime Minister that he was capable of g... any lengths. The plan which he devised, to save his work, was to attack ... one portion of the British ironclad fleet the North Sea and Baltic co... of Germany, and with another portion, Trieste and Venice, to support ... English gold Mazzini and Garibaldi in Italy, and Kossuth in Hungary, ... thus kindle a general conflagration."* This might have been Palmerst... plan at the beginning of the year. A few week's reflection, however, to... it down, for in a private letter to Lord Russell, dated the 13th of February ... seems that, though his *animus* against Germany had not abated, he wa... opinion that "it would be best for us to wait a while before taking any st... step; though," he adds, "it is very useful to remind the Austrians and ... Prussians privately of the danger they were running at home."† A few ... after that, in a private letter to the Duke of Somerset, Palmerston's pla... found to be still further modified, but this time in a mischievous direct... It now took the form of sending the Fleet to Danish waters, with orders ... prevent the Germans from attacking Zealand and Copenhagen.‡ Every ...

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 285.

† Ashley's Life of Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 248.

‡ In criticising Palmerston's policy of intervention, it is but just to remember that he was ... encumbered by his imprudent declaration in the House of Commons on the 23rd of July, 1863, that ... Germans attacked the Danes "it would not be with Denmark alone they would have to contend." ...

[illegible] and every line written on the Sleswig-Holstein Question by Palmerston [illegible] Russell at this juncture, deluded the Danes into the belief that the British Government were prepared to defend by force of arms the integrity of Denmark as a British interest. But for this delusion Denmark would not have obstinately resisted even the most moderate demands which were made for concessions to the Germans in Sleswig-Holstein.

The case against Austria, Prussia, and the Diet was capable of easy statement in a popular form. Hence it is not surprising that the large class of

KRONBORG CASTLE, ELSINORE.

Englishmen who act on what may be called the public schoolboy theory of high politics took the side of the Danes. Denmark was a small Power, whereas Austria and Prussia were two large Powers, who were "bullying" Denmark. Austria, Prussia, and most of the minor States of Germany did not come into court with clean hands. They had individually sanctioned the Treaty of London, to which they now objected, because the German Diet, of which they were members, had not ratified it. They refused to be bound by it because Denmark had violated antecedent engagements, made independently of it, and on another subject than the Danish Succession, with which the Treaty dealt. Austria and Prussia could hardly be disinterested in coming forward as the champions of Constitutionalism, and "the doctrine of nationalities" in Sleswig and Holstein. The Treaty of London of 1852 was the work of England, and to uphold it by arms was a debt of honour which Englishmen ought to pay. The big-boy-and-the-small-boy argument was founded on a strange misconception of the facts. In Holstein and Sleswig the

Danes played the part of the big boy who was bullying the little one. When they were asked to hold their harsh hand by stronger Powers they pleaded their weakness as an excuse for their tyranny. The bad motives of the champions of the Sleswig-Holsteiners, however, did not affect the rights or wrongs of

CHRISTIAN IX., KING OF DENMARK.

their clients. Moreover, Englishmen quite mistook the German argument, which was this: The German Powers who sanctioned the Treaty of London did not allege that it was null and void because Denmark had not kept the engagements of 1851. They said that Frederick VII. had died before he had lawfully established in his kingdom the order of succession which the Treaty sanctioned, and which, had Denmark stood by her engagements, they would have had no difficulty in supporting. This being the case, they were, they said, entitled to repudiate a Treaty which was illegal in the eyes of

international law, till ratified by the German Diet; by the Sleswig-Holsteiners, and by the heirs to the Duchies who had been set aside by it.

So far as the Queen was concerned, Palmerston's arguments had no effect on her mind. She had warned him that the change in the Danish succession, effected by the Treaty of London, was illegal, and would one day be disputed. It might have been legalised by a *fait accompli*—that is to say, if the Germans in the Duchies had been induced to accept the change by a conciliatory policy. On the contrary, the policy of the Danes had been so offensively anti-German, that the Sleswig-Holsteiners were more opposed to the Treaty than ever. Moreover, Germans all over the Fatherland were with them, and it was therefore idle to ask German Sovereigns to risk revolution by forcing on Germans in the Duchies an oppressive foreign government. To propose English intervention was equally objectionable to the Queen. She was firmly convinced that the English people wanted peace and not war, and that the integrity of a petty Northern State was not, in their opinion, essential to their Imperial existence. Her Majesty laid her finger at the outset on the point of folly in Palmerston's policy, which was the maintenance of the Treaty of 1852. Would Englishmen consent to levy war on the German race to uphold an instrument which the carelessness of English diplomatists, in refusing to obtain legal ratifications, had rendered invalid? And then what would men of business say when asked to bear the burden of such a war, to uphold a Treaty that thrust dynasty on a people who did not want it? Curiously enough, the same line of argument was subsequently taken by Mr. Cobden, though he did not know the secret history of the Treaty of London. "In 1852," said he, "by the mischievous activity of our Foreign Office, seven diplomatists were brought round a green table in London to settle the destinies of a million of people in the two provinces of Sleswig and Holstein without the slightest reference to the wants and wishes, and the tendencies or interests, of that people. The preamble of the Treaty which was then and there agreed to, stated that what those seven diplomatists were going to do was to maintain the integrity of the Danish monarchy, and to sustain the balance of power in Europe. Kings, emperors, princes, were represented at that meeting, but the people had not the slightest voice or right in the matter. They settled the Treaty, the object of which was to draw closer the bonds between those two provinces and Denmark. The tendency of the great majority of the people of these provinces—about a million of them altogether—was altogether in the direction of Germany. From that time to this year the Treaty was followed by constant agitation and discord; two wars have sprung out of it, and it has ended in the Treaty being torn to pieces by two of the Governments who were prominent parties to the Treaty."* Still, the Queen was so desirous of peace that she did not refuse her sanction to proposals of

* Cobden's Speeches, Vol. II., p. 341.

compromise which were from time to time made by Lord Russell, but which proved abortive. In one of these, addressed to the German Diet on the [illegible] of December, 1863, Lord Russell said that England "*demands*, in the interests of peace," (1), a Conference of the signatory powers in London to compose the dispute, and (2), the establishment of the *status quo* till this Conference finished its labours—one of those "demands" which, according to Sir Alexander Malet, Herr von Bismarck treated with "disdain."*

Anxious Cabinet meetings were held in January, and reports of Ministerial dissensions flew round. Projects for giving the Danes material support seem to have been broached, but, according to Lord Malmesbury, writing on the 29th of January, the Ministry found "great difficulties in the opposition of the Queen."† In these circumstances Lord Palmerston, knowing that the Tory Party were ready to support him in defending Denmark, began to look to Lord Derby for aid. To his colleagues he said, "If *we* do not begin the war, the Tories will turn us out in order to do it themselves."‡ But here he was again foiled. The Queen had an interview with Lord Derby at Osborne, which ended in the leader of the Opposition becoming convinced that the integrity of the Danish Kingdom was a mere phrase involving no British interest which justified a war—an opinion which Mr. Disraeli enforced in private when he scornfully described the "integrity of Denmark" not as "a phrase," but as "humbug." He told Count Vitzthum, that he believed if Denmark ever again possessed a fleet she "would fight in the next war not for England, but for Russia and France."§ As for making war with France for an ally—another Palmerstonian idea—Lord Derby was asked whether that did not mean sacrificing Antwerp to save Copenhagen? There thus remained for Palmerston but one more chance of committing the country before Parliament met, and that was by inserting a bellicose paragraph into the Royal Speech. Again he was thwarted by the Queen's opposition. Her Majesty refused to sanction a threatening speech, and her objections were sustained by a majority of the Cabinet, much to Palmerston's chagrin. "It was not," says Count Vitzthum, "till the day before Parliament opened, that her Majesty approved the colourless speech which was read on her behalf. Every one," he adds, "was waiting with the keenest anxiety for the debate on the Address, and the House of Lords was crowded when Lord Derby (February 4) rose to make his three hours' speech. I stood on the steps of the throne, close by the front railings. It so chanced that Lord Palmerston, who had been fetched by the Duke of Argyll, was standing next to me, and thus I was able to watch the impression produced on the Prime Minister by the eloquence of his opponent. The House listened with breathless silence to Lord Derby's solemn admonitions on behalf of peace,

* Sir A. Malet's Overthrow of the Germanic Confederation, p. 96.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 315.

‡ Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 296.

§ Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 297.

[illegible] he enlarged with statesmanlike tact and rare skill on the [illegible] that a war with Germany would be the gravest calamity to England. A general burst of applause was the orator's reward, and Lord Palmerston left the House in evident uneasiness."* And no wonder. He knew that his colleagues would now be all the more disposed for peace, for it was only too obvious that the result of Lord Derby's interview with the Queen at Osborne had been a pledge that he would not permit his party to aid the Prime Minister in goading the country into war. "That particular danger," writes Count Vitzthum, "was over. Twice more, however, in the course of that Session did Lord Palmerston attempt to drag the Cabinet along with him and carry his project of a war. Each time he was outvoted. Thrice did the Queen gain a victory over the would-be Dictator in the bosom of his own Cabinet." † The criticism of the Tory chiefs was, however, directed to raise general distrust in Palmerston's foreign policy as a whole. Lord Derby described it as one of "meddle and muddle." "*Nihil intactum reliquit,*" observed Lord Derby, laughingly, "*nihil tetigit quod non conturbavit.*" In the meantime the whole question was passing out of the sphere of diplomacy.

On the 14th of January, Austria and Prussia asked the Diet to sanction the occupation of Sleswig, pending the withdrawal of the obnoxious Constitution incorporating Sleswig in Danish territory, and all fulfilment by Denmark of her engagements to respect the civic privileges of all Germans in the Duchies. The Diet considered that the Danes might comply with the German demand, and thus recover the Duchies. Hence the Austro-Prussian proposal was defeated, the ostensible reason given by the Diet being that it had no jurisdiction beyond Holstein. Prussia and Austria then intimated that they would themselves occupy Sleswig. The Prussian Chamber, adopting the view of the Diet, refused to grant the Government supplies, because, as Herr Schultze-Delitzsch said, this policy could only lead to the restoration of the Duchies to Denmark. Von Bismarck's retort was "*Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.* ‡ If you refuse supplies, the Government will take them in spite of you." Austria, eager to recover the military *prestige* she had lost in Italy, and alarmed at the progress which democracy was making every day in the Duchies, perhaps also somewhat afraid lest Prussia might win all the glory of a strong and resolute pan-German policy, joined Prussia, thereby striking a mortal blow at the authority of the moribund Germanic Confederation among the German-speaking race. On the 1st of February the Austro-Prussian army of occupation crossed the Eider, which was the answer the allies gave to Lord Russell's "demand" for a Conference and the establishment of the [illegible]. Within a week the Danes were driven northwards behind their fortifications in Düppel — their last line of defence in Sleswig. Lord

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 286.

† Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 286.

‡ Speech of the 21st of January, 1864.

Palmerston, who had imagined that they could gain time for him by holding the Dannewerk, now found that he had made a sad mistake. The English Government accordingly implored France and Russia to join England in giving moral and material support to Denmark. But Von Bismarck, though still opposed by the Prussian Chamber, laughed at Palmerston's efforts to roll back the tide of German conquest. "He had," as his biographer says, "already

THE PRUSSIANS STORMING THE REDOUBTS OF DUPPEL. (See p. 194.)

taken care to be sure of his men, in expectation of such a contingency. Russia, as we have seen, had been laid under a counter-obligation to Prussia by the services of the latter in the matter of the Polish insurrection."* As for France, she had been propitiated by a favourable Commercial Treaty, and Napoleon III. was reminded that it was not Prussia, who had accepted, but England, who had refused to accept, his project for an European Congress of Sovereigns in 1863, who had dealt a cruel blow at his *prestige*. Palmerston now awoke to the painful fact that there was another obstacle in the way of carrying out a war policy. He and Lord Russell had left England without a single ally in Europe. In vain did the two Ministers struggle with their

* Lowe's Life of Prince Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 335.

fate. Their protests and their proposals were answered by German victor At last, when Jutland was invaded—territory so sacred that Lord Palmerston a Lord Russell had resolved to resent its invasion by naval intervention—the Da offered to negotiate for peace on the basis of the *status quo*, as established the Treaties of 1851-52. Von Bismarck's answer was that the offer came late, for Prussia no longer considered herself bound by Treaties which war l cancelled. Still, Prussia would not object to a Conference, but it must a Conference without a basis or an armistice—England having insisted on bo The proposal of an armistice soon had no practical interest. On the 18th April, after a destructive cannonade, the Prussians stormed the redoubts Düppel, and captured them after half-an-hour's fighting. The excitem now became intense in London. Was it possible that the hitherto invinci diplomacy of Palmerston was destined to fail whenever it was met by antagonist who, as Sir A. Malet says, treated "cajolery and menace" w equal disdain?

"At this juncture," writes Count Vitzthum, "Lord Palmerston thou fit to offer a spectacle to the London mob, which was calculated to infla still more their revolutionary passions. Mindful of the *panem et circenses* the Roman Emperors, the veteran Premier sought to please the people showing them Garibaldi. The latter, who had been released from imprisonment after the affair at Aspromonte, was to be employed, if Palmers succeeded in carrying through his scheme, against Venetia, and, if necessa against Rome. Ovations were showered on the guerilla leader from the mom of his landing.* In London he was met at the railway station by the Du of Sutherland, and conducted in pomp through the leading thoroughfares Stafford House. Countless multitudes thronged the streets, and hailed t triumphal procession with acclamations. There had scarcely been such crow at the entrance of the French Emperor and Empress in 1855, or at that the Princess of Wales.† Garibaldi was lodged like a prince at the Duke Sutherland's mansion. Thither came the most distinguished ladies of t Whig aristocracy to court the favour of a look or a smile from the fêt champion of freedom. The Ministers and the leaders of the Opposition n together at the banquet given in his honour at Stafford House.‡ Lord

* At Southampton on the 3rd of April.

† As a matter of fact, there was no comparison possible between the crowds in either case. T receptions of the French Emperor and the Danish Princess were poor and cold compared with t extended to Garibaldi. It will enable readers of the rising generation to understand what his welc was when it is stated that as regards street crowds and popular enthusiasm, it far surpassed t given to the Queen on the 21st of June, 1887, when she celebrated her Jubilee in London.

‡ Lord Malmesbury, in his Diary, has the following entry:—"We dined at Stafford House to m Garibaldi. The party consisted of the Palmerstons, Russells, Gladstones, Argylls, Shaftesbur Dufferins, &c., and other Whigs, the Derbys and ourselves being the only Conservatives, so I grea fear we have made a mistake, and that our party will be disgusted at our going. Lady Shaftesb told me after dinner, in a *méchante* manner, that we had fallen into a trap, to which I answered

society filled the splendid apartments in the evening, and thronged round the lion of the day. . . . Among those most profuse in their attentions was the Duchess of Sutherland, late Mistress of the Robes, who gave a luncheon party at Chiswick to the adventurer, and received him like a king at the door of her mansion dressed in full attire. Lord Clarendon, not to miss this festivity, postponed his journey to Paris, where he was to make the last fruitless attempt to induce Napoleon to take action.* There was something indescribably comic in this exaggerated display of British hero-worship. The only man who was unaffected by it was Garibaldi himself. The old sailor was not the least imposed on by it all—not the least impressed. He made his appearance in the gilded saloons without coat or waistcoat, and paraded in his red flannel shirt. In the streets he wore his black felt hat, with a red feather. Festivities and attentions bored him intensely. He made no secret of his aversion to old women, even though they wore the ermine of duchesses. After the banquet at Stafford House he said that he was not accustomed to sit so late and so long at his meals. He called for his pipe of tobacco. The Dowager Duchess [of Sutherland] overcame her dislike to tobacco smoke, took Garibaldi into her boudoir, lit his pipe with her own hands, and never left him till he had finished it." † This strange episode did not impose on the Queen either, who had reason to believe that nobody concerned was deceived, except the good-natured British populace, whose honest hero-worship was being exploited by Palmerston for diplomatic purposes. The reception of Garibaldi was meant as a warning to Austria that if invincible in Denmark she was vulnerable in Venice; to France, that if through pique she thwarted Palmerston's diplomacy in Northern Europe, there would soon be trouble brewing for her at Rome; and to Russia, that if she deserted England she would find that the spirit of revolution could yet be roused in Poland. How far the Tory leaders were parties to the imposture is not clear. Lord Malmesbury tries to persuade us that they took part in it merely from motives of childish curiosity. A fashionable lion was reported to be in Stafford House, and so he and his colleagues went there to hear him roar.

One of the most curious projects broached by Lord Palmerston's satellites was that of raising a subscription among "the gentry of England" to furnish Garibaldi with funds for attacking Austria in Venice, and France in Rome. This scheme, says Lord Shaftesbury, who euphuistically describes it as one for "furthering his [Garibaldi's] Italian purposes," was quashed by

was very much obliged to those who laid it, as I should be very sorry not to have seen Garibaldi." And on the 15th of April Lord Malmesbury adds:—"Our party are furious with us and Lord Derby for dining with the Sutherlands last Wednesday, and Lord Bath has written to Lord Colville to resign his office of Whip, and says he will not spend a farthing upon elections. Lord Derby has written him a very temperate letter."—Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., pp. 320, 321.

* With Palmerston in favour of Denmark.

† Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 289.

the patriot himself, happily in time to save his credit as well as the credit of "the gentry of England." After "many sittings of committees," writes Lord Shaftesbury, who was one of the most active of Lord Palmerston's agents in this business,* "myriads of letters and private requests, we had in two months obtained payments and promises for a sum considerably under three thousand pounds." Whether Lord Shaftesbury was, like Garibaldi, a tool in

GARIBALDI'S RECEPTION IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON. (See p. 194)

Palmerston's hands it is impossible to say. But it is a singular fact that we find him writing to the Duc de Persigny on the 8th of April assuring him "that there is not in it [Garibaldi's visit] a notion of politics." On the other hand, he himself discloses, in a posthumous Memorandum unearthed by the industry of his biographer, the whole story of his abortive attempt to raise subsidies for Garibaldi's revolutionary designs. Nay, when the Tory chiefs went to Stafford House to dine with the hero, Lady Shaftesbury, who was Lady Palmerston's daughter, appears on the scene laughing at them for having fallen into a trap.†

* Lord Shaftesbury, says his biographer, became Garibaldi's most constant companion in London, "never leaving him, in fact, except when Garibaldi *would* go to the Opera."—Hodder's *Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, Vol. II., p. 172.

† It is curious to note that five days after Lord Shaftesbury assured the Duc de Persigny that there was no "notion of politics" in Garibaldi's visit, and that "had Garibaldi's appearance here

But after the lion had roared loud enough to wake the echoes of the Tuileries, Lord Clarendon was sent to Paris on a private diplomatic mission. His object was to induce the Emperor Napoleon to support Lord Palmerston's proposal for a Conference of the Powers on the Sleswig-Holstein Question, a scheme which France as yet did not sanction. It must be allowed that if the German Powers scoffed at the attempt to frighten them by a Cockney

KIEL.

demonstration in favour of Garibaldi, Lord Palmerston and his envoy seem to have made it serve their turn in Paris. Napoleon III. agreed at last to support the Palmerston-Russell scheme of a Conference, provided Palmerston would send Garibaldi out of England as quickly as possible. This was an embarrassing condition to fulfil, as the guerilla chief was becoming far too popular to be treated in such an unceremonious fashion. He had entered into an

anything to do with touching that alliance [the alliance between France and England], I am sure that the people of England would refuse to give him a welcome," Garibaldi was entertained at a magnificent popular demonstration at the Crystal Palace. A sword of honour was presented to him, of which he said, "I will never unsheathe it in the cause of tyrants, and will draw it only in support of oppressed nationalities. *I hope yet to carry it with me to Rome and Venice.*" Lord Shaftesbury was one of the brilliant company of Palmerstonian partisans under whose auspices this unique non-political ceremony was conducted.

engagement to proceed to Manchester, and from thence on a provincial tour of agitation, which greatly disquieted Napoleon III., and which must therefore be stopped. The end of the farce may be told in Lord Malmesbury's words. In his Diary on the 20th of April he writes:—"Garibaldi leaves England on Friday. . . . Certainly there must be some intrigue, as Mr. Ferguson, the surgeon, writes a letter to the Duke of Sutherland—which is published—saying it would be dangerous for Garibaldi's health if he exposed himself to the fatigue of an expedition to Manchester, &c. &c. On the other hand, Dr. Basile, Garibaldi's own doctor, says he is perfectly well, and able to undergo all the fatigue of a journey to the manufacturing towns." * This communication from Dr. Basile was published, because Garibaldi was naturally angry at having been overreached by Palmerston and the Whig aristocracy, who sacrificed him whenever he was of no more use to them as a piece on the political chessboard. What made matters worse was that Garibaldi felt certain that, if he had been allowed but one week for agitation in the provinces, he would have stirred up so much popular feeling that he could have defied Lord Palmerston to order him home.

As usual in cases where Lord Palmerston was forced to do something that displeased the populace, it was promptly insinuated far and wide that he was again the victim of the Court. Garibaldi, it was hinted, had been expelled in deference to the Queen's pro-Austrian sympathies. It is but right to vindicate her Majesty from the absurd suggestions that were then current, and for that reason it has been deemed expedient to tell the true story of Garibaldi's visit to London in 1864. Let it be admitted, however, that at least one member of the Whig aristocracy refused to turn against the hero when the *mot d'ordre* went forth from Cambridge House that he must be dropped. This was the Dowager Duchess of Sutherland, who carried the discarded lion away to Cliefden, and tended him faithfully till he left Plymouth on the 25th of April. It was her enthusiasm that inspired one of the diners-out of the day with an anecdote which rendered the wonderful party at Stafford House on the 13th of April almost as memorable as Garibaldi's presence there. "She" (the Dowager Duchess), said one of the company, "is noble, richly jointured, romantic, and a widow—why, then, does she not marry her hero?" "Ah," was the reply, "but you forget he has a wife living." "That," said another guest—alleged to have been Lord Palmerston—"is of no consequence; I have Gladstone here, and can easily get him to explain her away." Yet, though the duchess and the mob alike forgot to mourn for their hero after his expulsion had ceased to be a nine days' wonder, it is pleasing to know that their fidelity to his cause was unwavering, and that their admiration of the man himself was absolutely untarnished by sordid and selfish calculations.

The project of the Conference on the Sleswig-Holstein Question, now that

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 322.

France accepted it, was fairly started, and it gave Palmerston a chance of extricating his Ministry without much ignominy from the complication in which they had become enmeshed. The Queen favoured it, as she favoured any arrangement that seemed likely to make for peace; but, as the Conference was to meet without a basis and without an armistice — indeed, as the capture of Düppel had made Prussia and Austria masters of the situation, an armistice was of little consequence—her Majesty's view of the issue was not so sanguine as that of her Prime Minister. "Austria and Prussia," says Count Vitzthum, "were not sorry to take advantage of it (the Conference) in order to escape from a false position, in which they had placed themselves as belligerent Powers and cosignatories of the London Treaty. Both of them declared their readiness to attend the Conference, on condition that the German Bund received, as such, an invitation also. It was the first time since its existence that the Diet had been invited to attend and vote at a European Conference. The choice of its representation fell on the Saxon Minister of State, the most active advocate of the Federal standpoint. He accepted the choice, but was unable, from the haste with which the matter was arranged, to reach London on the 20th of April, the day fixed by the impatient Lord Russell for the opening of the Conference."*

As might be expected, this led to a hitch in the proceedings. Austria and Prussia alleged that they could not take part in the Conference until Count Beust appeared on the scene, so that the first meeting of the diplomatists was ominously abortive. It was not till the 25th of April that the Conference met for work, and the story of its transactions is somewhat painful for Englishmen to recall. It soon became apparent that the real object of the German representatives was to thwart the policy of the English Government, and tear up the Treaty of London under the very eyes of their English colleagues. Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell speedily discovered why the Diet had been invited for the first time to take part in a European Conference. Austria and Prussia, being cosignatories of the Treaty of London, found it a little embarrassing to take the initiative in "denouncing" that futile instrument; but they put forward Count Beust, as the representative of the Diet, to repudiate it, and he, on behalf of corporate Germany, declared that no solution of the problem could be accepted which did not provide for the complete separation of the Duchies from Denmark. In vain did Palmerston and Russell resist a demand that was utterly irreconcilable with the policy of maintaining the integrity of Denmark which was formulated in the Treaty of London. Russia and France abandoned them, and it became evident that continued victory would render the Germans, not more moderate, but more exacting in their demands. "Lord Clarendon," writes Count Vitzthum, in his bright but brief account of the secret history of the Conference, "who,

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., pp. 289—290.

though nominally second, was in reality the first British plenipotentiary, induced Lord Russell, with a view of checking the bloodshed, to propose the separation of Holstein, Lauenburg, and South Sleswig. The neutrals—Russia and France—agreed to this, but the Danish representatives declared that their instructions were exhausted, and thus the matter remained to be settled by the sword."*

Count Vitzthum's narrative does not seem quite fair to Denmark. The Danes, it must be noted, have always alleged that they agreed to a frontier proposed by Lord Clarendon, and accordingly they assumed that after such a surrender of their position England would defend them and stand by her own proposition. Lord Russell, however, in his statement of the 27th June, denied that England had, through Lord Clarendon, committed herself to maintain this frontier. The fact is that Austria and Prussia, at a meeting of the Conference on the 17th of May, brought the proceedings to a deadlock by declaring that they would no longer recognise the King of Denmark as Sovereign of the Duchies. The neutral Plenipotentiaries then met privately at Lord Russell's house and concocted a compromise by which Denmark should cede Holstein and Sleswig as far as the Slei, and that the European Powers should then guarantee the rest of the Danish Dominions. Denmark accepted this proposal, but the German Powers, whilst eagerly accepting the principle of separating the Duchies from Denmark, objected to the frontier. According to a statement made by Bishop Monrad in the Danish Rigsraad, it is clear the compromise was not distinctively an English project, though it originated in Clarendon's suggestions. But, according to Bishop Monrad, "Earl Russell promised that neither would he make a proposal himself nor support the proposal of any other Plenipotentiary which would be less favourable for Denmark, unless Denmark herself should consent to such new proposals." Yet after the boundary of the Schlei had been suggested, Earl Russell, at a meeting of the Conference, proposed that the question of the frontier should be submitted to arbitration —the King of the Belgians being mentioned as arbiter—although Denmark did *not* consent to such a proposal. This proposition, partially accepted by Austria and Prussia, was rejected by Count Beust on behalf of the Diet. France then proposed that, while Germany should take German and Denmark should keep Danish Sleswig, the intervening part, with a mixed population, should by a *plébiscite* determine its own destiny. This was also rejected by Denmark, and so the Conference, which met at the request of England without a basis, separated without a result.

The obstinacy of the Danes, who seem to have built their hopes of English succour on Lord Palmerston's marvellous power over a servile House of Commons, secured the triumph of Austria and Prussia — who up to this point were encumbered by their signatures to the Treaty of London. Lord Clarendon's

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., pp. 289—290.

proposal marked the abandonment of that instrument by the only Power desirous of abiding by it. The Conference, by its abortive attempts at solving the Danish problem, therefore, extricated Austria and Prussia from their false position, for when it broke up the ill-starred Treaty of London was there and then consigned to what Carlyle calls "the limbo of dead dogs."

COUNT BEUST.

And the curious thing is that Palmerston and Russell seem to have almost courted a defeat, which shattered the diplomatic *prestige* of England for more than a decade. "The Treaty of London," writes Count Vitzthum, "might, perhaps, have been saved, had the British Minister acknowledged from the first that the value of a Treaty, intended to settle a *quæstio de futuro*, an eventuality of the future, depended on the circumstances under which that eventuality occurred. A very different importance attaches to treaties which, like those of 1815, deal with *faits accomplis* and establish the final results of a war.

lasting over many years. Palmerston and Russell committed in their zeal a political blunder when they declared that to cancel the Treaty of London was tantamount to unsettling everything else. Had not Napoleon been then so seriously occupied in Mexico he would have taken the British Ministers at their word.* But be that as it may, the Treaty was now dead. The Conference had not only united Germany, but also served as a safety-valve against an explosion in Parliament. The saying that no change of Ministry is to be thought of after the Ascot Races was verified anew. The Ascot meeting was now over. Nevertheless, before the Session came to an end, the Ministers were doomed to suffer a humiliation without a parallel." † What made this humiliation all the more mortifying to Palmerston, was that the punishment was to come from the hateful hand of Cobden.

At the end of June, says Mr. Cobden, "the Prime Minister announced that he was going to produce the Protocols,‡ and to state the decision of the Government upon the question. He gave a week's notice of this intention, and then I witnessed what has convinced me that we have effected a revolution in our Foreign policy. The whippers-in—you know what I mean—those on each side of the House who undertake to take stock of the number and the opinion of their followers—the whippers-in during the week were taking soundings of the inclination of members of the House of Commons. And then came up from the country such a manifestation of opinion against war, that day after day during that eventful week member after member from the largest constituencies went to those who acted for the Government in Parliament, and told them distinctly that they would not allow war on any such matters as Sleswig and Holstein. Then came surging up from all the great seats and centres of manufacturing and commercial activity one unanimous veto upon war for this matter of Sleswig and Holstein." §

The old device which had served Palmerston so often in his contests with the Court—that of pitting the infatuation of a bellicose people against the calm sagacity of a pacific sovereign—could not be employed, and the Minister was forced to admit that the game on which he had staked his reputation had gone against him. Hence, writes Mr. Morley, "when Lord Palmerston came down to the House on that memorable afternoon of the 27th of June, it was to make the profoundly satisfactory but profoundly humiliating announcement that there was to be no war." He admitted that the Government "felt great sympathy for Denmark," although "she had in the beginning been in the wrong." But under a new sovereign she had shown some

* Perhaps this consideration had something to do with the curious reluctance of France to cooperate with England in the Conference—a reluctance hitherto attributed to Lord Russell's curt refusal to take part in the Napoleonic Conference of 1863.

† Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 291.

‡ Of the Conference.

§ Cobden's Speeches, Vol. II., p. 341.

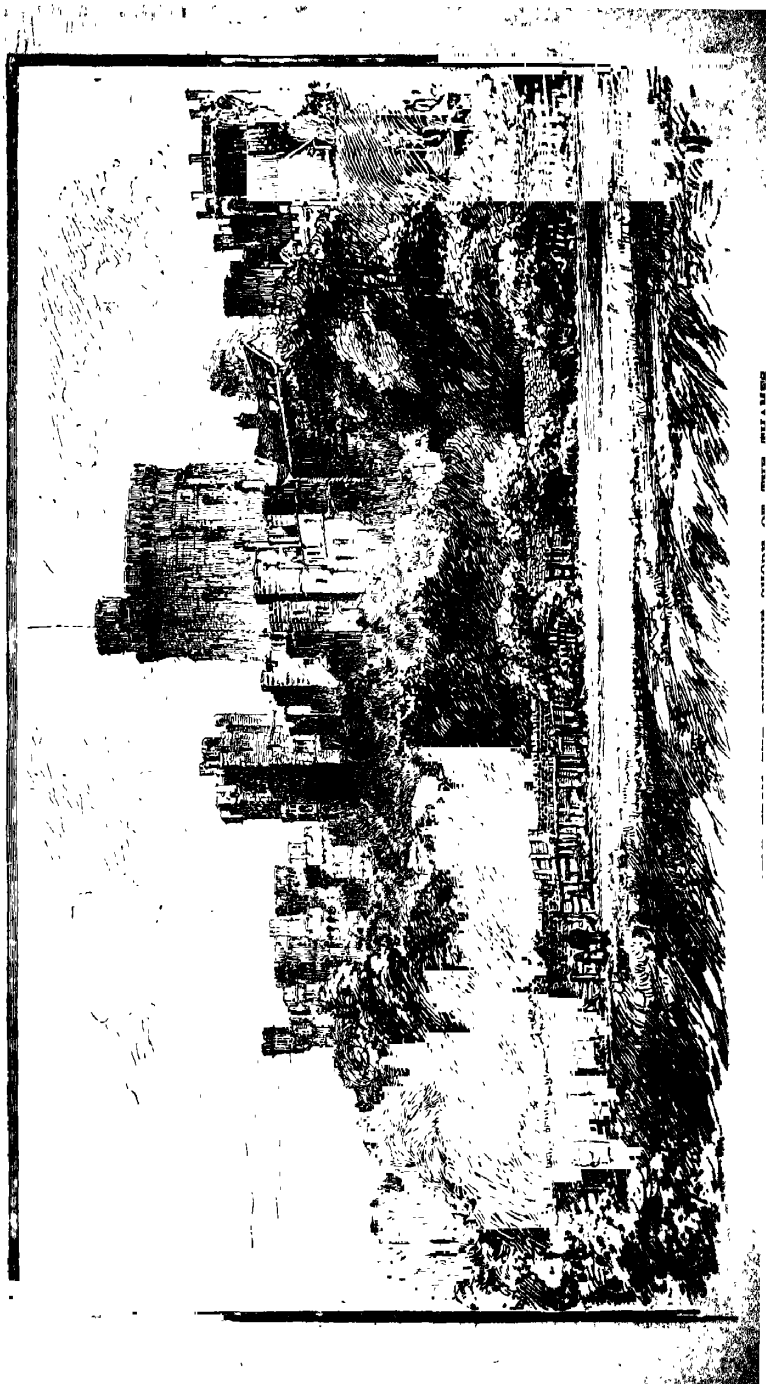
desire to act properly, and so, said the Prime Minister, "we felt that from the beginning to the end of these events she [Denmark] had been ill-used, and that might had overridden right." With jaunty audacity he added that Ministers also knew that the sympathies of the British nation were in favour of Denmark—for he made no allusion to the confidential reports of the Ministerial "whips"—and he frankly said "we should therefore have been glad to have found it possible to recommend to our Sovereign to take part with Denmark in the approaching struggle." But then Denmark had rejected a compromise in the Conference—a compromise which, however, he did not state, had been almost thrust on her by Lord Russell, in violation of his own pledges to her—though he did admit that in rejecting this proposal, her fault was "equally shared by her antagonists." Yet other considerations must be looked to—an admission which illustrated the revolution that had been effected in English diplomacy since the Crimean War. It did not appear, observed Lord Palmerston blandly, that the matter in dispute "was one of very great importance," (an amazing statement from the author of the Treaty of London) for "it did not affect the independence of Denmark, and it went very little beyond what she herself had agreed to." Now, Lord Russell had pledged himself not to support *any arrangement* that went "beyond what she [Denmark] had agreed to" when she accepted the compromise arrived at in his house by the plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, and Lord Palmerston's additional explanation that it turned "simply on the question to whom a portion of territory should belong," provoked a contemptuous titter in the House. But the real truth had to be confessed at last. Ministers, said Lord Palmerston—who had led the War Party in Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet—in advising their sovereign to levy war, "could not possibly lose sight of the magnitude of the object—the magnitude of the resistance which would have to be overcome, and the comparative means which England and its supposed antagonist would have to bring to bear upon the contest." They had discovered that neither France nor Russia would help England in supporting Denmark. "The whole brunt, therefore," said Lord Palmerston, "of the effort to dislodge the German troops, and those who might come to their assistance, from Sleswig and Holstein, would fall upon this country alone." Hence, he continued, "we have not thought it consistent with our duty to give our Sovereign advice to undertake such an enterprise."

The whole scheme of Palmerstonian diplomacy seemed revealed, as if by a lightning-flash, in all its impotent meddlesomeness. In a matter of no very great importance concerning a foreign country, England was to talk daggers, but use none, if her antagonist chanced to be too strong to be cowed by menaces. The House of Commons instinctively felt that this was not a policy worthy of a great nation. It received the Prime Minister's statement in a manner that convinced him that his spell over it was broken. He made one final effort to regain his influence by appealing to its foibles. He

ccordingly uttered dark and terrible threats of vengeance if Austria and
russia attacked "the existence of Denmark as an independent Power in
Europe," and did other things which everybody knew they had no tempta-
ion to do. "If," said he, "we should see at Copenhagen the horrors of
town taken by assault—the destruction of property, the sacrifice of the
ives, not only of its defenders but of peaceful inhabitants, the confiscation
which would arise, the capture of the Sovereign as a prisoner of war, or
vents of that kind—I do not mean to say that if any of these events
were likely to happen, the position of this country might not possibly be
fit subject for reconsideration." Then he paused to see if his old trick of
hetoric would do its work. It failed him, however, and, instead of the cheers
or which he waited, his declamation was greeted with shouts of con-
emptuous derision. The cheers did not come till Mr. Disraeli condemned
he utterance as "a continuation of those senseless and spiritless menaces
y which her Majesty's Government had lowered the influence of England
n the Councils of Europe." And they came again and again from every
uarter of the House when the Tory leader declared "he should prefer that
he foreign policy of this country should be conducted by Mr. Cobden and
Mr. Bright, for the result would have been the same as in the hands of
er Majesty's Government, while they would not have lured on Denmark by
allacious hopes, and exasperated the German Powers by exaggerated expres-
ions of menace and condemnation of their conduct." As for Lord Russell,
e seemed to feel his humiliation so keenly that it was with difficulty he
made his statement audible in the House of Lords. "I heard enough,"
writes Lord Malmesbury in his terse summary of it, "to know that the
Government were for peace at any price, and meant to desert the Danes."

Of course the Opposition felt bound to challenge the policy of the
Ministry by a vote of censure, though they were far from being unanimous as
o their tactics. Writing on the 3rd of July, Lord Malmesbury says:—
"Lord Derby is so ill with the gout, that he cannot bring on the question
f the correspondence between Denmark and Germany next Friday, and he
as deputed me to do it in his place, and Lords Salisbury,* Donoughmore,
Colville, Hardwicke, Carnarvon, and Chelmsford came this afternoon at one
o'clock to consult with me respecting the motion to be made in the House of
Lords. Lord Derby is nervous in consequence of some objections made by
he Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Stanhope, who talk of a collision between
he two Houses, and he fears the Party will not be unanimous. I am for
going on with it, and so were the rest. We adjourned at two o'clock, when
a large meeting took place, I being in the chair. The two above-named
Peers, with Lords Winchester and Bath, made some difficulties, but ended
by giving way, and it was settled unanimously that the same resolution

* Father of the present Lord Salisbury.

... FROM THE BERKSHIRE SHORE OF THE THAMES

which Disraeli makes to-day in the Commons is to be moved on Friday in the Lords. I went yesterday to Disraeli to settle about this, he merely pointing to a chair. I did not sit down, but gave him the message Lord Derby had sent, and went away.* After the meeting at Lord Salisbury's I went to Lord Derby's to report what had occurred. He was pleased to hear that the motion was not given up, but he was in such dreadful pain that I did not stay." † The vote of censure in the House of Lords was rejected by a majority of 9, and little attention was paid to the struggle there. But all eyes turned to the arena of strife in the House of Commons, where the issue was doubtful, and where on the 4th of July Mr. Disraeli moved a Resolution "to express to her Majesty our great regret that, while the course pursued by her Majesty's Government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the independence and integrity of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the councils of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace." His indictment of Palmerston's Foreign Policy was unanswerable. In alliance with France and Russia, England might have controlled the Danish Question. But Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, after annoying Russia because she persecuted Poland, provoked France by refusing to join her in protecting the Poles from persecution. When the English Government discovered that France was immovably neutral on the Danish Question, they should either have declared frankly that they would, if need be, defend Denmark by force, or, like France, they should have abstained from either menacing the German Powers, or holding out to Denmark delusive hopes of succour. The latter, said Mr. Disraeli, would have been his policy; on the other hand, the British Ministers wavered between peace and war—indulging in unaccomplished threats and unfulfilled promises. The undignified part that Lords Palmerston and Russell made England play at the Conference—which, as Mr. Disraeli observed, "lasted about as long as a Carnival and, like a Carnival, was an affair of masks and mystifications,"—laid them open to a disastrous attack. Palmerston's first aim was to maintain the integrity of Denmark. In the Conference the English plenipotentiary was the first to accept and even suggest her dismemberment. His second aim was professedly to maintain the independence of Denmark and lessen the risk of a great war in Europe. In the Conference the English representative, however, proposed to put Denmark under the joint guarantee of the Great Powers. "They would," as Mr. Disraeli pointed out, "have created another Turkey in Europe, in the same geographical situation, the scene of the same rival intrigues, and the same fertile source of constant misconceptions and wars." Mr. Gladstone virtually acknowledged the diplomatic defeat of the Government. They had tried, he said in effect, to induce France and Russia—the natural enemies of

* It is interesting to note how the Tory leaders in the House of Lords at that time dictated to the whole Party its strategy and policy at critical moments.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., pp. 327, 328.

England—to join them in going to war with Germany—her natural ally. But having failed they ceased to menace the German Powers, who were too strong to be intimidated by Lord Palmerston.

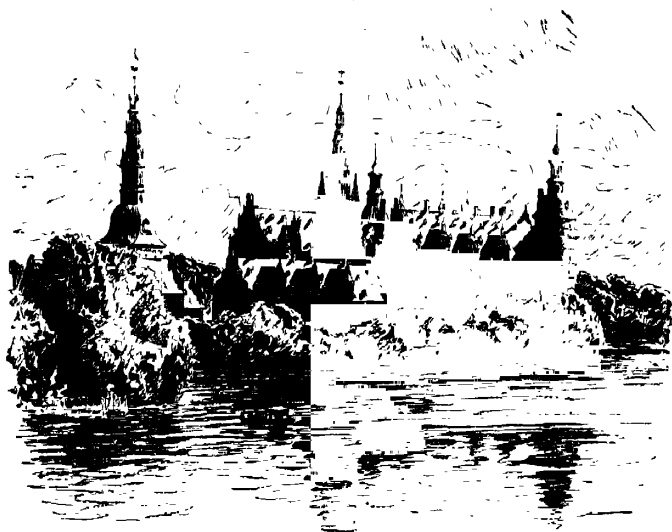
The resolution was only a party device to drive Ministers from office by drawing a sensational picture of the degradation to which England had been exposed by Ministerial diplomacy. Mr. Kinglake, however, interfered, and proposed a resolution drafted by Cobden evidently for the purpose of humiliating Palmerston, and yet offering a loophole of escape from a vote of censure that must, if carried, have cut short his career, and brought a Tory Ministry with violent anti-German sympathies back to power. This resolution ironically expressed the satisfaction of the House that the Queen had been advised not to aid Denmark by force of arms. Mr. Kinglake then showed Lord Palmerston a list of the Liberals who intended to vote for Mr. Disraeli's motion, in the event of the Government declining to accept what Count Vitzthum calls Mr. Cobden's "humiliating absolution," so that the Prime Minister had but little choice. "He was bound either to retire from office, or swallow the bitter pill offered to him by the Manchester School and pledge himself to maintain the strictest neutrality."* He agreed to swallow the pill, which Mr. Cobden refused to gild; for in his speech of the 6th of July Cobden delivered a scathing attack on the futility of Lord Palmerston's whole scheme of foreign policy, which had subjected England to humiliation in all parts of the world. The final demonstration of its failure, he argued, was the complete justification of those principles of non-intervention which he and Mr. Bright had preached for many long and weary years. It was admitted that he laid down with a masterly hand the foreign policy which future Governments, whether Whig or Tory, would be compelled by the people to follow. "Our country," said Cobden, amidst cheers from every part of the House, "requires peace. Some people think it is very degrading and very base that an Englishman should speak of his country as requiring peace, and as being entitled to enjoy its blessings; and if we allude to our enormous commercial and industrial engagements as a reason why we should avoid these petty embroilments, we are told that we are selfish and grovelling in our politics. But I say we were very wrong to take such measures as were calculated to extend our commerce, unless we were prepared to use prudential precautions to keep our varied manufacturing and mercantile operations free from the mischief of unnecessary war." England had no armies to spare for Continental interference. She had 79,000 troops locked up in India. In China she had two little armies separated by thousands of miles; she had another detachment in Japan; she had 10,000 men "fighting somebody's battles" in New Zealand; she had from 10,000 to 15,000 troops in North America, "committed as a point of honour to defend a frontier of

* Count Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 292.

1,500 miles against a country which can keep 700,000 men on the field;" she had also troops at the Cape, the West Indies, West Africa, Malta, and Gibraltar. Surely the world never saw, said Cobden, such a dispersion of force as this by a Power that attempted to interfere with Continental affairs. Hence the time had come for the new departure in foreign politics, for, with the failure of Lord Palmerston's Danish policy, it was clear our whole system of conducting our relations with foreign countries had broken down. The Foreign Office had lost its credit abroad. Foreign Governments now knew that its threats and its pledges were vain and empty, because the real power now lay, not in the Foreign Office, but in the House of Commons. It was not the Ministry he desired to change, but the system; so that, though he was prepared to vote against Mr. Disraeli's censure, Mr. Cobden, as Lord Robert Cecil observed, was about as true a friend to the Ministry, as the Ministry had been to Denmark. The only difference was, that whilst the Government gave Denmark fair words and no succour, Mr. Cobden had given Lord Palmerston valuable succour, but no fair words. It was past midnight on the 9th of July when Palmerston rose to defend his position, but he added nothing to the debate. As Mr. Evelyn Ashley, his adoring biographer, says, "he had, in truth, a difficult task. There had been a conspicuous failure; of that much there could be no doubt. Allies, colleagues, and circumstances had proved adverse; yet the excuses for failure could not be laid on any of them. So, with the exception of a dexterous allusion to the words of the resolution as 'a gratuitous libel upon the country by a great Party who hoped to rule it,' he did not detain the House for long on the points immediately at issue, but, dropping the Danish matter altogether, went straight into a history of the financial triumphs of his Government."* After all, for these he was indebted to Mr. Gladstone with whom he was rarely in agreement on matters of general policy; and his obvious evasion of the matter in dispute was resented by the House, which interrupted him with angry cries of "Question!" His defence certainly had no bearing on the issue; but, as Mr. Ashley observes, with unconscious cynicism, "it had all to do with the Party question, for it decided the votes of doubting men, who, caring little about Sleswig-Holstein, cared a great deal about English finance. Anyhow, it commanded success, for the Government got a majority of eighteen, and thus renewed their lease of power." Lord Palmerston had expected only a majority of three, but several Tories had voted with the Liberals, and eleven abstained from voting at all. "This," writes Count Vitzthum, "is explained by the fear of a Roman Catholic intrigue. The Vatican had been anxious to make use of the opportunity for overthrowing the hated Premier. Some Monsignori especially sent from Rome are said to have been busily engaged in the lobby in inducing the Irish Members to

* Evelyn Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. II., pp. 254, 255.

vote with the Opposition. Be that as it may, a majority of eighteen votes was a godsend so unexpected, that the Premier begged some young ladies, who had no notion of what had happened, to congratulate him. Lady Palmerston was delighted at the hand-shakings lavished on the Prime Minister by the crowd that thronged the lobby."

The result of the division was hailed with great delight by the country. To have turned out Palmerston would have brought Lord Derby back to office,

FREDERICKSBORG CASTLE, ELSINORE.

whose followers, it was suspected, would have finally driven him into war with Germany. To retain Palmerston in power, but by a vote that humiliated him and destroyed his personal *prestige*, was felt to be in every way safer for the country than the transference of its Government to an Opposition which was at once weak and warlike. "However the dice may fall," writes Count Vitzthum, "the Prime Minister is disarmed, and his secret schemes of anger and revenge are condemned. The victory of the Peace Party is a victory of the Queen. Maligned, insulted, and reproached for German sympathies, her Majesty has checked the dictatorship of her Prime Minister, and beaten him three times in his own Cabinet on the question of war and peace. The Queen has recognised the true interests, the true wishes of her people, and not allowed herself to be misled by the gossip of the drawing-rooms, or the declamations of the daily Press."* As for Lord Palmerston, his biographer

* Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p 370.

has published some letters which show how bitterly he resented his defeat. In one of these, addressed to the King of the Belgians, he rails at Austria and Prussia for taking advantage of the weakness of Denmark, at Denmark for obstinately putting herself in the wrong, and at France for not cooperating with England. "One consequence," he says, "is clear and certain, that if our good friend and neighbour at Paris were to take it into his head to deprive Prussia of her Rhenish provinces, not a finger in England would be stirred, nor a voice raised, nor a man or a shilling voted, to resist such a retribution upon the Prussian monarch." As the Power which seized the Rhine would have Belgium at its mercy, it would be difficult to imagine an English Minister addressing to a Belgian Sovereign a more maladroit expression of impotent discomfiture. Then, in autumn, Palmerston, replying to a letter from Lord Russell, writes, "You say that with less timidity around us we might probably have kept Austria quiet on the Danish affair. Perhaps we might; but then we had no equal pull upon Prussia, and she would have rallied all the German Powers round her, and we should equally have failed in saving Denmark.* As to Cabinets, if we had colleagues like those who sat in Pitt's Cabinet, such as Westmoreland and others, or such men as those who were with Peel, like Goulburn and Hardinge, you and I might have our own way on most things; but when, as is now the case, able men fill every department, such men will have opinions, and hold to them; but, unfortunately, they are often too busy with their own department to follow up foreign questions so as to be fully masters of them, and their conclusions are generally on the timid side of what ought to be the best." † The further development of the Danish Question need not be dwelt on here, as it affected the policy neither of the Cabinet nor of the Court. The Germans resumed the war as soon as the Conference broke up. Uninterrupted victory put them in complete possession of the Duchies, to which Denmark finally renounced all claim by the Treaty of Vienna, which was signed on the 18th of October.

* As a matter of fact, while the Conference was going on and the war party was rampant in London drawing-rooms, the Germans were greatly alarmed lest England should interfere. Count Vitzthum, writing on the 5th of May, says, "A peer who is very favourably disposed to Germany, said to me yesterday, 'Take care, for God's sake, to secure an armistice as soon as possible. If the question of war or peace were put to-day in the House of Commons to vote, three-fourths of the members would vote for war.' Similar hints have been given to the Prussian Ambassador from a less unprejudiced quarter. We must not forget that England, by a blockade of the German and Austrian coasts, at a comparatively small expense, could exert a serious pressure on Vienna and Berlin, particularly if the revolution were let loose at the same time in Italy and Hungary." Vitzthum's Reminiscences, Vol. II., p. 357. See on this point Palmerston's own account in his letter of 1st of May to Lord Russell of the interview, in which he menaced Count Apponyi with naval intervention. Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston, Vol. II., p 249. *It is only just to say, that if Palmerston was eager to strike at the German Powers, he knew perfectly well where to plant a telling blow on a vulnerable point.* Cobden's argument was that a blockade of the German coast would be futile because railways had rendered blockades innocuous, unless, as in America, the blockading Power could command the internal communications of the enemy.

† Ashley's Life of Palmerston, Vol. II., p. 258.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HEIR-PRESUMPTIVE.

Disputes with American Belligerents—The Southern Privateers—Uneasiness of the Queen—Federal Recruiting in Ireland—Mr Gladstone's Budget—Revival of the Reform Agitation—Mr Gladstone Joins the Reformers—"Essays and Reviews"—A Heresy-Hunt in Convocation—A Ribald Chancellor—The Parliamentary Duel between Wilberforce and Westbury—The Vote of Censure on Mr. Lowe—The Five Under-Secretaries and the House of Commons—Prorogation of Parliament—The Strife in the United States—Gambling in Cotton—A Commercial Panic in England—The Battle of Chancellorsville—Sherman's March through Georgia—The Canadian Raiders—The Presidential Election—Birth of the Heir-Presumptive—Baptism of the Heir-Presumptive—The Queen's Gift to her Little Grandson—The Queen and the Floods at Sheffield—The Murder of Mr. Briggs—The Queen Refuses a Reprieve to the Murderer—The Queen's Letter to the Princess Louis—John Brown and the Queen's Pony—Dr. Norman McLeod's Message from the Queen—An Anniversary of Sorrow and Sympathy.

Next in importance to the Danish Question in 1864, were disputes which rose out of the relations of England to the belligerents in the American Civil War. The Southern States having no navy fit to cope with that of the Federal Government, had equipped swift steam cruisers which swept American commerce from the seas. They ran no risks in scuttling unarmed merchantmen, and their speed protected them from capture by men-of-war. The most formidable of these cruisers or privateers, such as the *Alabama* and the *Georgia*, had been built in English yards, usually under the pretence of being destined for some Foreign Power which was at peace. When they escaped to sea and got their armament on board, they hoisted their true colours, and set forth to prey on American commerce. It has been shown how the precautions which the authorities had taken to prevent the Southern cruisers from escaping were evaded. The authorities, however, were more successful in arresting certain steam-rams—which were being built at the yard of Messrs. Laird in Birkenhead—the sailing of which Mr. Adams warned Lord Russell would be taken by the Federal Government as an act of war. Lord Monck, then Viceroy of Canada, in a letter to the late Mr. A. Hayward, says that the arrest of the rams had produced a good effect in favour of the English Government on the *official* mind in America. On the other hand, the shipbuilding trade supported Messrs. Laird in denouncing the action of the authorities; and the Tory Opposition, and the sympathisers with the Slave-States joined the shipbuilders in attacking the Government. These attacks were futile, but to avoid the annoyance of litigation, the Government virtually bribed Messrs. Laird into silence by buying the rams for her Majesty's service. On the other hand, the partisans of the Northern States blamed the Government for being too generous in extending hospitality to the Southern cruisers, or "pirates," as they were termed by the extreme Radicals of the period.

When the *Georgia*, a Confederate cruiser, which had been built on the Clyde, and secretly equipped by a Liverpool firm, put into Liverpool, it was pointed out that she ought not to be treated as a ship of war. She had been preying on the commerce of a friendly Power. Like a pirate, she had never taken her prizes to be condemned in a Prize Court, but had scuttled them on the high seas. She had never once been in any of the ports of the belligerent Power under whose flag she sailed, and altogether a very unpleasant precedent for a great Maritime State was being created by her reception at Liverpool. The Queen was understood to be somewhat uneasy on the subject, and Mr. Thomas Baring, on the part of the commercial community, expressed a similar feeling of discomfort. It was admitted that the Government had the power to exclude these vessels from English ports, but Ministers contended that it would be inexpedient to act so conspicuously in favour of one of the belligerents, between whom they desired to stand absolutely neutral. The Government could not be induced to go further than promise to remonstrate with the Confederates on account of the conduct of their agents in Great Britain.* Complaints were then made that the Federal Government were surreptitiously carrying on a system of recruiting in Ireland. Of this no proof could be obtained, because of the cloak which emigration gave to the proceedings of the American agents. It was well known in Ireland that any able-bodied labourer who emigrated to New York could get a bounty of nearly £100 if he joined the colours. Hence, it is difficult to believe that the American "crimps" had any inducements to effect the enlistment of Irish recruits at Cork, rather than at New York. There is reason to think that the "crimps" infested passenger ships and cajoled emigrants during the voyage to enlist when they arrived at New York. But public opinion was satisfied that the Government could not effectually stop proceedings of this sort—especially on imperfect evidence.

In 1864 finance was again the mainstay of Lord Palmerston's Administration. Mr. Gladstone had come to be regarded as a kind of fiscal magician. He rose superior to every reverse of fortune, and he had an expedient ready to meet every emergency. In spite of monetary panics, cotton famines, lavish military expenditure, and large remissions of taxation, the elasticity of the revenue under his fostering care supplied every deficit almost as soon as it was created. The public credit of England had never been higher; her finances had never been more stable or productive. On the 7th of April, when the Budget was introduced, he spoke to an overflowing House, and

* The Confederate cruisers that had escaped from British ports—the *Florida*, *Alabama*, *Virginia*, and *Rappahannock*—had taken 187 ships and destroyed property exceeding in value £3,000,000. There was only one thing distinguishing them from English privateers—namely, that their chief officers carried Confederate commissions. Some of them got away because the Courts, from the ambiguous state of the law, could not condemn them. Others escaped through the delay and negligence of the authorities.

princes, peers, foreign envoys, and men of distinction in all ranks gathered together to listen to the orator. The year had been uneventfully prosperous, and again the balances were on the right side of the national ledger. The revenue had produced £70,208,000, or £2,037,000 above the estimates; the expenditure had been £67,056,000, or £1,227,000 below the estimates. On the existing basis of taxation, Mr. Gladstone estimated for the coming year a revenue of £69,460,000; but his estimated expenditure was only £66,890,000,

THE GUARD ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE.

so that there was a large margin for financial readjustments. He got rid of £20,000 by modifying the duty on corn and grain and the tax on small licences; he devoted £1,330,000 to reduce the sugar duties, and by taking a penny off the Income Tax he sacrificed at once £800,000, though ultimately £1,200,000; he reduced the duty on fire insurances on stock-in-trade from 3s. to 1s. 6d. per £, which involved a loss of £283,000. The net result of his scheme was a loss of revenue of £2,332,000, while the relief from taxation amounted to £3,000,000. This left him with an estimated surplus for the coming year of £238,000. The Budget was popular, not only on its own account, but on account of the masterly exposition of the financial state of England which accompanied it. Englishmen read with swelling pride the

figures in which Mr. Gladstone congratulated them on a steady increase of £1,000,000 every year to their revenue—an increase due to its "inherent vigour." As for the movement of trade, it was marvellous, the value of exports and imports having increased from £377,000,000 in 1861, to £444,000,000 in 1864. Nor was the Queen capable of concealing her satisfaction at the results of the great fiscal policy, the responsibility for initiating which, she and her husband had anxiously shared with Peel. It was the justification, not only of his foresight, but of their unswerving faith in his insight and ideas, that since 1842 the trade of her people had simply been trebled—that what men of business called their "turnover" had now reached the enormous sum of £1,500,000 for every working day of the year. It was not surprising that, with such mighty interests at stake, her Majesty cast her personal influence into the scale against Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, who led the War Party in the Cabinet, and shrank from putting such a vast fabric of industry in jeopardy, merely to gratify the wounded vanity of a Minister who, having signed an invalid Treaty, was enraged because it was torn up under his eyes. Mr. Gladstone carried his Budget, though he failed to carry a useful measure to substitute the Scottish for the English system of collecting Imperial taxes.* He was successful, however, in spite of the clamour of the private companies, in passing a beneficial measure removing the restriction on Government life insurances.†

Lord Russell in his speech at Blairgowrie, in the recess of 1863, had told Reformers that they should "rest and be thankful." In 1864, however, they not only refused to follow the advice, but were rewarded for their enterprise by taking captive no less prominent a personage than the Chancellor of the Exchequer. There had been the usual debate on the ballot, in which the old arguments for and against it were set forth in the old way. Mr. Locke King had revived his scheme for extending the £20 franchise to counties. But both projects had been rejected, and everybody felt that the cause of reform was once more shelved, till suddenly the whole question was quickened into life by Mr. Gladstone's unexpected declaration of policy. Mr. Baines, one of the members for Leeds, had brought in a Bill substituting a £6 for a £10 rental in boroughs, and it was met by Mr. Cave moving the previous question, on the ground that the

* In England the Queen's taxes are collected by sending petty local officials round from door to door. In Scotland the Collector of Taxes is a high Imperial official, and the people on a specified date go to his office and pay their taxes. The result is, that though defalcations are too common in England, they are unknown in Scotland. Whilst in England a vast fabric of arrears accumulates from year to year and the revenue comes in driblets, the whole Imperial taxation of Scotland, including that of the poor Islanders, is paid promptly to the Treasury within the first fortnight of every January. There are no arrears except from poverty, and these are trivial.

† As the law stood, Government could only grant life insurances to the amount of £100 to persons who purchased deferred annuities. Mr. Gladstone abolished that restriction. It is curious that, though the Bill met with much opposition in the House of Commons, in the Lords it was welcomed as a boon to the working-classes, who urgently desired the measure to pass.

working classes did not need or want any better representation of their interests than they enjoyed already. Mr. Gladstone, however, to the consternation of the Whigs and Tories, intervened in the debate, and declared that he thought there ought to be "a sensible and considerable addition" to the infinitesimal portion of the working classes then in possession of the franchise. This he defined to be such as would have been made by the Government proposal of 1860. The Whigs grew pale with fear when they heard him, amidst Radical cheers, declare "that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution." The upper stratum of the working class which was deprived of votes was not inferior to the lower stratum of the middle class, which had votes—indeed, the one section of society was as worthy as the other. As Mr. Forster observed, this speech from the leading member of the Government in the House—Lord Palmerston was absent on the occasion—rendered it impossible for the Ministry to set aside the question of Reform much longer. All men saw that Parties would soon have to join issue and decide whether the country was to be governed by a Tory Ministry on Tory principles, or by a Liberal Ministry acting on Conservative ideas and in secret league with the Conservative Leaders. Mr. Baines's Bill was got rid of by carrying the "previous question"—but from that day it was settled that the reversion of the leadership of the Liberal Party in the Commons must fall to Mr. Gladstone.

The Session would have been dull and leaden save for a debate with which the Peers diverted the town in the dog days. On the 15th of July Lord Houghton, in the House of Lords, protested against Convocation issuing a synodical condemnation of a now forgotten book entitled "Essays and Reviews," in which seven clever clergymen discoursed with mild and timorous heterodoxy on seven burning theological questions. Current views were challenged in the light of modern German research and criticism, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had acquitted two of the authors who had been prosecuted for heresy.* Convocation, however, issued a synodical condemnation of the book which created a considerable sensation at the time, as it was the first occasion during a century and a half on which the Church of England asserted her claim to pronounce authoritatively in controversies of faith. Lord Houghton challenged the legality of the condemnation, and pressed the Government to take action in the matter. Lord Chancellor Westbury disposed of the subject in a provokingly contemptuous statement. There

* One was Dr. Rowland Williams, whose essay on Bunsen's Biblical Researches—affirming that the Bible was "an expression of devout reason, and therefore to be read with reason in freedom"—was supposed to deny that it was the actual word of God. It also affirmed that "the doctrine of merit by transfer is a fiction." The other defendant was the Rev. H. B. Wilson, whose essay on "Séances Historiques de Genève" was said to deny that the Holy Scriptures were written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and to challenge the doctrine of final judgment and eternal punishment.

were, he said, three modes of dealing with Convocation. The first was to take no notice of its proceedings when they were harmless; the second was, when it was likely to do mischief, to prorogue it and put an end to its power; the third was to bring its members to the bar of justice. To pass such a judgment as had been pronounced on "Essays and Reviews," Lord Westbury held was technically a usurpation of the prerogative of the Crown as the head of the Anglican Church. Hence members of Convocation had rendered themselves liable to the penalties of *præmunire*, and to appear as penitents in sackcloth and ashes. Something like £40,000 in fines, he declared, might be exacted from them, but still the Government in the circumstances meant to take no action. *Solvuntur risu tabulæ*. Westbury's mincing sneering tones would have sufficed to stir the old Adam in militant ecclesiastics, but it happened that in describing a synodical judgment he directed a personal attack with biting wit and bad taste against the Bishop of Oxford. Such a sentence could not conveniently be dealt with, said Westbury, because "it was a set of what he might call well-lubricated words, but it was a sentence so oily, so absurd, and so saponaceous* that no one could grasp it, but, like an eel, it slipped through the fingers. It must mean something or nothing, and he was glad to be able to tell his noble friend (Lord Houghton) that it had literally no signification whatever." Wilberforce

OLIVER KING'S CHANTRY, ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

* Wilberforce's popular nickname was notoriously "Soapy Sam"—hence the malignity of Westbury's attack.

lifted the gage of battle with the spirit of a trained gladiator of debate, and he certainly had not the worst of the duel. "If," said he, "a man has no respect for himself, he ought at all events to respect the tribunal before which he speaks, and when the highest representative of the law of

MR. LOWE (AFTERWARDS LORD SHERBROOKE).

England in your Lordships' Court, upon a matter involving the liberties of the subject and the religion of the Realm, and all those high truths concerning which this discussion is, can think it fitting to descend to a ribaldry in which he knows that he can safely indulge, because those to whom he addresses it will have too much respect for their character to answer it in like sort, I say that this House has ground to complain of having its high character unnecessarily injured in the sight of the people of this land by one occupying so high a position within it." * The edifying spectacle of a

* Life of Wilberforce, Vol III., p. 143.

Bishop and the Keeper of the Queen's Conscience waking the funereal echoes of the House of Lords with acrimonious personalities naturally enlivened the London season of 1864. Quite a year elapsed before the Bishop of Oxford and Lord Westbury resumed anything approaching friendly relations.

Two other personal questions marked the history of Parliament during the year. Lord Robert Cecil carried a resolution virtually censuring Mr. Robert Lowe (afterwards Lord Sherbrooke), the Vice-President of the Council, for cutting out of the Reports of Inspectors of Schools all views which were not in accordance with his own. Mr. Lowe resigned, Mr. H. A. Bruce being appointed in his place. But subsequently the report of a Committee exculpated Mr. Lowe, and the Resolution which censured him, was, on Lord Palmerston's motion, rescinded. The other personal discussion arose out of a curious oversight by which five under-secretaries were placed in the House of Commons. Mr. Disraeli showed very clearly that, according to law, only four Secretaries of State and four under-secretaries could sit in the Representative Chamber, and the Prime Minister had in consequence to redistribute the Ministerial offices so as to meet the requirements of the Statute. A Select Committee reported that this breach of the law did not vacate the seats of any of these officials, but the House passed a Bill of Indemnity releasing them from any penalty that might possibly attach to the violation of the established practice.

Parliament was prorogued by Commission on the 29th of July, and it left the country satisfied with its relations to Foreign Powers and in a state of expectancy as to domestic reforms. The Eastern Question was virtually in abeyance in 1864, the ruler of the Danubian principalities having formed a government on the basis of a revolution organised on a Napoleonic model. The Ionian Islands were formally ceded by England to Greece. Russia was stamping out the last embers of the Polish insurrection, and she had still further ingratiated herself with the Polish peasants by the Imperial Ukase of the 6th of March, which released them from the oppressive rights of their landlords. Circassia was annexed, and the tide of Russian expansion was beginning to set in the direction of Central Asia. France and Italy by a convention signed at Paris, had come to an agreement, first, that French troops should quit Rome, and that Italy should pledge herself to, respect the territory of the Holy See. At the same time Italy resolved to transfer her capital from Turin to Florence, the reason being that Florence was less exposed to an attack from France or Austria. The French Emperor had the good fortune in the course of the year to see his *protégé*, the Archduke Maximilian crowned in the Mexican capital, and the Latin Empire of the West recognised by the chief European Powers. The Government of the United States withheld its recognition, but the House of Representatives at Washington on the 5th of April passed a resolution declaring that the people of the United States would never recognise a Monarchy under the protection of a

European Power, which had been established in the Western Hemisphere on the ruins of an American Republic.

But the truth is, that after the defeat of the War Party on the Danish Question, the English people in 1864 felt little interest in any foreign affairs save the Civil War in the United States, which is, however, hardly a foreign nation to Englishmen. They followed every phase of that struggle as closely as if it had been one of their own. The commercial community had good reason for doing so. Cotton was the favourite article for gambling with, and, when prices had risen to their highest point, suddenly rumours flew round to the effect that the war was coming to an end. Both sides were said to be tired of strife, and even Republican organs and orators began to hint that the end of Mr. Lincoln's term of office in March, 1865, and the election of a new President in November, 1864, offered a good opportunity for a truce to hostilities. The Democratic Party were in favour of assembling a Convention of all the States to argue the points at issue between North and South, and everybody began to talk as if the Southern ports would soon be open. The price of cotton and the prices of other staples that had risen with it fell at once, and speculators for the rise were ruined. In September the pressure on the Money Market was enormously increased. The Leeds Bank failed; general distrust prevailed as to all financial institutions; and the Bank of England raised its rate of discount to 9 per cent. But when the weak and unstable firms were eliminated, low prices began to rule and attract buyers once again, and at the end of the year confidence revived, and the Bank rate dropped to 6 per cent. The wavering and tortuous policy of the Cabinet during the Danish Conference certainly produced one panic in the City during the early part of the year. Till spring let loose the dogs of war in America, the Northern and Southern armies were inactive. In April the rank of Lieutenant-General was conferred by Congress on General Grant, who took supreme command of all the Federal forces. He resolved to conduct the campaign in Virginia, while to General Sherman was entrusted the command of the Western army on the southern frontier of Tennessee. In the beginning of May both forces made their first move. On the 3rd of May Grant resolved to strike at Richmond, and he sent Meade with his main body over the Rapidan, so that he might gain the shelter of the wooded country south of Chancellorsville before General Lee, who covered Richmond, could attack him. Lee, however, foiled this movement by his prompt attack of the 5th and 6th of May, during which days the battle of Chancellorsville raged without ceasing. The Confederate Generals Longstreet and Jenkins fell in this fight, the result of which was not quite decisive. On former occasions, when Burnside and Hooker met with such an attack, they had shrunk from proceeding farther on the road to Richmond. But Grant was undaunted by the losses he had suffered, and persistently pressed Lee by flanking movements, which drove him back step by step. In Grant's

own words, he kept "pegging away" till, on the 19th of May, Lee, by an artful feigned attack on the Federal right, was able to effect a retreat with his main army to a position twenty miles in front of Richmond. Grant's losses during these ten days were enormous. On the 16th of May 33,800 of his wounded were under treatment in the hospitals in various parts of the country. Lee's position on the right was covered by a swamp, and on the

THE JAMES RIVER AND COUNTRY NEAR RICHMOND.

left by a rivulet. His front was defended by a curved line of works, the convexity of which projected forward. Grant's object was now to get between Lee and Richmond. Lee's object was to compel Grant to attack him before he could reach Richmond, and, as he could always move on a smaller arc than that on which Grant had to manœuvre, the strategic advantage was with Lee. He could always keep his face to the foe, and have the lines of Richmond in his rear as a refuge. On the line of the Chickahominy, attack followed counter-attack, but it was observed that in every instance the attacking party failed, for the configuration of the country enabled troops to entrench themselves easily. In June Grant suddenly changed his plans, and

transferred his whole army to the south side of the James River.* He fails to surprise Petersburg on the 16th of June, and he then formed an entrenche camp on the angle between the James River and the Appomattox. Lee ha now forced him to describe more than half the circuit of Richmond, and, i

GENERAL SHERMAN.

spite of all his sacrifices, he was no nearer his objective point. Concerte movements by Butler on the James River and by Hunter in the neighbou hood of Lynchburg were foiled by the Confederates, and Grant's next atta on Petersburg on the 26th of July was repelled. In September, however, h pushed his left wing across the Welden Valley, and menaced the remainin

* It was said that at the outset he might have embarked his army from Washington and tran ported them without the loss of a single man to the point he had now reached, after prowling li a wolf for many weeks round the Confederate lines to the south of Richmond.

communications between Richmond and the South. The Confederate General Early about the same time effected a diversion by crossing the Potomac, and threatening Washington and Baltimore, but he was driven back by Sheridan. Richmond, however, was now invested by 100,000 enemies, and night and day the thundering of cannon broke on the ears of its inhabitants.

In the west the Federals were more successful. Sherman, starting with a splendid army from Chattanooga in May, drove Johnston before him towards Atalanta, which was evacuated by the Confederates on the 27th of September. The Confederate General, Hood, however, by a rapid movement passed round Sherman's right wing, and cut his communications with the North. Whenever Sherman attacked him, Hood turned towards Alabama. Then the daring and original idea occurred to Sherman to quit Atalanta—which could not be conveniently held while Hood hovered over his rear—and march straight onwards through Georgia to the sea. He left Thomas with 20,000 men to hold Hood in Tennessee, whilst he himself with 50,000 men proceeded to devastate Georgia by fire and sword. His march was marked by a track of desolation from forty to fifty miles broad. As the year closed he received the capitulation of Savannah, and demonstrated to the world by his marvellous strategy that the Southern Confederacy was like a nut with a hard shell, but no kernel inside. It is the mark of genius to convert defeat into victory, and this was the feat that Sherman achieved when Hood, by cutting his communications with the North, suggested to him the daring stroke by which he pierced the very vitals of the Confederacy. It need hardly be said that Sherman's march through Georgia was represented to the English people by many aristocratic organs as a retreat, and that his abandonment of Atalanta, when Hood worked round his right, was hailed by Society as a supreme disaster for "the bubble Republic." At sea the Federals were also fortunate. In June the United States ship of war *Kearsarge* sank the *Alabama* near Cherbourg, and the *Wachusett* captured the *Florida*, though by a violation of the laws of neutrality, in the harbour of Bahia. Confederate partisans from Canada had made futile raids on the territory of New York, thereby increasing the animosity of the Americans against England. The Canadian authorities no doubt arrested the raiders, but they also discharged them because of some technical flaw in their jurisdiction. President Lincoln in July called out a fresh draft of 500,000 men for service, and this did not tend to make the war popular at the beginning of the year. The enormous sacrifices of life which Grant's strategy involved, also strengthened the hands of the Peace Party or Democrats. When arrangements had to be made for choosing Presidential candidates there was a strange cleavage of Parties. The old Abolitionists nominated General Fremont. The Republican Party, however, at the Baltimore Convention, nominated Mr. Lincoln. The Democrats, on the other hand, selected General McClellan. His manifesto practically meant that he desired negotiations to be opened up for the purpose of

restoring the Union with slavery on the old footing—but the Union must be restored. This alienated a strong faction of Democrats, who were for peace at any price—even at the price of cutting the Slave States adrift—and dissolving the Union. General Fremont withdrew, and it was soon evident, especially when news of Sherman's successes came in, that Mr. Lincoln, as the representative of the national war policy, was the popular favourite.

Very early in the year, on the 8th of January, the Queen had the gratification of learning that a son and heir had been born to the Prince and Princess of Wales. The event was not expected by her Majesty till March, so that no preparations had been made by the Queen or her Household, at Frogmore—where the Princess was staying at the time—for the accouchement. "There was no nurse," writes Lord Malmesbury in his Diary, "no baby-linen, and no doctor, except Mr. Brown, the Windsor physician, who attended [the Princess] and brought the child into the world, for which it is said he will be made a knight and receive £500. Lady Macclesfield was fortunately in waiting, and as she has had a great many children, she was probably of use. Lord Granville was the only Minister in attendance, having come to dine with the Prince, and there was not time to summon the others, as the Princess was not ill more than three hours. She had been to see the skating, and did not return to Frogmore till four o'clock, soon after which she was taken ill."* A telegram was sent to the Queen at Osborne immediately after the birth of the little Prince, and next day Frogmore was a scene of busy excitement—Ministers of State and the chief members of the nobility thronging in large numbers to offer their congratulations to the Prince of Wales. All over the kingdom the birth of the Prince was hailed with demonstrations of joy, and in London, when the news was announced, the Tower guns fired a double Royal salute. On the 10th of March, the first anniversary of the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, their child was christened in the private chapel of Buckingham Palace, the Queen being present on the occasion. The King of the Belgians was also there, and among the company were the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Palmerston, many Ministers of State, and nearly all the representatives of Foreign Courts. The King of the Belgians and Princess Helena represented the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, who were sponsors, the others being the Duchess of Cambridge; the Dowager Duchess of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg; Prince John of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg representing the King of Denmark; the Grand Duchess of Mecklenberg-Strelitz representing the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; Prince Alfred and the Duke of Cambridge. Crimson velvet, panelled with gold lace, covered the altar of the chapel. The splendid church plate was displayed, and seats covered with crimson and gold were arranged within the rail for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the officiating clergy. Over the

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 309.

lar was hung a rich piece of tapestry, representing the Baptism of our Saviour. fluted white plinth, picked out with gold, supported the font, which was a zza of silver-gilt, the rim representing the flowers and leaves of the water-ly, whilst a group of cherubs were shown playing round the base. The ueen, who was dressed in black silk and crape, formed a sombre figure in is brilliant assembly. The Lord Chamberlain and the Groom of the Stole nducted the infant Prince into the chapel, his Royal Highness being rried in the arms of his nurse, Mrs. Clark, and attended by the Countess Macclesfield, one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales. he little Prince wore the same robe of rich Honiton lace which had been ed for his father at his christening. When the Archbishop came to that rt of the service for naming the child, he asked how it should be named. he Queen answered quite audibly, "Albert Victor Christian Edward," and s Grace accordingly baptised it in these names. After the ceremony was er the company proceeded to the Green Drawing-room and the Picture-llery, and shortly afterwards partook of a cold luncheon with the Royal mily in the supper-room. In the evening the Prince and Princess of 'ales gave a banquet at Marlborough House, where some embarrassment s said at the time to have been caused by Count Bernstoff, the Prussian inister, refusing to drink the health of the King of Denmark. This incident s for a few days eagerly canvassed by the gossips of clubland, but rnstoff himself always denied the tale. In fact, he was so much annoyed the persistency with which it was repeated in Society that he sent an ficial contradiction to Earl Russell.* Among the baptismal gifts one of the ost striking was that which was presented by the Queen to her little grand-n. It was a beautiful little statuette of the Prince Consort, made to the ieen's design, and with inscriptions written by herself. The Prince's ure is clad in gilt armour, copied from the effigy of the Earl of Warwick, St. Mary's Church, Warwick, and he is represented as Christian in e "Pilgrim's Progress." Round the plinth is the verse from Timothy "I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have pt the faith." On the stump of an old oak behind the figure rests ristian's helmet, while hard by are the lilies of purity which one ways associates with old pictures of the Pilgrim. Beneath the plinth d in front of the entablature of the pedestal is the inscription, "Given to lbert Victor Christian Edward on the occasion of his baptism by Victoria R., s grandmother, and godmother, in memory of Albert, his beloved grand-ther." Appropriate verses written by Mrs. Protheroe, wife of the rector of hippingham, the Queen's parish church at Osborne, are inscribed on three the panels. Beneath the front panel, over the figures 1864, are inscribed large letters the Prince's name, and the dates of his birth and baptism.

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 318.

figures of Faith and Hope, in oxidised silver, stand at the right and left side of the work, and in a third niche behind is the figure of Charity. At the side of each figure are lilies in enamel, and on the frieze over the figure of Faith are the words, "Walk as he walked in—Faith," the last word being inscribed beneath the figure. This pretty conceit is carried all through. For in the same way one reads, "Strive as he strove in—Hope," and over the third group one reads, "Think as he thought in—Charity." To the right of

THE ROYAL NURSERY, OSBORNE.

(From a Photograph by Hughes and Mullins, Ryde.)

the Prince of Wales's shield is an infant boy looking up at a full-blown rose on a perfect stem, and beside it a white lily, whilst over the baby fingers droop a cluster of snowdrops, emblematic of the dawning flower-life of the year. The rose, shamrock, and thistle are worked into the background.

The day after the ceremony at Buckingham Palace was marked by a catastrophe which seriously shocked the Queen. The Bradfield reservoir of the Sheffield Waterworks burst, and the letting loose of its pent-up waters spread desolation far and wide all along the river from Bradfield to Sheffield. Whole villages were swept down the Valley of the Don, and places once populous were suddenly converted into a swamp of mud, with here and there a broken

wheel left to mark the site of what had once been a happy hive of [i]ndustry. Some of the streets of Sheffield itself were flooded, and low-lying [op]en spaces were turned into lakes dotted with islands formed by rubbish heaps. [W]reckage of all kinds and the corpses of the drowned marked the track of [th]e current. The disaster was appalling in the suddenness of its occurrence. [Th]e first intimation that hundreds of people had of it was the lifting up of [th]eir beds by the water as they lay asleep in their homes. In Sheffield, [d]uring the stillness of the night, those who were awake said they suddenly [he]ard an unearthly roar which increased in volume, that this was succeeded by [a] hissing noise, as of angry waves dashing on sharp and beetling crags, and [th]en by weird shrieks, soon followed by the rush of a panic-stricken crowd, [fly]ing with their families from the neighbourhood of the river for safety, and [cr]ying, "Oh, God! the flood! the flood!" Some 270 lives were lost, and [pr]operty to the value of £1,000,000 was destroyed. A relief fund was at [on]ce started both in Sheffield and in London, and on the 16th of March [M]r. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield, received the following letter, which testified [to] the sympathetic interest with which the Queen had read the accounts of [wh]at had happened:—

"SIR,—I have had the honour to submit to her Majesty the Queen your letter received [las]t night. Her Majesty had already directed me to make inquiry whether any subscription [had] been commenced for the relief of the sufferers by the fearful calamity which has occurred [nea]r Sheffield. The Queen has commanded me to inform you that it is her Majesty's intention [to] contribute £200 towards the objects advocated in your letter. Her Majesty has commanded [me] to add the expression of her deep sympathy for the poor persons thus suddenly over[wh]elmed with grief, and exposed to suffering of every description in consequence of this [un]expected and dire calamity. As I am not aware of the name of the treasurer, I shall be [ver]y much obliged to you if you will take the trouble to forward the enclosed cheque to the [pro]per quarter.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

"C. B. PHIPPS."

An official investigation was made into the cause of the disaster, in the [cou]rse of which Mr. Rawlinson, the eminent engineer, said, "Several causes [ma]y have led to the catastrophe—a fractured pipe, a blown or drawn joint, [a c]reep along the pipes, a pressing down of the pipes in the puddle-trench [by] the heavy material on both sides of it, or the washing away of the outer [pi]pe by a landslip, caused by undiscovered fissures and springs in communi[cat]ion with the interior of the reservoir, which fissures and springs, if they [exi]sted, would become active for mischief as the water rose in the reservoir." [Th]e general opinion was that a mistake had been made in laying pipes in [the] centre of the embankment upon an artificially compressible material—that [the] bursting of some of these pipes caused a great volume of water suddenly [to] blow a chasm in the embankment. The celebrated Telford was always [opp]osed to laying pipes through the embankment of a dam, and there could [be] little doubt that the coroner's jury came to the right conclusion when [the]y declared in their verdict, that the works had not been constructed with

the engineering skill and attention which their magnitude and importance demanded.

On the 30th of April the Queen appeared in public for the first time since the death of the Prince Consort. She visited the gardens of the Horticultural Society, where a flower-show was going on, but the weather was bleak and cold and sleety, and the company assembled to see her were fain to take shelter in the conservatory. She was dressed in deep mourning, yet the visitors all agreed that her appearance was less downcast than they had been led to expect, and she was observed to chat cheerfully with the ladies and gentlemen who were around her. This year, it may also be observed, the Queen's birthday was kept in London, with all the old ceremonies of high state, for the first time since Prince Albert's death. The Guards trooped their colours in presence of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the church bells of the "three Royal Parishes" in London—Westminster, Kensington, and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields—rang out their most joyous chimes. There was a floral *fête* at the Horticultural Gardens, and the houses of Ministers of State, of the Clubs, the Government Offices, together with the shops of the Royal tradesmen at the West End, were illuminated as in old times. From May to August the Queen had enjoyed the company of the Princess Louis of Hesse, but when autumn set in and Parliament had been prorogued, the Court migrated to Scotland, and on the 28th of August the Queen broke her journey at Perth to inaugurate a statue to the Prince Consort. The Lord Provost and magistrates of the "Fair City," and all the local magnates of the county gave her a cordial welcome, and in her suite were the Princess Helena, the Princess Louise, the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Princess Beatrice, and Prince Leopold, the Marchioness of Ely, Sir Charles Wood, and Sir Charles Phipps. After the Queen uncovered the statue, which was greatly admired, she conferred the honour of Knighthood on Lord Provost Ross.

The Prince and Princess of Wales left the Highlands in the beginning of September for Denmark, and the Queen's holiday was restful and quiet. The only incident that troubled it seriously was due to the pressure which was put upon her to save the life of Franz Müller, the murderer of Mr. Briggs, chief clerk of Messrs. Robarts and Co., the great bankers in the City. Muller murdered Mr. Briggs in a railway carriage on the night of the 9th July, between Fenchurch Street Station and Hackney Wick, and after robbing his victim threw his body out on the line. He exchanged Mr. Briggs' watch-chain for another at the shop of a jeweller called Death in Cheapside, who identified his photograph. He left a hat in the carriage which was traced to him. He then fled to America. The crime was perpetrated with ruthless brutality, and for a time railway travelling was rendered an agony to nervous passengers. The detective police had displayed great skill in following up every clue that led them on the track of the criminal, and their exciting pursuit of him across the Atlantic, his arrest in New York, his return, his

... at which counsel fought for his life with great courage and audacity, ... conviction, his stoical denial of guilt, till at the last moment as the ... drew the fatal bolt he uttered his confession, with the halter ... tening round his throat—all contributed to rivet public attention on this ... melodramatic of atrocities. A clever attempt at proving an *alibi* had ... made by his counsel, and there were some who believed in Müller's ... nocence. The German colony in England took up his case most warmly, ... it was whispered that the Queen herself was among those who feared ... hat a judicial murder would be committed if Müller were hanged. For many ... ays nothing else but his chances of being reprieved were discussed, and the ... ing of Prussia, not to mention several other German Princes, sent autograph ... tters to the Queen pressing her to pardon the assassin. But her Majesty ... ad watched the case carefully. She refused to interfere with the course of ... ustice, and her prudence was justified by Müller's strange confession, made ... ust at the moment when he leapt into eternity.*

The Queen's correspondence with the Princess Louis of Hesse seems at ... his time to have become again overcast by the gloom of her great sorrow. ... midst the solemn silence of her mountain home, the Queen felt the loss of ... he Prince Consort more acutely than while immersed in the busy life of the ... olitical year at Windsor. Her younger children were growing apace, and ... he now felt the need of her husband's wise and kindly counsel in educating ... hem for their high station. To the Princess Louis she confided her thoughts, ... nd in one of her Royal Highness's letters to the Queen, bearing date 20th ... f September, the following passage on the subject occurs:—" . . . What ... ou say about the poor sisters, and, indeed, of all the younger ones, is true. ... he little brothers and Beatrice are those who have lost most, poor little ... hings! I can't bear to think of it, for dear papa, more peculiarly than any ... ther father, was wanted for his children; and he was the dear friend and ... ven playfellow besides. Such a loss as ours is indeed unique. Time only ... creases its magnitude, and the knowledge of the want is felt more keenly."† ... n November the birth of a little grand-daughter at Hesse (the Princess ... lizabeth) gave rise to an affectionate interchange of letters between the ... ueen and the Princess Louis, and in one of these she refers to the efforts ... ade by those round her Majesty to free her from the tyranny of her ... d thoughts. "We are both much pleased," writes the Princess Louis to ... e Queen on the 20th of November, "at the arrangement about Brown and ... ur pony, and I think it is so sensible. I am sure it will do you good, ... d relieve a little the monotony of your out-of-door existence, besides doing ... ur nerves good. I had long wished you would do something of the kind, ... r, indeed, only driving is not wholesome." On the 18th of December Dr.

* He was executed on the 14th of November, 1864.

† Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch ... Letters, pp. 74, 75.

THE QUEEN AT OSBORNE.

(After W. Holl's Engraving of the Original Portrait by Graefle. By Permission of Mr. Mitchell, Old Bond Street, W.)

Norman McLeod, writing in his Diary at Darmstadt, says:—"I was invited by Prince Alfred to spend the fourth anniversary of his father's death with him at Darmstadt. The Queen commanded me to see her before I went, so on Monday I went to Windsor. I told her that the more I was confided in, the more I felt my responsibility to speak the truth."* Dr. McLeod was charged with loving messages to the Princess Louis, who, on December 15, writes to the Queen in reply as follows:—"I had not a moment to myself to write to you yesterday, and to thank you for the kind lines you sent me through dear Dr. McLeod. He gave us a most beautiful service, a sermon giving an outline of dear papa's noble, great, and good character, and there were most beautiful allusions to you in his prayer, in which we all prayed together most earnestly for you, precious mamma! We talked long together afterwards about dear papa, and about you, and, though absent, were very near you in thought and prayer. Dear Vicky† talked so lovingly and tenderly of you, of how home-sick she sometimes felt. She was not with us on that dreadful day three years ago, and that is so painful to her. Dear Affie‡ was, as we all were, so much overcome by all Dr. McLeod said. Vicky, Affie, Louis, and myself sat in the little dining-room; he read to us there. Fritz had left early in the morning. The day was passed quietly and peaceably together, and I was most grateful to have dear Vicky and Affie with me on that day.§ My dear Louis wishes me to express to you how tenderly he thought of you, and with what sympathy on this sad anniversary. Never can we cease talking of home, of you, and of all your trials." If these trials were heavy, they were, even in the darkest hours of the Queen's life, lightened by the love with which her children cherished her.

* Life of Dr Norman McLeod, Vol. II., pp 176, 177.

† Crown Princess of Germany.

‡ Prince Alfred

§ The anniversary of the Prince Consort's death.

CHAPTER X.

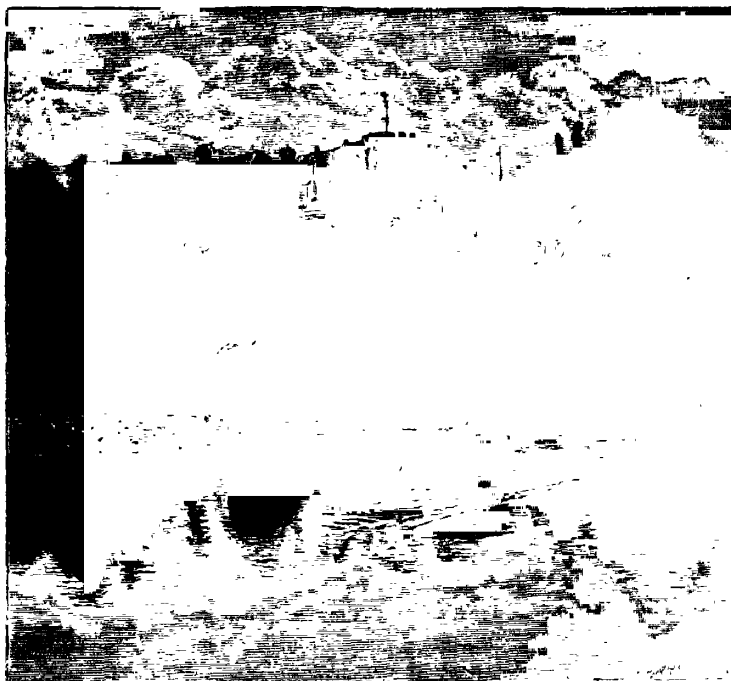
THE DEATH OF PALMERSTON.

Opening of Parliament—Lord Russell and the American Government—**Catholicism and Conservatism—Mr. Disraeli angles for** the Irish Vote—Palmerston on Tenant Right—Another **Panic in Piccadilly—Death of Cobden—Failure** of the "Manchester School"—A Prosperity Budget and **a Round Surplus—End of the American** War—Moderation of the Victors Assassination of President Lincoln—**Reorganising the South—Conflict** between President Johnson and the Republican Party—The Mexican **Empire and the United States—The** Danish Question The Convention of Gastein—Bismarck's Interview **with the Duke of Augustenburg—The** Mystery of Biarritz—Lord Chancellor Westbury's Fall—Death and Character **of Palmerston—The New Ministry—Mr** Gladstone Leader of the Commons—The Rinderpest—The **Fenian Conspiracy—The Queen's Letter on** Railway Accidents—Laxity of Administration in the Queen's **Household—Birth of Prince George of Wales—**Majority of Prince Alfred—The Queen at Gotha—The Betrothal of the **Princess Helena—The Last Illness** and Death of King Leopold of Belgium—His Character and Career—**Suppressing a Rebellion with a Carpet-Bag.**

BRIGHTER prospects dawned on the year 1865 than could have been anticipated. England was at peace with all the world, and in spite of Lord Palmerston's irritation against the German Powers, it was certain that the country would not permit him to engage actively in Continental broils. The Civil War in America, so disastrous to Lancashire, was drawing to a close, and though a dubious and desultory conflict with the Maoris in New Zealand was going on, the scene of strife was far away, and the struggle but slightly affected the course of business. Trade was sound and healthy, and the cotton famine had almost disappeared. Lord Palmerston's Cabinet still held its ground, and though its aged chief had begun to show signs of physical decay, his high spirits and indefatigable energy gave no indication that the end of his career was at hand. Two of the four or five great ladies of fashion who had for forty years exercised a far-reaching, though unseen, influence on political life—Lady Tankerville and Lady Willoughby d'Eresby—had died in January, within a few days of each other. Lady Palmerston was thus left as almost the sole representative of those *grandes dames* of politics who were the flower and crown of the old order of society, soon destined to perish under the touch of democratic reform. Parliament was opened by Commission on the 7th of February. The Speech from the Throne, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, referred to the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the King of Denmark, and declared that no renewed disturbance of the peace of Europe was to be apprehended. It regretted the conflict with some of the native tribes in New Zealand, and rejoiced at the tranquillity of our Indian dominions. It spoke with confidence of the condition of Ireland. The Message from the Throne further promised the introduction of Bills for the amendment of the law

relating to patents for inventions, and for conferring on the county courts an equitable jurisdiction in actions involving small amounts. A Bill for inquiring into English public schools was promised, and her Majesty directed that a commission should be issued to inquire into endowed and other schools in England. Lord Derby, though he bore traces of suffering from repeated attacks of gout, was able to speak with fluency and power, but the debates on the Address, it must be admitted, were not interesting, nor did they evoke any material opposition. Discussions took place upon the condition of the Irish peasantry, emigration, the tenure of land, tenant right, and the Established Church. The approaching triumph of the Northern States in the American Civil War was plainly foreshadowed by the increasing civility of Lord Russell's references to the Federal Government. In a discussion on our foreign relations, he vindicated the neutral policy which his Administration had pursued towards both belligerents, but towards the conqueror his neutrality was now obviously benevolent. He pointed out how Confederate agents were continually employed either in building vessels in Great Britain, or in buying merchant ships which might afterwards be sent to France and other places that they might be fitted out as armed cruisers against the commerce of the United States, and this he now discovered gave rise to the "natural irritation" of the United States against England. The Americans, he said, saw a number of ships, which had come in some way or another from English ports or English rivers, afterwards equipped as men-of-war for the purpose of destroying their sea-borne commerce. It was to be expected that they should wax angry with us in consequence. Still, Lord Russell urged that the Government had done everything in their power to prevent Great Britain from being made the basis of warlike operations against the Federal Government.

In those days Mr. Pope Hennessy was one of the most active and aggressive members of the Irish Party. He had been advanced in public life by the social influence of Cardinal Wiseman, and had attached himself to the Tories as one of Mr. Disraeli's partisans. His object was to revive, if possible, those Nationalist ideas which Mr. Disraeli had promulgated when bidding for the Irish vote in 1844. Mr. Disraeli's object in cultivating his enthusiasm was to use him as an agent in cementing "the natural alliance between Catholicism and Conservatism," which at the time he was most anxious to promote. Early in the Session, then, a lively discussion was initiated by Mr. Hennessy on Irish affairs, obviously with the intention of eliciting from the Ministry declarations that would tend to render Lord Palmerston's Cabinet unpopular in Ireland. Mr. Hennessy's motion was "that this House observes with regret the decline of the population of Ireland, and will readily support her Majesty's Government in any well-devised measure to stimulate the profitable employment of the people; and that an address to the Crown be prepared, founded on the foregoing resolution." The resolution was supported by a number of speakers, both Irish

and English, among whom were prominent Conservatives, like Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Robert Cecil, and prominent Whigs like Sir Patrick O'Brien and Mr. Monsell. It was opposed on the part of the Government by Mr. Gladstone, Sir Robert Peel, and Sir George Grey. Sir Stafford Northcote, in speaking on the motion, indicated very plainly that his leaders had already begun to angle for the Irish vote. Ireland, said he, had been

MIDHURST, SUSSEX, NEAR WHICH COBDEN WAS BORN.

crippled by English legislation, and Parliament "ought to approach this question with a feeling of tenderness," and a desire to see how far it was possible to remedy that grievance. Lord Palmerston concluded the debate with a speech which has been rendered historic by one of its phrases. He said, "Until by some means there can be provided in Ireland the same remuneration for labour and the same inducements to remain which are afforded by other countries, you cannot, by any laws which you can devise, prevent the people from seeking elsewhere a better condition of things than exists in their own country. We are told that tenant right and a great many other things will do it. None of these things will have the slightest effect.

As to tenant right, I may be allowed to say that I think it is equivalent to landlord's wrong." In 1865 the idea that there was, and ever had been since the conquest of Ireland, a dual ownership in Irish soil—an ownership which naturally and equitably follows from the relations of an unimproving landlord to an improving tenant, had not yet dawned on the English mind.

One of the results of what Lord Russell called the "natural irritation" of the American people against England was a feeling of much uneasiness as to the safety of Canada. Confederate agents had attempted to make raids on Northern territory from Canadian soil. Threats of reprisals had proceeded from the organs of public opinion in the United States, and something approaching a panic was created in England, when the Federal Government gave formal notice that it was their intention to terminate the Convention under which England and the United States had mutually agreed not to fit out ships of war on the great lakes. It was also suggested that the American Government would soon "denounce" in similar fashion the Treaty of Commerce between the United States and Canada. In the House of Commons the Government was closely questioned on all these complications by Sir J. Walsh, who declared that the steps taken by the Federal Government were tantamount to a declaration of war. Palmerston tried to soothe these fears, and Earl Russell in the Upper House lavished conciliatory flattery on the United States, complimenting them on the patience with which they had endured the unsympathetic demeanour of England—the most unendurable element in which had been the tone of superfine insolence that marked his own despatches.* Yet all this time there was perfect tranquillity on the Canadian frontier. The Canadians did not seem to dread an American attack. The American Government, under Mr. Lincoln, in spite of the Irish War Party, was almost fanatically pacific. The truth was, as Mr. Bright said, that English anxiety as to the safety of Canada was due to a feeling "in our heart of hearts that we had not behaved generously to our neighbours; a twitching of the conscience that tended to make cowards of us at this particular juncture." As usual the people had to pay for this panic in Piccadilly. The Government demanded a vote of £200,000 for the defences of the Canadian frontier, of which Lord Hartington, on behalf of the War Office, proposed to spend £20,000 in fortifying Quebec. As against the

* Writing to Mr. T. B. Potter on the 23rd of February, Mr. Cobden says, "Shall I confess the thought that troubles me in connection with this subject? I have seen with disgust the altered tone with which America has been treated since she was believed to have committed suicide, or something like it. In our diplomacy, our Press, and with our public speakers, all hasten to kick the dead lion. Now in a few months everybody will know that the North will triumph, and what troubles me is lest I should live to see our ruling class—which can understand and respect *power* better than any other class—grovel once more, and more basely than before, to the giant of democracy. This would not only inspire me with disgust and indignation, but with shame and humiliation. I think I see signs that it is coming. The *Times* is less insolent, and Lord Palmerston is more civil."—Morley's Life of Cobden, Chap. XXXIV.

United States the frontier of Canada was of course practically indefensible. There was, therefore, reason in the contention of independent critics that such an expenditure might be regarded by the Americans as a provoking menace, rather than as a rational precaution.

By a sad coincidence, whilst these discussions were going on, the hand of death was being laid on the statesman who was of all men most competent to represent those who doubted the possibility of defending Canada. Richard Cobden, who declared that it would be just as possible for the United States to sustain Yorkshire in a war with England, as for England to enable Canada to contend against the United States, was sickening with his last illness. On the 2nd of April he died, and with him passed away the purest, most generous, and most chivalrous paladin of English Liberalism in the House of Commons. Men of all parties joined in doing homage to his memory. Mr. Disraeli vied with Mr. Bright in passing an eulogium on his public services. The Emperor of the French sent a letter of condolence to his widow. In the United States he was mourned by the American people as if he had been one of their own citizens. Mr. Bright said in the House, "I little knew how I loved him till I lost him," and it indeed seemed as if this feeling were universal throughout England. Cobden's disinterested honesty, the charm of his sweet and sympathetic nature, the fascination of his earnest, persuasive and transparently lucid eloquence, his buoyant courage, and his genuine devotion to the English people, all contributed to build up the fabric of his reputation and his popularity. His mission in life had been to beat down the power of the territorial aristocracy, which, in his youth, ruled England in the interest of a few rival groups of great families. In their place he imagined he could put a new order of merchant princes and Captains of Industry—an order of liberal-minded and highly-cultured men whose fortunes were bound up with the interest of Labour, and whose public spirit and civil capacity might recall the era of the Medici in Italy, and of the De Witts in the Low Countries. The leading ideas of the "Manchester School," which he was credited with founding, have long since ceased to influence the English mind, though some of them have had enough vitality to survive the caprice of circumstances and the course of time. Cobden's errors sprang from the fact that he believed that political power was to be finally centred in and wielded by the middle-classes. For example, it was for their interests to narrow as much as possible the Imperial responsibilities of England. Therefore, whilst he advocated Colonial autonomy it was not with a view to facilitate Imperial Federation, but to prepare the colonies for an independent existence, which should at once free us from the expense of defending them, and enrich us by the profits of their trade. On the other hand, the working classes regard the colonies as a heritage to be jealously preserved for their order, and the success of Federalism in the United States has induced them to dream of making a similar experiment within the British Empire. Obviously nothing

could be more completely at variance with Cobden's doctrines than these ideas. His scheme of policy was in fact faulty, because it was based on enriching a plutocracy, which, however, has not used its wealth for the purposes he had in view. It has, on the contrary, spent its resources in imitating and reproducing the worst qualities of the old feudal nobility, whose power Cobden desired to destroy. As the result of his policy, and the triumph of that part of it which accumulated wealth in the hands of the manufacturing classes, the country had a House of Commons in 1865, which was as much opposed to Reform as the House of Lords in 1832. For Cobden the irony of fate could hardly have been more cruel.

The financial statement of the year was preceded by motions in the House of Commons, for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary pledge for the remission of certain duties, which were considered a blot on the fiscal system. One was the Malt Tax, for the repeal or modification of which a desultory agitation had been promoted by the Tories for some years in the agricultural districts. The other motion was in favour of a further reduction of the duties on Fire Insurance. Though the Anti-Malt Tax agitators were beaten, the opponents of the Fire Insurance duties prevailed against the Government. The public had been informed by the Royal Speech that the receipts of the revenue had come up to the estimates; but this information rather understated the fact. The prosperity of the finances, in truth, had exceeded the most sanguine calculations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Remissions of taxation were consequently looked for, and speculation was busy with conjectures as to the quarter in which reductions would be proposed. The 27th of April was appointed for the financial statement, and on that day Mr. Gladstone presented his accounts and his plans. He had raised a larger revenue than had ever been raised in England by taxation at any period, whether of peace or war. In 1864—65 the actual expenditure had been £66,462,000, being £611,000 less than the estimate. Comparing the expenditure of the year with the revenue, he found that there was an apparent surplus of £3,231,000. The estimated revenue had been £66,128,000, whereas the actual revenue was £70,313,000. It had been expected that there would be a total loss on the year of £3,080,000, whereas there had been altogether a gain of £147,000. This showed how the prosperity of the country was advancing by leaps and bounds. Coming to the estimate of the income and expenditure of the ensuing year, Mr. Gladstone said he had to provide for an expenditure of £66,139,000, while he estimated the revenue at £70,170,000. This showed, on the basis of existing taxation, a surplus of £4,031,000. That surplus, he stated, he would dispose of as follows:—He proposed to equalise the stamp duty on scrip certificates and receipts in the case of English and Foreign transactions. The stamp on agreements for letting houses would be reduced to a penny. The tax on appraisements would be graduated, so that property amounting to £5 would not pay 2s. 6d. but

3d., and so on upwards. The stamp duty on charter parties would be reduced to 6d. There were also to be alterations in regard to Marine Insurance stamps, and stamps on insurances against accidental death, personal injury,

GENERAL ROBERT LEE.

and damages to plate-glass. He refused to reduce the Malt Tax, but he proposed to lower the Tea Duty by a remission of 6d. per lb. As to the Income Tax, he admitted that Ministers should do all they could for its reduction. It was, at present, at the lowest point, practically, at which it ever stood. It had never been lower than 6d. in the pound, but still he proposed to remove

[illegible] of it, thus reducing it to 4d. The final loss to the Exchequer by this reduction of 2d. would be £2,600,000, of which about £1,650,000 would fall upon the current year. Dealing with the Fire Insurance duty, he pointed out that it was desirable it should be reduced to a uniform rate of 1s. 6d., and to this would be added the substitution of a penny stamp in lieu of the 1s. duty on insurance policies. The relief given by the proposed reductions would be:—On tea, £2,300,000, on Income Tax, £2,600,000, and on Fire Insurance Duty, £520,000, making a total of £5,420,000, of which £3,778,000 would fall on this year. Deducting this latter sum from the estimated surplus, £4,031,000, there would be still a surplus of £253,000 on the accounts of the coming year.

It was on the 2nd of June that Lord Russell in the House of Lords declared the Civil War in America at an end, and refused Confederate vessels any further rights of harbour in English ports. It has been shown how General Sherman's devastating march through Georgia exposed the real weakness of the South. At the end of 1864 Hood's army was pining away in Alabama or Tennessee, and Beauregard, with 20,000 men, alone stood between Sherman's legions, flushed with victory, and the harassed and outnumbered army of Lee. On Christmas Day the Confederates repelled an attack by Butler on Wilmington, but on the 14th of January, 1865, when operations were renewed by General Terry and Admiral Porter, the key of the position was easily taken, and the Confederates were deprived of their only free and practicable outlet to the sea. On the 17th of February Charleston was evacuated. Sherman had already set forth on his march to the north—Beauregard retreating rapidly before him. And yet, though they thus had victory within their grasp, the leaders of the North made one last effort to conciliate the South. "Although no authorised version of the negotiations has ever been given to the public," says Mr. Stern, "it was conceded that, with the single exception of slavery and submission to the authority of the Union on the part of the South, every condition that the Southern States could ask would be submitted to by the North, including the adoption of the Southern debt and the reimbursement to the Southern slave-holders for slaves lost." * In a moment of insanity the Southern Government rejected these generous terms, and so the war went on. Sherman's movement to the north enabled Grant to press Lee with effect. He forced him back to Petersburg and Richmond. On the 1st of April both towns were captured, and Lee was not only pursued but overtaken and beaten in his last fight. "General," wrote Grant to his fallen foe on the 7th of April, "the result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further

* Stern's Constitutional History of the United States, p. 199.

effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States Army known as the Army of Northern Virginia." The capitulation was arranged on terms which were extremely generous to the vanquished. No prisoners were taken. The officers were paroled, and the troops were all permitted to return home on condition of submitting to the Federal Government. Within a few days Johnston surrendered to Sherman on the same terms, and on the 18th of April the war was at an end.

The victors astonished the world by their moderation. Not a single rebel, save the governor of a military prison, who was convicted of behaving with revolting brutality to Federal prisoners in the South, perished on the scaffold. Even the few prominent civilians who were arrested and imprisoned were soon released. The best men, both in the Northern and Southern States, vied with each other in promoting a policy based on conciliation for the future and oblivion for the past. Mr. Lincoln, who had been re-elected President in the autumn of 1864, began his second term of office on the 4th of March, 1865. On the evening of the 14th of April he visited Ford's Theatre at Washington with Mrs. Lincoln and another lady and gentleman, and about half-past ten, during a pause in the performance, he was shot by one Wilkes Booth, who suddenly entered the President's box and discharged a pistol at his head. Booth then leaped on the stage flourishing a dagger, and exclaiming "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" escaped from the theatre. Mr. Lincoln never recovered consciousness, and he died on the morning of the 15th.

From every part of the world expressions of sympathy were conveyed to Mrs. Lincoln and the American people, who had been thus cruelly deprived of the sagacious and upright statesman whose civic courage and unquenchable patriotism had saved the Union. The Queen, who had always admired Mr. Lincoln's character and career, sent an autograph letter to Mrs. Lincoln, expressing, with simple and womanly tenderness, her sympathy for the President's family.* Addresses on the assassination of the President were presented by both Houses of Parliament to the Crown, and the Queen in reply to these wrote: "I entirely participate in the sentiments you have expressed in your address to me on the subject of the assassination of the President of the United States. I have given directions to my Minister

* A note may be here added with some details of one of the most startling and tragic events that marked the history of the English-speaking race during the Queen's reign. President Lincoln was assassinated while the play called "Our American Cousin," memorable for the late Mr. Sothern's impersonation of Lord Dundreary, was going on. The assassin was John Wilkes Booth, a native of Maryland. He was an actor, and a relative of the celebrated American tragedian, Junius Brutus Booth. He was a half-crazy partisan of the Southern States, and had often threatened to kill the President. He fled to St. Mary's County, and was ultimately discovered hiding in a barn about three miles from Port Royal. He and his companions refused to surrender, and the barn was set on fire. Sergeant Corbet, of the 16th New York Cavalry, fired his carbine through one of the windows and shot Booth in the head. He died two hours and a half after he was wounded. His three companions were tried by court-martial and executed.

Washington to make known to the Government of that country the feelings which you entertain in common with myself and my whole people with regard to this deplorable event." The miscreants who had conspired against Lincoln's life had also intended to assassinate his chief Ministers, and one of them inflicted severe wounds on Mr. Seward and his son, from which, however, they both recovered.

Mr. Lincoln was succeeded by the Vice-President, Mr. Andrew Johnson, who, in the first moments of excitement which followed Lincoln's murder, charged Mr. Jefferson Davis and the leaders of the South, with being Booth's accomplices. These charges, however, were not generally credited, because it was clear that the life of Lincoln, whose policy was notoriously one of clemency and moderation, was quite as precious to the conquered States, as to their conquerors. But undoubtedly the angry passions which Booth's crime had stimulated, increased the difficulty of reorganising the territory now held by the Federal troops. To admit the Southern States to the Union with their old rights of sovereignty and autonomy as if nothing had happened was impossible. The negroes, though free, were unenfranchised, and therefore at the mercy of their old masters. But the negroes had bled and suffered for the Union during the war, and they could not be abandoned now. Moreover, Lincoln's proclamation abolishing slavery gave them an implied promise of protection from subsequent oppression. But then the American Constitution contained no provision for dealing with the difficulty which the war had created. To enfranchise with a stroke of the pen a vast ignorant servile population, which had been demoralised by slavery, was fraught with the utmost peril, not only to American democracy, but to American civilisation. Again, the States themselves had always determined the conditions of enfranchisement. As sovereign communities they had the clearest right to organise their own internal administration free from all interference from the Federal authorities, who had no power over them, save that of seeing that they adopted a republican form of government. The first step taken was to organise the Freedman's Bureau with agents all over the South with the object of protecting the negroes from injustice and oppression. But President Johnson had spent his life in the Slave State of Tennessee, and he had many sympathies with the slave-owners. Taking his stand on the letter of the Constitution, he refused to sanction those methods of reconstruction which Congress adopted, and sent military governors to rule the conquered States, until their permanent government was organised. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery in the United States was carried in June. But the President vetoed the Freedman's Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Bill, his veto being overridden by the majority in Congress, in which, however, the Southern States were not yet represented. In a word, the President was soon in open conflict with the Republican majority that had carried the country through the long and bloody war.

This conflict* was eagerly canvassed in all its stages by Englishmen of all classes, who seemed at this time to take a keener interest in the American problems of American politics than in their own domestic affairs. But perhaps nothing appealed more strongly to the imagination of the people than the ease with which the American people disbanded their armies, and absorbed a million unpensioned officers and soldiers at the very moment of victory into the mass of the peaceful civil population. The calmness, courage, and good sense with which the Americans set aside the menaces of the war party

BIARRITZ.

against England, and applied themselves to pay off the six hundred millions sterling of their war debt, further commanded the admiration of the world. Not even in Mexico could the United States be persuaded to interfere. Their Government simply refused to recognise that of the Emperor Maximilian, and accredited a minister to the President of the Mexican Republic, who still

* "The Civil Rights Bill," says Mr. Stern, "declared freedmen citizens of the United States. The reasons against this declaration were sound in themselves, because it admitted to the rights of citizenship a large number of persons whose prior conditions of servitude and enforced labour made them dangerous citizens. As the right to vote implies not only the right of the voter to protect himself against the aggression of others, but also involves the power, through the instrumentality of taxation, which is placed in the official hands created by the voters, to confiscate the property of others, it was apprehended by many that demagogues and adventurers would win the freemen by illusory promises of personal benefits to give them their votes, and that by the creation of public debts and the exercise of the power of taxation, they would mercilessly confiscate the property of citizens subjected to their [illegible]." —Constitutional History and Political Development of the United States, by Simon Sterne, of the New York Bar. Cassell and Co., pp. 202, 203.

waged a desultory struggle with the Imperial Government and its French allies. As France, however, had now thought it prudent to announce the withdrawal of her troops from Mexico, the United States could afford to wait for the inevitable issue.

The Danish Question, in which the Queen had so deeply interested herself during the previous year, was easily settled—for a time. Austria and Prussia agreed to share the spoils of war, and the Duchies were divided between them. This arrangement, formulated by the Convention of Gastein, in August, averted war between the allies. As for the views of the minor States and the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, they were brusquely put aside. The Duke had made the fatal mistake of pretending to regard the services of Prussia in liberating the Duchies as uncalled for. He even hinted that his cause would otherwise have been much better managed by the Diet. When he came to Berlin to press his claims at the Prussian Court, he had an interview with Von Bismarck in the King's billiard-room, which ought to have warned him of what was coming.

"At first," said Bismarck once, "I wanted from him no more than what the minor Princes conceded in 1866. But he would not yield an inch (thank Heaven! thought I to myself, and thanks to the wisdom of his legal advisers) . . . At first I called him 'Highness,' and was altogether polite. But when he began to make objections about Kiel Harbour, which we wanted, and would listen to none of our military demands, I put on a different face. I now titled him 'Translucency,' and told him at last, quite coolly, that we could easily wring the neck of the chicken we ourselves had hatched." *

The French Government described the Treaty of Gastein as an act of political "highway robbery and attorneyism." Lord Russell condemned it as a mere expression of brute force, and the Fleets of France and England met and made a foolish demonstration at Cherbourg, by way of giving point to their diplomatic denunciations of the Convention. It was merely a temporary arrangement, which gave Prussia time to secure herself against France before she attempted to expel Austria from North Germany. At a mysterious interview between Napoleon and Bismarck at Biarritz, in October, it was supposed that, in return for vague promises to assist French schemes in Italy and Belgium, the Prussian Minister—now Count Von Bismarck—had obtained an equally vague pledge of benevolent neutrality from France.†

The last days of the moribund Parliament were enlivened by a grave personal scandal. Lord Chancellor Westbury was accused of having improperly and corruptly administered the patronage of his high office, and two cases were cited against him. One was that of Mr. Leonard Edmunds, who, though he had heavy defalcations in his accounts, was allowed to retire on a pension from the Clerkships of Patents and of the House of Lords, in favour of Westbury's son. The other case rested on certain appointments

* "Bismarck in the Franco-German War," quoted in Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 347.

† For the conflicting accounts of this interview, see Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 352.

which Westbury had made to offices, and on grants of retiring pensions in the Leeds Court of Bankruptcy. It was alleged that the Lord Chancellor, in making these appointments, had been influenced by family considerations detrimental to the public service. After receiving the Report of a Select Committee, the House of Commons censured Lord Westbury, who immediately resigned his office.* His Lordship, when he went to hand over the Great Seal to the Queen, had a somewhat painful interview with her Majesty. In his Diary, under date the 7th of July, Bishop Wilberforce writes:—"Going in to the Queen met Westbury coming out; his fallen look moved my compassion. Later I met him on the broad staircase looking quite down, as he wandered alone down to town. But Delane [the editor of the *Times*] told me that going up to London in the train he was quite uproarious in his jollity, professing such delight at being free from office, going to enjoy himself, foreign travel," &c.

Parliament died of old age. It had exhausted its allotted septennial span, and was prorogued and dissolved on the 6th of July. The General Election created little stir or excitement in the country, because no appeal was made by either party to the constituencies on any vital question. The election of Mr. John Stuart Mill for Westminster roused some popular interest. The defeat of Mr. Gladstone at Oxford University was due to the votes of the non-resident graduates among the country clergy; and there was a stroke of unconscious irony in the success of the Opposition at Tiverton, where they managed to give Lord Palmerston a Tory as a colleague. The Liberals claimed to have carried 367 seats, and the Tories 290. But all speculation as to what course the new Parliament might adopt was cut short by the death of Lord Palmerston on the 18th of October. He was within two days of completing his eighty-first year, and, as his biographer says, "the half-opened cabinet-box on his table, and the unfinished letter on his desk, testified that he was at his post to the last."† He had sat in sixteen Parliaments, and had been chosen to sit in a seventeenth. He had

* This scandal, which was one of the sensational events of the Session of 1865, was made the most of by the Churchmen, to whom Westbury had been studiously insolent. Some little time after his fall Westbury met his old antagonist, the Bishop of Oxford, in the lobby of the House of Lords. He held out his hand, saying, "My Lord Bishop, as a Christian and a Bishop, you will not refuse to shake hands." Wilberforce generously shook hands with him, but that did not put an end to the war of wit between them. Westbury said, "Do you remember where we last met?" "No," replied Wilberforce. "It was in the hour of my humiliation, when I was leaving the Queen's Closet, having given up the Great Seal. I met you on the stairs as I was coming out, and I felt inclined to say, 'Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?'" Wilberforce retorted, "Does your lordship remember the end of the quotation?" to which Westbury answered, "We lawyers, my Lord Bishop, are not in the habit of quoting part of a passage without knowing the whole." But, as Wilberforce used to say in telling the story, Westbury no doubt looked it out in his family Bible when he went home, and found that the end of the quotation was, "Yea, I have found thee, because thou hast sold thyself to iniquity."—See *Life of Wilberforce*, Vol. III., p. 144.

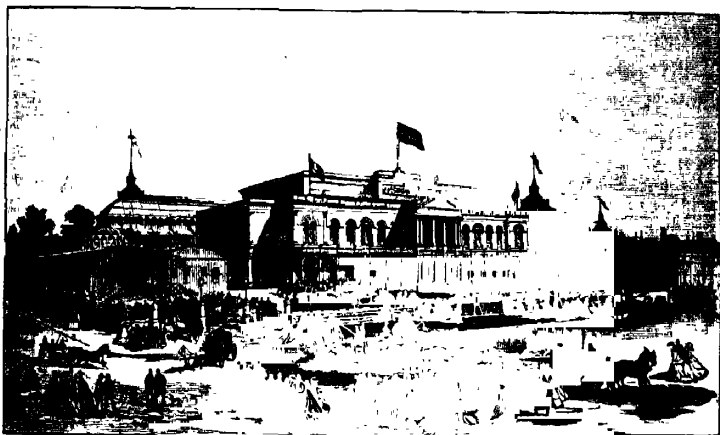
† *Life of Lord Palmerston*, by the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, Vol. II., p. 273.

a member of every Administration that had ruled England since 1807, those of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Derby, and the voice of the nation tly decreed for him the funeral honours of Westminster Abbey. It will ays be a mystery why Palmerston succeeded in establishing, towards the d of his life, a personal dictatorship over the England which was governed the £10 householder. In home politics he took hardly any interest. One y, for example, at Balmoral, when the Queen asked him for some informa- n about a serious strike in the North of England, he replied that he had ne; but "Madam," said he, "I hear that the Russians have crossed the ath." He was an aristocrat to the core, and his ideas of England's sion in the world, and of her interests in the political forces and conflicts t shaped the destinies of nations, were those, not of a man of business or affairs, but of a happy-hearted, reckless, pugnacious public-school-boy. To lness, courage, and tenacity of purpose, he, however, added a dexterity action that rendered him a successful as well as

"A daring pilot in extremity."

In one of his letters to Sir Stratford Canning he reveals the secret of ch of his power when he says, "I believe weakness and irresolution are the whole the worst faults that statesmen can have. A man of energy y make a wrong decision but, like a strong horse that carries you hly into a quagmire, he brings you by his sturdiness out on the other e." Looking back on his career, it is hard to find one single stroke his policy that can be justified by history, with the exception of the port he generously gave to the cause of Italian unity. The corner- ne of his policy in his last administrations was the Anglo-French alliance, l its worthlessness was attested not only by the enormous military ex- diture which Palmerston himself extorted from the people to ward off French invasion, but by the fact that the alliance itself always broke down the disadvantage of England, whenever a strain was put upon it. His apathy with democracy abroad brought him no credit, for it was insincere. was displayed mainly in order to keep the Radical party quiet when the ple began to demand reforms at home. His most wonderful practical ievement was that of reconciling both Tories and Radicals to the political remacy of the extremely moderate Liberals—the Liberals who had been dered Conservatives by the prosperity which Free Trade had conferred n them. His cleverness in selecting serviceable subordinates, his personal lty to them, his geniality and cheerfulness, his singular gift of managing House of Commons, all contributed to consolidate his influence in the ntry. His power over the House of Commons was probably greater than he knew, as if by instinct, in any emergency the kind of argument t was sure to tell on that Assembly. He ruled it through its foibles, its judices, and its impulses. He could adapt his style to every passing mood

of its fickle temper, and alike in jest and earnest he was always on the level of its standard of good taste and fine feeling.

Lord Palmerston's funeral took place in Westminster Abbey, accompanied by every mark of respect and honour. The arrangements made for filling up the vacancies in the Cabinet which were caused by his death were simple. Earl Russell was called upon by the Queen to assume the post of Premier. The Earl of Clarendon, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Chichester Fortescue was made Secretary for Ireland in place of Sir Robert Peel, who had always warned his colleagues he would join the Tories after Palmerston's death. The

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION, DUBLIN (1865).

office of Under-Secretary for the Colonies was conferred upon Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P. for Bradford. Mr. Heath resigned the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Goschen. The important position of Leader of the Government in the House of Commons devolved upon Mr. Gladstone, who had found a seat in Lancashire. His financial genius had vastly added to the *prestige* of Lord Palmerston's Ministry, and his commanding intellect and fascinating oratorical power had long before marked him out for the leadership.

Two evil incidents marred the latter portion of the year. These were the outbreak of the cattle disease which became known as "rinderpest," in England and Scotland, and the development of the Fenian conspiracy in Ireland. Down to the middle of December 5,000 cases of "rinderpest" had occurred, and most of them had ended fatally. The plague, it is true, was disappearing in some districts, but in others its ravages were increasing, and a Royal Commission recommended that all movement of cattle in the country

should be stopped for a time. Local authorities in many cases suspended fairs and markets.

The history of Ireland after the resignation of Lord Aberdeen was summed up in the administration of Coercion Acts that were rendered necessary by outrages which a peasantry infuriated by land clearances and rack-rents, perpetrated. For a time the policy of eviction and emigration went on unresisted. In 1854 the rebels of '48 were amnestied, but when they came back they found that Irishmen regarded them rather as reactionaries than rebels. As had always been the case in Ireland, the pendulum of public opinion had now swung over from Anti-Unionism to Separatism. The failure of '48, the triumph of the evicting landlords, the progressive poverty of the people, the treachery of leaders like Sadlier and Keogh, who were bought up by the Whigs, disgusted Irishmen with Parliamentary agitation. The Fenian conspiracy was the outcome of this feeling. It originated among victims of the famine clearances, and among some of the men of '48. It was introduced into Ireland during the Indian Mutiny by Mr. James Stephen, when it was known as the Phœnix Society. One of his first converts was a Jeremiah Donovan, of Skibbereen, who afterwards dubbed himself O'Donovan Rossa. He in turn, induced ninety out of the hundred members of the Skibbereen Club to join his band. That Society could hardly have conducted its proceedings with much secrecy at this time, for it was soon denounced from every altar in the country. The Lord-Lieutenant, however, proclaimed it, and there and then elevated the Phœnix plotters to the dignity of national heroes. The leaders were arrested, and on pleading guilty were released with admonition. But over the Atlantic the Society had taken firmer root among the victims of evicting landlords, as the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood. Yet even there it would have probably perished from the opposition of the priests and the advocates of open agitation, but for the cleverness with which its leaders made capital out of the famous McManus funeral. McManus, one of the most amiable and highly respected members of the Young Ireland Party, had, after his escape from Van Diemen's Land, settled in California, where he died. It was resolved by his compatriots to exhume his body and convey it to Ireland for burial. The route of the funeral, from San Francisco to Dublin, was naturally at every stage the scene of a patriotic Irish demonstration, and by adroit management the Fenian leaders had contrived to get control of all the arrangements, so that the reflected *prestige* of this impressive and imposing demonstration of Irish nationalism went to their credit. In Ireland the Society was soon considered to be the only one that had any real power to help the people, and after the McManus funeral it grew apace. In 1862 it announced at Chicago its intention of establishing Irish independence by armed force, and its organ—the *Irish People*—was founded in Dublin by Messrs. John O'Leary, Thomas Clark Luby, and Charles James Kickham. For two years the Society was permitted to carry on its propaganda. Then in

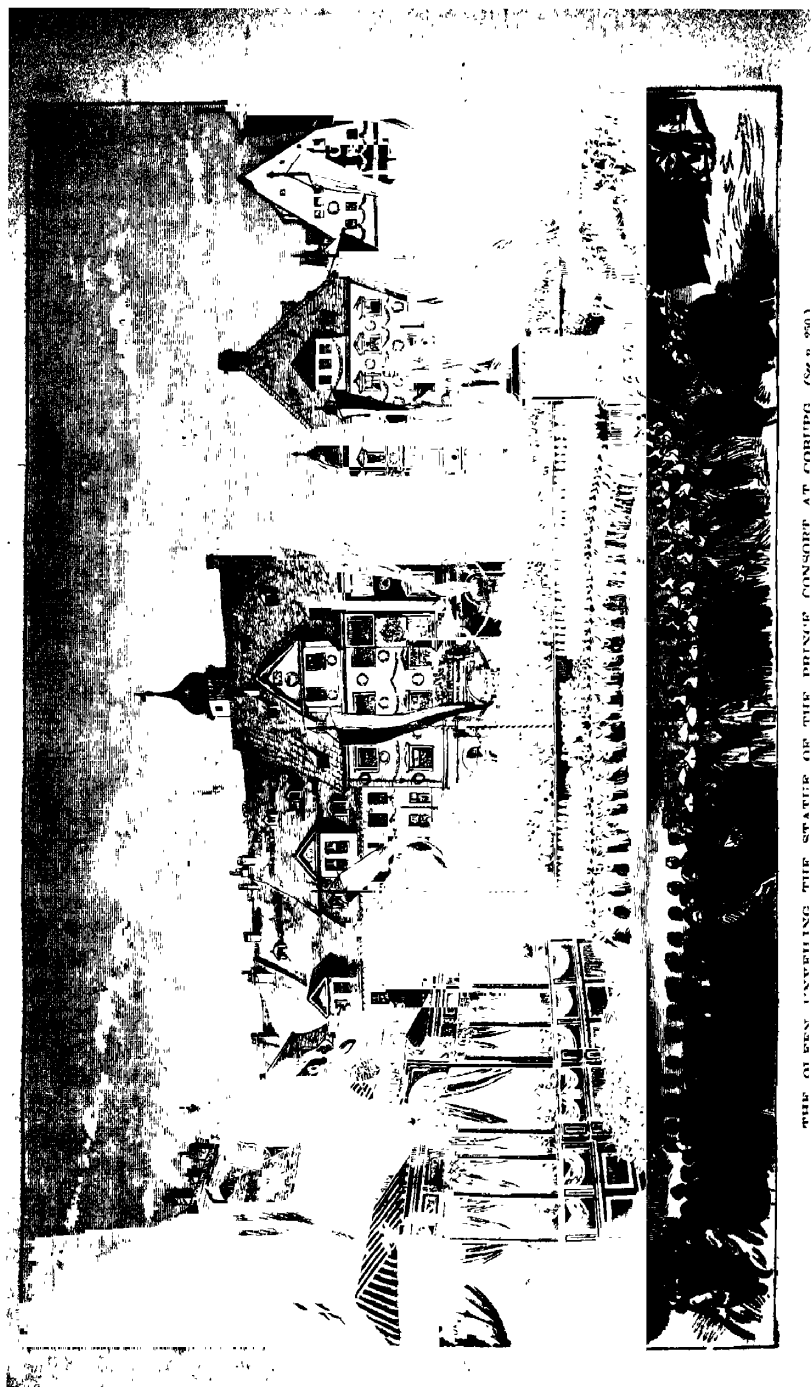
September, 1865, Luby, O'Leary, Kickham, and Stephens were arrested. Ten days after their capture Stephens escaped from jail by aid of his gaolers, who were also Fenians. In November the others were tried for treason-felony, and sentenced to penal servitude for terms varying from ten to twenty years. The organisation then became a small club in New York, whose leaders quarrelled amongst themselves. They enjoyed a fictitious importance for a time, because the Democratic Party and partisans of the Southern States, invariably professed Fenian sympathies when contesting State elections.

Two Colonial disputes gave the Government of the day some trouble before the end of the year. The Assembly of Victoria tried to pass a Protective Tariff over the veto of the Council, by tacking it on to the Bill granting the supplies for the year. The Council held to its veto. The Government was thus left without money for the public service, and affairs came to a deadlock. In the circumstances the Governor, Sir Charles Darling, cut the knot of the difficulty by allowing his Ministers to raise money under the sanction of resolutions passed by the Assembly, or representative branch of the Legislature. He also entered into an ingenious arrangement with a bank in Melbourne. The law forbade voluntary payments from the Treasury which were not authorised by an Appropriation Bill. But the bank made advances to the Treasury, and then sued it for recovery. The Treasury of course confessed judgment when sued, and thus the law was evaded.

An outbreak of negroes in Jamaica had been suppressed with great vigour by Governor Eyre. But it was soon suspected that he had mistaken a riot for a revolution, and that the local authorities had acted in violation of law, and with callous disregard of the dictates of humanity. Eyre was suspended, and a Royal Commission was sent out at the end of the year to report on the occurrence.

Though the Queen remained in close seclusion during 1865, she gave more than one token of the vigilance with which she watched popular interests. The year 1864 was famous for the number and the serious character of its railway accidents, and yet it was hopeless to expect a Palmerstonian Parliament to compel the railway companies to improve their management. In the circumstances, it occurred to the Queen that she might effect some good by using her moral influence on behalf of the travelling public, and she accordingly directed the following letter to be sent to the chief companies just as the year opened:—

"Sir Charles Phipps has received the commands of her Majesty the Queen to call the attention of the directors of the —— to the increasing number of accidents which have lately occurred upon different lines of railroad, and to express her Majesty's warmest hope that the directors of the —— will carefully consider every means of guarding against these misfortunes, which are not at all the necessary accompaniments of railway travelling. It is not for her own safety that the Queen has wished to provide in thus calling the attention of the Company to the late disasters. Her Majesty is aware that when she travels extraordinary [illegible] are taken, but it is on account of her family, of those travelling upon her service, and of [illegible]

THE QUEEN UNVEILING THE STATUE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT AT COBURG. (See p. 250.)

eople generally, that she expresses the hope that the same security may be insured for all as is so arefully provided for herself. The Queen hopes it is unnecessary for her to recall to the recol- ection of the railway directors the heavy responsibility which they have assumed since they ave succeeded in securing the monopoly of the means of travelling of almost the entire opulation of the country."

On the other hand, evidence was not wanting that her Majesty's retire- ent had led to laxity of administration in her household. On the 4th of Iarch, for example, Lord Malmesbury writes in his Diary:—"All London is alking of the way in which the Corps Diplomatique has been invited to the ueen's reception. It was, as far as I could understand, in these terms:— That the Queen would graciously receive them, *male* and *female*, at a Court be held at Buckingham Palace' All those concerned are trying to shift e responsibility upon one another. The diplomatists have sent their cards f invitation to their respective Courts, and therefore it has produced a great ensation all over the world, as the term *mâle et femelle* is never used in rench, except in speaking of animals."* But her Majesty's kind and gracious earing at this reception, which was held on the 13th of March, did much to eutralise the impression produced by the rudeness of the Lord Chamber- ain's Department. On the 14th of March the Queen visited the Consump- ve Hospital at Brompton, bestowing on the patients in the various wards indly words of sympathy. Circumstances prevented her from undertaking journey to Ireland, where the people would have been pleased to wel- ome her at the inauguration of an International Exhibition. She, how- ver, testified her interest in that enterprise by requesting the Prince of Vales to open the exhibition in Dublin on the 9th of May. Another son as born to the Prince and Princess, on the 3rd of June, and on the 7th of uly the infant was baptized in the chapel at Windsor in presence of the ueen, who named him George Frederick Ernest Albert. On the 6th of ugust the Queen's second son, Prince Alfred, attained his majority, and was ecognised, with her sanction, as heir to the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

On the 8th of August the Queen, with Prince Leopold, the Princesses Ielena, Louise, Beatrice, and suite, left England for Germany. She arrived t Coburg on the 11th, and immediately proceeded to Rosenau. On the 26th e unveiled the statue which had been set up in memory of the Prince onsort in the quaint market-place of Coburg. The town was *en fête*, every ouse being gay with garlands and banners, and decorated with trophies of rms and festoons of flowers and evergreens. The troops paraded the square, hile crowds of light-hearted students and schoolboys, and a great concourse f loyal burghers and honest country-folk who had assembled to see the cere- ony, gave life and colour to a picturesque scene. The Court carriages bore brilliant company of Royal personages. Soon after four o'clock in the after- oon the bells in all the steeples in the town pealed forth joyous notes; the

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 335.

[illegible] of the fortress thundered out a royal salute, and the bands in the square played the English National Anthem. Then the Queen's carriage drove up amidst deafening cheers. She was accompanied by Prince Arthur and the Princess Beatrice, and was received by the Grand Duke, who led her to the front of the pavilion that had been prepared for the ceremony. She was clad in the deepest mourning, and under her bonnet was seen the cap *à la Marie Stuart*, which about this time she had begun to wear on all public occasions. The Burgomaster of Coburg presented her with a long and loyal address. The bells rang, the bands played, the cannon saluted again, and at a given signal the veil was withdrawn from the polished bronze statue, which stood out glittering and sparkling in the sultry sunshine of an autumnal afternoon. Walking up to the monument, the Queen handed to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha the bunch of flowers which had lain before her on the balcony of the pavilion. These he placed, together with another bouquet from the Princess Beatrice, on the pedestal of the statue, and the ceremony was over. On the 8th of September the Queen left Rosenau with the Princesses Helena and Louise and Prince Leopold, and stopped *en route* at Darmstadt, where she was met by the Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse. Proceeding to Ostend, the Queen paid a brief visit to King Leopold, after which she embarked at Antwerp in her yacht for Woolwich.

During the Queen's autumnal holiday at Balmoral the Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse again visited her. Later in the year it was announced that the Princess Helena was to be married to the Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein, second son of the Duke of Augustenburg. "Many thanks," writes the Princess Louis to the Queen on the 8th of December, "for your letter received yesterday with the account of Lenchen's *verlobung* [betrothal]. I am so glad she is happy, and I hope every blessing will rest on them both that one can possibly desire." It was arranged that the Queen should lend Frogmore to her daughter, so that she and her husband might be able to live in England. But the shadow of death was again brooding over the Royal Household. In the same letter in which the Princess Louis refers to her sister's betrothal she writes, "I had a letter from Marie Brabant two days ago, where she says dear uncle's [King Leopold] state is hopeless; but yesterday she telegraphed that he was rather better. What a loss it would be if he were to be taken from us, for his very name and existence, though he takes no active part in politics, are of weight and value."* In England the news of King Leopold's illness was received with some concern. The Queen had promised to open the next Session of Parliament in person, and it was feared that the death of his Majesty might interfere with a project in which her subjects of all classes were deeply interested. On the 11th of December King Leopold died, and on that day the Princess Louis of Hesse, ever ready to sympathise with her

* Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 111.

mother's sorrows, wrote to the Queen, "Alas! alas! beloved Uncle Leopold is no more! How much for you, for us, for all, goes with him to the grave! One tie more of those dear old times is rent! I do feel for you so much, for dear uncle was indeed a father to you. Now you are head of all the family—it seems incredible, and that dear papa should not be by your side. The regret for dear Uncle Leopold is universal—he stood so high in the eyes of all parties; his life was a history in itself—and now that book is closed." In another letter the Princess says, "The more I realise that we shall never see beloved Uncle Leopold again the sadder I grow. He had, apart from all his excellent qualities, such a charm as I believe we shall seldom find again."

King Leopold's life was indeed "a history in itself." He was almost ostentatiously indifferent to his position—ever impressing on his subjects that he reigned in their interest rather than in his own. It has been said that he could always bring them to reason by threatening to abdicate. The sagacity and tact with which he prevented the Catholics and the Liberals in Belgium from coming to blows, gave him great influence in Europe. But that influence was enhanced by his capacity for diplomatic intrigue, and the opportunities for exercising it which his curious family connections gave him. Though he began life as one of the obscurest of the petty Princes of Germany, he had married in succession the heiress of England and the daughter of the King of the French. By a double marriage, his children were allied to the Imperial House of Hapsburg. He was the uncle and mentor of the Queen and the Prince Consort—indeed, he and Baron Stockmar had brought about their marriage. His position was supposed to be unassailable from the day when, on being threatened with a revolution, he calmly began to pack a carpet-bag in presence of the popular leaders, who thereupon, in a paroxysm of fear, implored him not to leave the country. Yet, according to Lord Malmesbury, "the last years of his life were spent in perpetual terror of Louis Napoleon, and he was constantly alarming our Ministers and everybody on the subject." *

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol II p. 345.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT IN 1866: THE QUEEN AT THE PEERS' ENTRANCE, WESTMINSTER PALACE. (See p. 254.)

CHAPTER XI.

A STOP-GAP ADMINISTRATION.

End of the Era of Compromise—Dawn of the new Epoch of Reform—Opening of Parliament by the Queen—The Queen's Nervous Prostration at Osborne—Introduction of the Reform Bill—Hostility of the House of Commons—Dissentient Liberals in "the Cave of Adullam"—Defeat of the Reform Bill—Resignation of the Ministry—Lord Derby forms a Cabinet—His attempted Coalition with the Whig Dukes—Domestic Policy during the Session—The House of Commons and the Rinderpest—Another Prosperity Budget—Large Remissions of Taxation—Coercing Ireland—The White Terror in Jamaica—Marriage of the Princess Helena—The Financial Embarrassment of the Princess Louis of Hesse—The Queen Intercedes with Prussia on behalf of Hesse-Darmstadt—The Queen's Gift to Mr. Peabody—The Queen's Visit to Aldershot—The Foundation of the Albert Medal—Marriage of the Princess Mary of Cambridge—The Queen's first Telegram to the President of the United States—The Queen's Visit to Aberdeen and Wolverhampton.

THE year 1866 will be memorable as the beginning of the new epoch of strife, controversy, and political activity which followed the death of Palmerston. The spell of compromise by which he had paralysed the life of England was broken, and Mr. Gladstone's appointment as leader of the House of Commons filled the working classes with the brightest hopes. It was known that he was in favour of such an extension of the franchise as would partially redress

the wrong done by the Reform Bill of 1832, which deprived Labour of the political power it enjoyed under the unreformed Parliamentary system. As one of their representative men has said, "those ameliorations of the laws for which they [the working classes] had looked in vain during so many

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years of Whig rule, when electoral reform was said to be deferred in favour of legal reforms that were only talked about, had to be preceded by the enfranchisement of the class whose welfare required them; and Mr. Gladstone, on his part, was conscious that he could not carry the important measures which he contemplated without first strengthening his hands by a considerable extension of the franchise and redistribution of seats." * Moreover, the civil

* Forty Years' Recollections, Literary and Political, by Thomas Frost, p. 291.

military triumph of the United States, marked by moderation in the hour of victory, and invincible valour in the press of battle, gave an irresistible impulse to Democracy in England. But the Party of Reform were well aware that a fierce struggle lay before them. In 1831—32 the House of Lords was the enemy that had to be faced. In 1866 the House of Commons was quite as hostile as the House of Lords, to changes that might affect the power, privileges, and ease of the comfortable classes. Would the Government bring in a feeble Reform Bill which could be accepted by the Commons? In that case the country might look forward to another decade of stagnation. Would the measure be large and comprehensive? In that case the opposition of the Commons could be met only by a dissolution. But supposing, as was not unlikely, that under a £10 franchise a freshly-elected House proved as hostile to Reform as the old one, what was to be done? Its opposition could not, like that of the Crown, be overcome by a refusal of supplies, or like that of the Peers, by the creation of new members. For such a state of affairs the only possible remedy might be—Revolution. Such were the speculations and the forebodings with which thoughtful men greeted the New Year of 1866.

Parliament met on the 1st of February, and Mr. Denison was elected Speaker. It was known that Lord Russell was anxious to strengthen his Ministry by giving Mr. Bright a seat in the Cabinet, but his colleagues objected to this step, and the omen was not auspicious for the Party of Reform. Writing on the 6th of February in his Diary, Lord Malmesbury says, "the Queen opened Parliament to-day. She came in a State coach with her eight cream-coloured horses, but entered by the Peers' entrance. She was well received, but did not wear her robes, which were placed on the Throne, and did not read the Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor."* It was the first State ceremony at which the Queen had assisted since the death of her husband, and the scene in the Upper House was unusually brilliant. The bright dresses of the Peeresses, the mass of gorgeous colour on the floor of the House, where the Peers wore their robes, the flashing lights from glittering orders and uniforms worn by the splendid company of foreign diplomatists, afforded a spectacle that gladdened the artistic eye. It was marred only by the wild and disorderly scramble of the members of the House of Commons for places. They trooped into the Royal presence like a band of disorderly roughs let loose from Donnybrook Fair. The Speaker was hustled aside and jammed against the edge of the Bar as he vainly attempted to make his obeisance to the Queen. The leading members of the Government vanished in the struggle, though Sir Charles Wood was ultimately discovered in an attitude of agony almost impaled on the sharp carving of an [illegible] lion rampant. As for the sword of the Sergeant-at-Arms, it got entangled with everybody's legs, including his own.

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 347.

The reaction which followed the excitement of the ceremony had caused much nervous depression, and the Queen was accordingly recommended to seek repose at Osborne. "I am happy to think," writes the Princess Louis of Hesse to her mother, in a letter referring to the event, "that you are quiet at Osborne after all you had gone through. The emotion and all other feelings recalled by such an event must have been very powerful and have tried you much. It was noble of you, my darling mama, and the great effort will bring compensation. Think of the pride and pleasure it would have given darling papa—the brave example to others not to shrink from their duty; and it has shown that you felt the intense sympathy which the English people evinced and still evince in your misfortune."

It was soon apparent that the question of Reform would exhaust the energies of the Legislature, and on the 12th of March Mr. Gladstone introduced what came to be known as the Russell-Gladstone Reform Bill. It proposed to reduce the County Franchise from £50 rental to £14, and the Borough Franchise from £10 to £7. It also gave votes to lodgers and £50 depositors in savings banks. The rate-paying clauses of the Reform Act were abolished. The Bill, it was estimated, would admit to the franchise 172,000 new voters in counties, 204,000 in towns, and 24,000 under the Lodger and Savings Banks qualifications, *i.e.*, 400,000 in all. Of these, one-half belonged to the working classes properly so-called. The House of Commons was not in a pleasant humour for dealing with Reform. The timid classes were alarmed by a speech which Mr. Gladstone delivered during Easter at Liverpool, in which he declared that "the Government had crossed the Rubicon, broken the bridge, and burned their boats behind them." This, it was vowed, meant that he for one was prepared to roll the Constitution down the inclined plane of Democracy The country gentlemen were angry, because they thought the Government had compensated them shabbily for the losses they suffered from the Cattle Plague. The plutocracy were in low spirits, because in spring a great financial collapse had smitten the City. Some country banks had failed. The greater part of the stock of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway was offered in the market for "a mere song." On the 10th of May the bank of Messrs. Overend and Gurney stopped payment, with liabilities amounting to £19,000,000. On the 11th the City was in a frenzy of despair, and Government had to authorise the Bank of England to issue notes beyond the legal limit. Other financial institutions perished, and the blight of bankruptcy fell on the land. English credit on the Continent was so low that the Foreign Office issued a circular explaining to foreigners the distinction drawn in England between insolvency and lack of money. Employers of labour, again, were irritated against the working classes now claiming the franchise, for Trades Unions were growing more aggressive and turbulent every day. The Fenian disturbances in Ireland also gave rise to much uneasiness. The uncertain condition of the Continent led people to

... instead of wasting time in debating Reform, Parliament ought ... the defensive system of the Empire effective. Above and beyond ... things, it was felt that a Reform Bill involved a dissolution, and to Meml ... of the House of Commons who had just spent large sums of money in gett ... elected, this was a sufficient temptation to oppose Reform. If we consider ... natural effect of all these different motives and feelings on a House ... Commons elected to support Lord Palmerston's colourless domestic policy, ... can easily understand why the Russell-Gladstone Bill fared badly. It ... opposed by the Tories and by nominal Liberals like Lord Elcho, Mr. Lo ... Lord Grosvenor, Mr. Horsman, and Mr. Bouverie. It was finally defeated ... Committee by Lord Dunkellin, who carried a motion substituting a rat ... for a rental qualification, the effect of which would have been to limit ... franchise to £9 instead of £7 householders in towns, and to £16 instead ... £14 householders in counties. The Radicals, however, did not regard ... defeat of the measure with much grief, though they had loyally suppor ... Mr. Gladstone. Their hearts were in truth set on obtaining a much lo ... qualification than the Bill offered. Independent critics again, who had ... sympathy with the savage diatribes against the working classes which ... Tories and the Liberal seceders poured forth day after day, also conside ... that the Bill had *one serious defect. It did not put the franchise* on a ba ... solid enough to be permanent. To fix it at £7 to-day was only to start ... agitation to-morrow to reduce it to £3, or to nothing at all. Far better, ... was argued, return to the old Radical programme of Household Suffra ... which, at all events, possessed the element of finality. In fact, early ... June Ministers saw that the Bill was doomed, and an intrigue was set on f ... between the Cabinet and the "Adullamites"* for the purpose of withdrawi ... the Bill, on condition that the Liberal seceders would steadily support ... Ministers on all other questions. After their defeat on the 18th of Ju ... the Cabinet resigned, and although the Queen was somewhat opposed to t ... step, she waived her objections to it.

According to Lord Malmesbury, the Government first of all thought ... dissolving Parliament, but abandoned this idea, fearing they would lose ... it. Lord Malmesbury also says that "the Queen being on a visit to Osbo ... for ten days, refused to shorten her stay, and the country remained for ... month with the Government in abeyance. At last her Majesty returned, a ... appointed Lord Derby Prime Minister. He tried to form a coalition w ... some Whig Dukes, and invited Lord Clarendon and the Duke of Somerset ... join him. They refused. He then did the same by the Adullamites, m ... of whom also declined. Young Lord Lansdowne, who at their head h ... promised to support him, died suddenly, and this accident increased ...

* When Lord Grosvenor divided the House on an amendment to the Second Reading of the B ... he gathered round him a body of nondescript Liberals—many of whom had been disappointed ... [illegible] of office—whom Mr. Bright likened to those who took refuge in the cave of Adullam ...

difficulties. Encouraged by a meeting of twenty-three leading Conservatives, held at his house, Lord Derby formed the following Cabinet:—Lord Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford; President of the Council, Duke of Buckingham; Privy Seal, Lord Malmesbury; Secretary for Home Affairs, Mr. Walpole; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Stanley; * Secretary for War, General Peel; Secretary

PRINCE CHRISTIAN.

(*From a Photograph by W. and D. Downey.*)

for Colonies, Lord Carnarvon; Secretary for India, Lord Cranborne; Poor Law Board, Mr. Hardy; Board of Trade, Sir S. Northcote; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Disraeli; Secretary for Ireland, Lord Naas; Board of Works, Lord John Manners; Admiralty, Sir John Pakington." † Lord Derby himself personally objected to take office because he could not feel confident of commanding

* Forty Adullamites had promised to support him.

† Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 358.

majority. Some of his friends, like the Marquis of Bath, were indeed angry that he had consented to serve again as Premier without definite pledges of support from the Whigs, whose hostility to Reform had shattered the last Cabinet.

Up to the time when the change of Ministry took place very little business had been done. A Bill dealing with the cattle plague had been introduced by the Home Secretary. It empowered local authorities to kill infected herds and stop all movement of cattle and all fairs in infected areas. For cattle thus sacrificed the owners were to receive from local authorities compensation to the extent of two-thirds of the value, but in no case was this to exceed £20 a head. The money was to be raised, one-third by a rate on the counties, one-third by a rate on the towns, and one-third by the cattle trade itself. The Radical Party admitted the principle of compensation. But Mr. J. S. Mill contended that if the infected animal was shown not to be worth two-thirds of what it would fetch in the market if healthy, the compensation given by the Government was excessive. The Bill, he also complained, compensated the landed interest for a loss some share of which the rest of the community, who were not indemnified, bore in the form of enhanced prices. Then, as the rate was to be purely local, those who suffered least would pay least, whereas the burden of recompense would fall heaviest on districts which suffered most. There could be no doubt that his proposal for a general rate on the land instead of a local rate was just. Mr. Gladstone, impressed by these arguments, agreed to limit the compensation to one-half instead of two-thirds of the value of the slaughtered animals, and the compromise was grudgingly accepted.

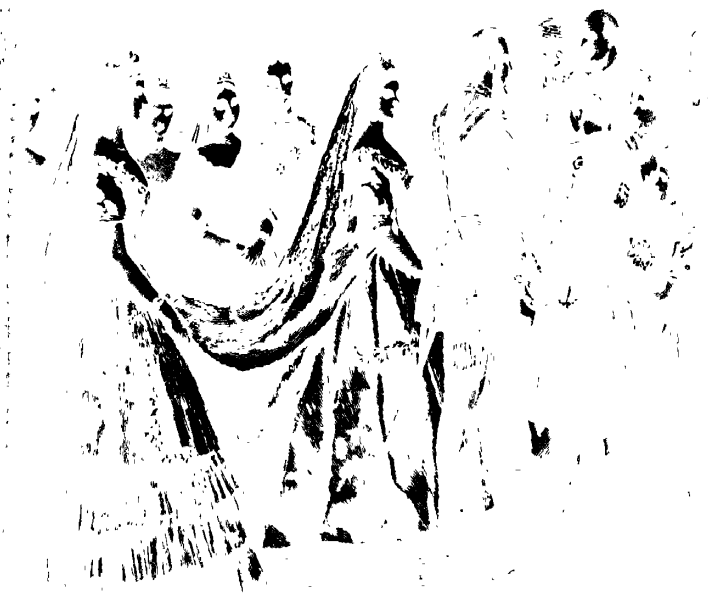
Mr. Gladstone introduced his Budget on the 3rd of May. The income, he said, had been £67,812,000 and the expenditure £66,474,000, leaving a surplus of £1,338,000. His estimated loss from remission of taxes had been very slightly below the actual loss, except in the case of Income Tax, for the wealth of the nation was now accumulating so rapidly, that a penny Income Tax, instead of producing £1,000,000, as had always been the calculation, produced £1,400,000. For the coming year Mr. Gladstone estimated, on the existing basis of taxation, a revenue of £67,575,000. His probable expenditure, from an increase of £78,000 in Estimates, he set down at £66,225,000, so that he had an estimated surplus of £1,350,000 to dispose of. He therefore repealed the timber duties, equalised the duties on wines in bottle and in wood, abolished the duty on pepper, and made a considerable reduction in the tax on carriages. He calculated that there would be a loss of £502,000 on the conversion of debt, so that he would, with these changes in taxation, be left with a surplus of £286,000. The financial debates simply ratified Mr. Gladstone's schemes; but they were rendered memorable by Mr. J. S. Mill's celebrated speech urging on the House the necessity of reducing the National Debt as a matter of duty to posterity. One of his chief arguments was based on the thesis of Mr. Stanley Jevons

that succeeding generations must, at the existing rate of consumption, face a failure in the coal supply of the country owing to the exhaustion of its mines.*

Early in the year the Government obtained the consent of Parliament to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, in order to enable the Executive to deal with the Fenian conspiracy. Mr. Mill, however, though he supported the Ministry, very pertinently observed that, after it got fresh powers, it must not go asleep, as it had done for eighteen years, over Irish grievances. The Bill was passed on the 17th of February. The next step was to obtain the Queen's assent immediately. As her Majesty was at Osborne, this took time, and the Irish Executive could not brook delay. As soon as the House of Lords had read the Bill a third time, a telegram was sent to Earl Granville, who was at Osborne, announcing the result, upon the receipt of which the Queen instantly signed the document authorising the Commissioners to give her assent to the measure. In order to allow time for bringing her authorisation to London, the sitting of the House of Lords was suspended until 11 o'clock p.m., when it was calculated that the special train with the Queen's messenger would arrive in London. Time, however, rolled on, but no messenger appeared. The hour of midnight struck. Then the clock chimed the half-hour after twelve, when there entered a clerk bearing a despatch-box, which the Chancellor nervously opened and from which he took out the long-expected document. The House of Commons having been summoned, and about fifty members answering the call, at twenty minutes to one o'clock on the Sunday morning the Queen's sanction was proclaimed, and the Bill became law. Probably no statute was ever passed with so much celerity as this Irish Coercion Bill—the first Act of the new Parliament. The powers of the Act had indeed been put into operation in anticipation of its passing, and on the 16th of February a large number of arrests were made in Dublin and its vicinity. The mischief done by the alarms of this period was, however, irretrievable, but, with the cessation of active movements on the part of the Fenians, a feeling of contempt for the conspiracy took the place of panic. For a few months, therefore, the country appeared to subside into its usual tranquillity.

On the 21st of March the Commissioners who had been investigating the negro outbreak in Jamaica finished their inquiry. The feeling in London was as violently in favour of repressive measures against the negroes, as it had been in favour of the Southerners during the American Civil War, and against the German Powers during the war in Sleswig-Holstein. It was therefore with some chagrin that the Party of Panic discovered that the Commissioners extenuated the action of the negroes. There had been a planned resistance to the Queen's authority in Jamaica; but the chief cause was

* The speech of Mr. Mill struck terror into the hearts of the reactionary landlords, who had all thought that their rents would go on rising for centuries to come. For further references, see Letters and Journals of W. Stanley Jevons, edited by his Wife, pp. 203, 216, 218, 223, and [illegible]. London: Macmillan (1886).

not merely the desire for free land, but the want of confidence of the black population in the tribunals before which cases affecting their interests were tried. It was shown that, if the insurgents had been temporarily successful, the suppression of the rebellion would have been attended with greater loss of life and property than had been recorded. Hence praise was awarded to Governor Eyre for the vigour and promptitude with which he put down the rising. But, on the other hand, the Commissioners strongly condemned the

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS HELENA (See p. 262.)

Authorities for continuing martial law longer than was desirable, for inflicting excessive punishments, for awarding the death penalty far oftener than was necessary, for sentencing people to be flogged with reckless barbarity, and for burning 1,000 houses in a wanton and cruel manner. This Report, on the whole, justified the first suspicions of calm-minded men at home. The Governor had very skilfully put down the rising before it grew from a riot to a revolution. Then, carried away by "the White Terror" which Lord Canning had so coolly withstood at Calcutta during the Indian Mutiny, he had let the colonial authorities violate the common law, and revel in judicial murders and other hideous barbarities which are inevitable, though regrettable, incidents in the suppression of all servile revolts.

The approaching marriage of the Princess Helena with Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg, which had been announced in the Queen's Speech, gave occasion to messages from the Crown to the two Houses of Parliament, asking them to make provision for the Princess, and also for

PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.

(From a Photograph by W. and D. Downey.)

Prince Alfred on his coming of age. Mr. Gladstone, in introducing the subject to the House of Commons, observed that with respect to the Princess Helena, "her position was a peculiar one, as she was the eldest unmarried Princess of the Royal Family when the most crushing calamity that could befall humanity descended upon her Majesty, and that during that trial all the prominent qualities of the Princess's character, her strength, her wisdom, and her tenderness were put to the test." Ignoring to some extent the devotion of the Princess Alice, Mr. Gladstone added that the Princess Helena

[illegible] and had been since, the stay and solace of her illustrious mother." He therefore proposed to vote her an annuity of £6,000 a year, in addition to a dowry of £30,000. To Prince Alfred he proposed to grant an annuity of £15,000 a year. Mr. Disraeli said that the claim now made only elicited a fresh outflow of sympathy and affection from a devoted people, and the proposals were at once agreed to. The marriage of the Princess was solemnised in the chapel within Windsor Castle, on the 5th of July. A very lengthy procession entered the church as Handel's March from *Scipio* was played. The Queen wore a rich black *moiré-antique* dress, interwoven with silver and trimmed with black crape, and a row of diamonds round the body. A coronet of diamonds, attached to a long white crape veil, a diamond necklace and cross, and a brooch composed of a large sapphire set in diamonds, the riband and star of the Order of the Garter, and the Victoria and Albert Order completed her adornment. The bride, who wore a rich dress of white satin, on arriving at the chapel took her place on the left side of the altar, while the Queen was conducted to the seat prepared for her near the bride. The Archbishop of Canterbury performed the service, the bride being given away by the Queen. The Prince and Princess left for Osborne after the ceremony.

The Queen appreciated the generous devotion of the House of Commons in so willingly voting a substantial provision for the Princess Helena, all the more that early in the year the financial embarrassments of the Princess Louis of Hesse had caused her sore anxiety. Although the Princess was an excellent house-manager, it was discovered that the handsome income and dowry which had been granted to her by the House of Commons, did not suffice for the wants of her husband's establishment. Her gentle, uncomplaining nature, ever mindful of the feelings of others, had led her to conceal her difficulties from the Queen, who, however, made the painful discovery soon after suggesting some plans for her daughter's benefit. These unfortunately could not be entertained. *Pauperis est numerare pecus*, and the Princess Louis had therefore to explain her circumstances to her mother. Writing from Darmstadt on the 18th of March she says, "Your idea of Friedrichroda for us was so good, but, alas! now even that will be impracticable, on account of money. Louis has had to take up money again at Coutts's to pay for the house, and the house is surety. We must live so economically—not going *anywhere*, or seeing many people, so as to be able to spare as much a year as we can. England cost us a great deal, as the visit was short last time. We have sold four carriage horses, and have only six to drive with now, two of which the ladies constantly want for theatre, visits, etc., so we are rather badly off in some things. But I should not bore you with our troubles, which are easy to bear."* The Queen's nice tact and quick sympathy were shown in not directly noting these matters. But when the

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 124.

Princess's birthday came round, her Majesty did not forget her daughter's impecuniosity. Writing to the Queen on the 25th of April the Princess Louis says, "A thousand thanks for your dear lines, *and the money*, and charming bas-relief of you, which I think very good. I thought so much of former birthdays at home in Buckingham Palace. They were so happy. . . . The money will go to Louis' man of business, towards paying off the furniture, and is indeed very acceptable, more so under present circumstances than anything else you could give us; and that part of the furniture," adds the poor Princess, with the pride of one who seeks to reconcile herself to accept a birthday gift in the form of a cheque, "will then all be your present." * In another letter she endeavours to reassure the Queen as to her embarrassments by speaking brightly and cheerily of them. "I have made all the summer walking-out dresses," she writes—"seven in number, with paletôts for the girls—not embroidered, but entirely made from beginning to end: likewise the new necessary flannel shawls for the expected. I manage all the nursery accounts, and everything myself, which gives me plenty to do, as everything increases, and on account of the house, we must live very economically for these next years." The Princess, as will be seen, was looking for an early addition to her family, and the Queen felt that her health was imperilled by the fresh anxiety and the increasing household drudgery which her straitened circumstances added to the burden of her social and public duties. Her Majesty, therefore, with characteristic generosity, herself made arrangements for her daughter's *accouchement*, which relieved her of some of her worry. "It is so kind of you," writes the Princess, gratefully, to the Queen, "to give Dr. Priestly his fee, otherwise I would have scruples in giving so large a sum for my own comfort." How welcome her mother's assistance was to the Princess may be gathered from another passage in one of her letters to the Queen, in which she says, "The man who built our house has nearly been made bankrupt, and wants money from us to save him from ruin, and we can scarcely manage it." † Again the same sad subject crops up some nine months after the birth of her daughter, which took place during the Austro-Prussian War. The accumulated anxieties of that dreadful time had told on the health of the Princess. The Queen had taken charge of the little ones in the Darmstadt household, and thus freed the Princess from much care. Hence in autumn we find her rejoicing that the slight change to Nierstein, Gelbes Haus, has done her good, and adding, "If later, through your [the Queen's] kindness, a little journey should be possible to us, it would be very beneficial to us." But in a few days she soon fell ill again, and on the 29th of August she writes to the Queen saying, "Mountain air Weber wants me to have, and quite away from all bother; but I fear that is impossible *now*, on account of Louis not being able to leave—and, then, financially. I have some heimweh

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 127. † *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 131.

[home-sickness] after dear old England, Balmoral, and all at home, I own, though the joy of being near dear Louis again is so great. But life is meant for work and not for pleasure, and I learn more and more to be grateful and content with that which the Almighty sends me, and to find the sunshine in spite of the clouds." Nor was the Queen's generosity limited to her daughter. She treated the Prince Louis at this time with great tenderness and sympathy. In one letter from the Princess to the Queen we find her saying, "We are so pleased at your saying that you claim Louis as *your* son. He always considers *himself* in particular your child, and if anything helps to stimulate him in doing his duty well, it is the sincere wish of being worthy to claim and deserve that title." And the Queen's kindness was not confined to words. She gave him (Prince Louis) the charger that he rode during the war, and helped him in many ways. "That you sent Louis," writes the Princess to her on the 16th of September, "besides the pretty souvenir, the money for something in the house, is really so kind. Our whole dining-room we consider your present, and it is furnished as like an English one as possible." Lastly, when the war ended in the triumph of Prussia, and the Princess thought that she and her husband, to use her own phrase, would be made "beggars," the Queen employed her potent influence at the Court of Berlin to procure favourable terms for Hesse-Darmstadt in the peace that followed. But for the Queen, the Grand Duchy would have been blotted out of the map of Germany as a sovereign State.* "We are so grateful," says the Princess in one of her letters at this anxious moment in her husband's life, "for your having written to good Fritz [the Crown Prince of Prussia]. What he *can* do I know he will."

The eminent American merchant, Mr. Peabody, having added to his splendid gift of the preceding year for the improvements of the dwellings of the poor of London another munificent donation, her Majesty addressed to him the following autograph letter:—

"Windsor Castle, March 28, 1866.

"The Queen hears that Mr Peabody intends shortly to return to America, and she would be sorry that he should leave England without being assured by herself how deeply she appreciates the noble act of more than princely munificence by which he has sought to relieve the wants of the poorer class of her subjects residing in London. It is an act, as the Queen believes, wholly without parallel, and which will carry its best reward in the consciousness of having contributed so largely to the assistance of those who can little help themselves.

"The Queen would not, however, have been satisfied without giving Mr. Peabody some public mark of her sense of his munificence, and she would gladly have conferred upon him either a baronetcy or the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, but that she understands Mr. Peabody to feel himself debarred from accepting such distinctions. It only remains, therefore, for the Queen to give Mr. Peabody the assurance of her personal feelings, which she would further wish to mark by asking him to accept a miniature portrait of herself, which she will desire to have painted for him, and which, when finished, can either be sent to him to America, or given to him on the return, which she rejoices to hear he meditates, to the country that owes him so much."

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, pp. 142, 144, 147, 148, 149.

In the spring the Queen was well enough to renew her acquaintance with lershot. For the first time during five years she visited the camp. She iewed the troops in garrison, and inspected the ranks; after which the iments marched past in grand divisions to the music of their bands. When

THE DUCHESS OF TECK

(*From a Photograph by W. and D. Downey*)

had inspected the Infantry, the Queen drove through the South Camp, way of the Prince Consort's Library, to the Artillery and Cavalry Barcs, and then past the Memorial Church to the Pavilion, where luncheon served for her. Again on the 5th of April the Queen paid a brief and ried visit to the Camp, in order to present a new pair of colours to the h Regiment. The visit was strictly private, only a few chief officers being re that it had been arranged. Nearly 11,000 men were on the ground, but e were, comparatively speaking, few spectators. In presenting the colours,

the Queen said, "I have much pleasure in renewing the colours given you many years ago, relying confidently on the loyal devotion to my service by which you and all my troops have ever been so distinguished." Referring to this event, the Princess Louis, in one of her letters to her mother, says: "How trying the visit to Aldershot must have been, but it is so wise and kind of you to go. I cannot think of it without tears in my eyes. Formerly that was one of the greatest pleasures of my girlhood, and you and darling papa looked so handsome together. I so enjoyed following you on those occasions. Such moments I should like to call back for an instant."

In April the Albert Medal was founded by her Majesty. According to the *London Gazette*, it was to be awarded, "in cases where it shall be considered fit, to such persons as shall endanger their own lives in saving or endeavouring to save the lives of others from shipwreck or other perils of the sea."

On the 12th of June the Queen attended the marriage of the Princess Mary of Cambridge to the Duke of Teck. This illustrious lady has always been the most popular of English Princesses—popular alike with the aristocracy and the mob. Her marriage stirred up a good deal of interest. It was celebrated very quietly and simply in her own parish church at Kew, in the midst of the people among whom she had lived from her childhood, and to whom she had endeared herself by her spirited geniality, her good and tender heart, and her generous though somewhat impulsive charities.

On the 27th of June the Queen sent the first message over the telegraph cable that had been successfully laid between Ireland and the United States. It ran as follows: "From the Queen, Osborne, to the President of the United States, Washington.—The Queen congratulates the President on the successful completion of an undertaking which she hopes may serve as an additional bond of union between the United States and England." President Andrew Johnson replied:—"The President of the United States acknowledges with profound gratification the receipt of her Majesty's despatch, and cordially reciprocates the hope that the cable that now unites the Eastern and Western hemispheres may serve to strengthen and perpetuate peace and amity between the Government of England and the Republic of the United States." The President's reply to the Queen occupied one hour and nine minutes in its transit from Newfoundland to Osborne. The cable laid in 1865 had been lost, but it had been successfully raised, and the daily journal of the operations of the ships comprising the telegraph squadron engaged in recovering it, is a record in which heroic perseverance, extraordinary mechanical ingenuity, and able seamanship alike compel admiration.

On the 20th of September the Prince of Wales presided at the unveiling of a fine marble statue of the Queen at Aberdeen. The subscriptions for this work of art were collected just after the inauguration of the memorial to the Prince Consort by the Queen in October, 1863. A thousand pounds were

ly obtained, a large number of the subscribers being working men. The
st, Mr. Alexander Brodie, a local sculptor, represented the Queen stand-
, bearing the sceptre in her right hand, while with the other she clasped
folds of a tartan plaid. The statue stands 8 feet 6 inches in height,
cut from a block of Sicilian marble, and is placed on a richly-polished
estal over 10 feet high. The Prince on the occasion was dressed in
ghland costume, and received hearty cheers from the crowds who greeted
i. In accordance with a unanimous resolution of the Town Council,
received the freedom of the city. While speaking at the inauguration
emony, he stated that the Queen had desired him to say how much she
reciated the motive which had led the people of Aberdeen to give this
ing evidence of their attachment, loyalty, and sympathy.

On the 16th of October the Queen herself opened the Aberdeen New
terworks at Invercannie, twenty-two miles distant from the "Granite
y," and a convenient drive of thirty miles from Balmoral. After receiving
address, her Majesty, speaking in public in her official capacity for the
t time since the death of the Prince Consort, said:—"I thank you for
r dutiful address, and am very sensible of the fresh mark of the loyal
achment of my neighbours the people of Aberdeen. I have felt that, at
ime when the attention of the country has been so anxiously directed to
state of the public health, it was right that I should make an exertion
testify my sense of the importance of a work so well calculated as this to
mote the health and comfort of your ancient city." The Queen then,
ancing to an ingenious piece of machinery erected at the edge of the
ervoir, gave several turns to the handle, and in an instant the water came
nging in, pure and plentiful. The Queen then declared the Aberdeen
terworks open.

On the 30th of November her Majesty received an enthusiastic welcome
n her subjects in Wolverhampton, on the occasion of her inaugurating a
tue erected to the Prince Consort. The Queen was accompanied by the
l of Derby, Princess Helena, Prince Christian, the Princess Louise, and the
tomary suite. Between two and three thousand people were admitted into
railway station-yard and approaches. At the entrance there had been
lt an arch of coal, firmly joined by mortar, with abutments of pig-iron.
phies of picks, spades, and other implements of the collier's trade were so
ced as to give relief to the material of the arch, which, though not very
htly, was very characteristic of the local industry. Beyond this was a trophy
coal, thirty feet high, formed of immense blocks some of them weighing
rly three tons, from Lord Dudley's pits. Nothing could exceed the
husiasm and devotion displayed by the population. Town and county
embled in the streets. The colliers, the puddlers, and the forgemen from
iron districts, the workers in metal, japan, *papier-maché*, and in all the
ple trades of Wolverhampton, lined the barriers, and raised a mighty

...ment when the royal carriages appeared. The treacherous weather of an English November made it, of course, indispensable that the ceremony of unveiling the statue should be performed and witnessed under cover, and an amphitheatre had accordingly been constructed which held two thousand people. The Bishop of Lichfield having offered up a prayer, the Recorder read an address to the Queen, which she accepted. Lord Derby having handed her a sword, she next bestowed the accolade on the kneeling Mayor, who thereupon rose up as Sir John Morris. Before leaving the pavilion, the Queen desired the Mayor to tell her subjects in Wolverhampton that she was greatly pleased with her reception, and with the loyal feeling which had been manifested. A few days afterwards, at a meeting of the Wolverhampton Council, the Mayor produced a letter which, though marked "private," he had obtained permission to read at that meeting. The letter was from Sir C. Grey. It was dated Windsor Castle, December 1, and, after stating that an official answer to the address of the Corporation would be sent, went on to say:—"Her Majesty is anxious that you should hear, as it were, more directly from herself how much she was gratified by the heartiness and cordiality of the reception she met with from every individual of the vast assemblage that yesterday filled your streets, and how deeply—how very deeply—she was touched by the proof which the day's proceedings afforded of the respect and affection entertained at Wolverhampton for the memory of her beloved husband. I have also been requested by Princess Christian to say how much she has been gratified by the kindness shown yesterday to herself and Prince Christian, and that she will have much pleasure in wearing the beautiful bracelet presented to her at the station as a remembrance of a most interesting and gratifying day." Sir John Morris then read another letter he had received from Sir Thomas Biddulph, in which the Queen desired that her condolence might be conveyed to a volunteer who had met with an accident on the occasion of her visit, and also expressed Her Majesty's intention to settle upon him an annuity of £20, payable quarterly. This announcement was naturally received with great enthusiasm by the Council.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TIDE OF DEMOCRACY.

ıming the Tide of Democracy—Lord Derby and Reform—The Reform League—The Riots in Hyde Park—Cowing the Ministry—The Adullamites—Mr. Disraeli's Resolutions—Crises in the Cabinet—The Ten Minutes Bill—The Government Measure—Mr Gladstone's Alterations—A Leap in the Dark—The Movement in Favour of German Unity—The Austro-Prussian War—The Luxembourg Question—Execution of the Emperor Maximilian—Mr. Disraeli's Budget—Academic Discussions of Irish Grievances—Fenian Outrages at Manchester and Clerkenwell—Rattening at Sheffield—Prince Arthur Passes his Military Examination—Illness of the Princess of Wales—Founding of the Royal Albert Hall—The Sultan in England—Abdul Aziz, K.G.—Visit of the Queen to the Duchess of Roxburghe—Dr Macleod at Balmoral—Prince Arthur ill of Smallpox—The Queen Keeping Hallowe'en—Her Majesty Visits Lady Palmerston.

ıEN Lord Derby came to power in 1866 he was reported to have said that vould be his mission "to stem the tide of democracy." It has, therefore, n supposed that he was an irreconcilable opponent of Reform. As he sed an extremely democratic measure of Parliamentary Reform—thereby, ıse his own phrase, "dishing the Whigs"—he has been accused of the ssest possible tergiversation. What, then, was the attitude of the Tories Reform in 1866? The party, as a whole, was certainly hostile to it. To e votes to people who paid £6 a year for their houses meant, as Sir E. wer Lytton declared, the enfranchisement of "poverty and passion." No eches stirred the hearts and sympathies of the Tory party throughout country so strongly as those in which Mr. Lowe, and other Adullamites, ped the coarsest abuse on the working-classes of England. In those s an English artisan was spoken of in Tory society with an antipathy onger even than that with which the "mean whites" regarded the negroes in Southern States. The leaders of the Tory party, however—Lord Derby, d Stanley, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Henley—never shared these prejudices. t what would they do after being called to power by the declared enemies Reform? The first public utterances of Ministers did not throw much ıt on their intentions. Mr. Disraeli told his constituents that when Government attempted to deal with Reform they would not adopt any eign pattern—either American or French—as a model for the Parliaıtary institutions of the country. He protested that he could not discover ether the defeated Bill was based on the rights of man or the rights of abers. He seemed to have some notion that "the estate of the nmons" should, like all other estates, have a fair share in the Governıt of the country. But his idea evidently was to enfranchise not masses classes, and to give electoral power to the *élite* of all the different ders" of society. Sir Stafford Northcote was opposed to bringing in any

new Reform Bill.* Lord Stanley said bluntly that he had objected to the defeated Bill, because it made the franchise lower than the House of Commons would endure; and as for Lord Derby, his opinion was very ambiguous. He had no objection to see the electorate largely increased. But his difficulty was, that the agitators who were alone earnest in demanding Reform would never be satisfied with any Bill which the great parties in the State could unite in accepting. It was quite clear that he intended to let the matter rest and ripen. Lord Derby and his colleagues, however, made a fatal mistake in imagining that they would be allowed to let the matter rest. He completely miscalculated the strength of the social and political forces which had been let loose by the death of Lord Palmerston. The nation was in a condition of suspense and excitement that recalled revolutionary memories of 1848, and the working-classes had been roused from their apathy by the speeches in which the Tories and Adullamites had held them up to contempt. The Reform League promptly set on foot a great popular agitation, and, to the astonishment of the Adullamites and the Tories, the reply of the people to the refusal of a £6 franchise was a demand for "registered residential manhood suffrage and the ballot." Huge mass meetings were held all over the country, at which this demand was put forward, and the temper of the populace rapidly became revolutionary. An accident brought this unpleasant fact home to the minds of Ministers.

The Reform League, under the leadership of Mr. Edmond Beales—an energetic barrister, who afterwards became a County Court Judge—organised a meeting in Hyde Park. On the 22nd of July, 1866, notices were posted up by order of the Government prohibiting the Reformers from holding the meeting. On the 23rd the Leaguers, accompanied by an angry mob, proceeded to the Park and demanded admission. When this was refused, Mr. Beales and his colleagues tried to lead the crowd to Trafalgar Square for the purpose of protesting against the action of the Home Secretary. But the crowd refused to be led. It took a more summary and effective method of protesting, for it tore down the railings of Hyde Park and held the ground till it was driven out, after a desperate fight with the police and Life Guards. It was at first supposed that this timely exhibition of force would end the conflict; and Mr. Walpole, the Home Secretary, posted strong patrols of police and soldiery all over the Park. That step was, of course, quickly resented by the people. They attacked the police and the troops on the 24th, and it was not till cavalry were employed that the turmoil was suppressed. But during the whole day the fashionable people in carriages were pelted with mud and stones by the "roughs" whenever they made their appearance. This inglorious warfare went on in the same manner till the 27th, when the Duke of Cambridge decided to bring up three additional regiments of cavalry, whereupon it began

* Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 143.

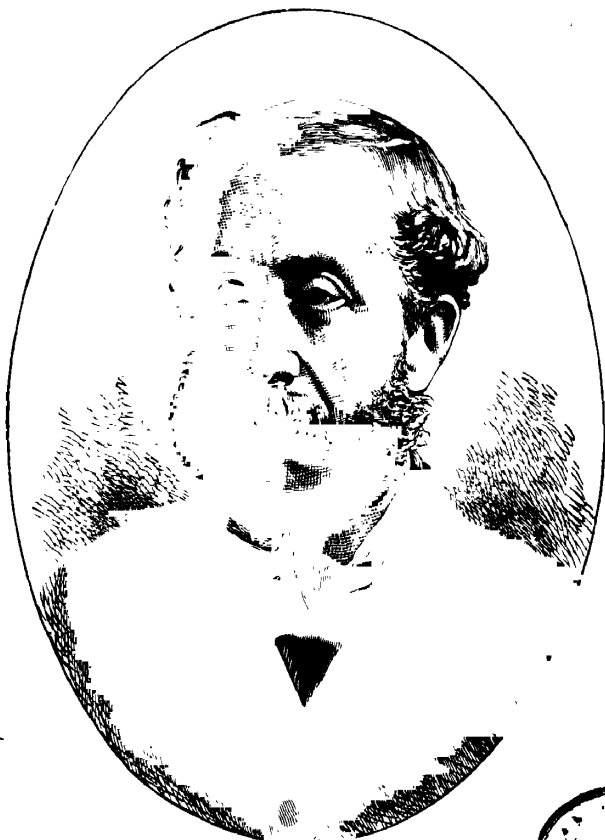
dawn on Society that somehow or other life was not altogether pleasant the West End of London under the new "Government of moral order." ...e Queen, whose legal right to exclude people from the Royal Parks was the ...text for the action of the Government, became extremely nervous as to the ...ect which the policy of her Ministers might have on the stability of the ...narchy, and it finally turned out that the Home Secretary had gone beyond ...e law, in vindicating her Majesty's rights over Hyde Park by military force. ...ose rights were secured to the Crown solely by a civil action for trespass. ...the height of the dispute the leaders of the Reform League obtained an ...terview with Mr. Walpole, in the course of which that amiable but misguided ...inister shed tears when the grave consequences of his action became manifest ... him. He withdrew his opposition to the use of the Park. The Reformers ...ld their meetings, and on the 28th of July London was so quiet and orderly, ...at no chance visitor would have dreamt that it had during the week been on ...e verge of revolution. Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of August, ...d the agitation went on throughout the country.

The Derby-Disraeli Government were by this time completely cowed by the ...b, and they frankly admitted that it was too dangerous to let Reform alone. ...rliament met on the 5th of February, 1867, and was opened by the Queen, ...o, though driven in a close carriage from the Palace to Westminster, was ...eived with the heartiest cheers by crowds of people, who, despite the wet ...d dismal weather, came out to greet her as she passed. The Royal Speech ...s listened to with suppressed excitement, especially when the paragraph ...ating to Reform was read by the Lord Chancellor. It, however, merely ...ited at the introduction of a measure for extending the Franchise, so that ...turally attention was next concentrated on Mr. Disraeli's utterances on the ...ed question.* He rather amused his opponents by solemnly announcing ...at the subject of Reform should no longer be treated as one to determine ...e fate of Cabinets.† No doubt it was a little difficult to treat such ... announcement seriously, coming from a Minister who had dexterously ...ed the question for the purpose of upsetting Lord Russell's Cabinet. Still, ...was the wisest policy that could be adopted in the circumstances, and its ...option had been strongly pressed on Lord Derby by the Queen herself. Her ...ajesty's view was that the history, especially the recent history, of the ...form agitation, proved conclusively two things—first, that no possible ...vernment could by its own effort and authority carry a Reform Bill; and ...ond, as Mr. Gladstone had himself admitted to her, that with a £10 franchise ...was not likely that a House of Commons could be obtained with a strong ...rking majority pledged to support a Reform Ministry. "If," said Lord ...rby, in his speech on the Address, in words which aptly reflected the

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 365.

† The History of Reform, by Alexander Paul, p. 199. Routledge, 1884.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION AT THE REFORMERS' TREE IN HYDE PARK.

[illegible] of the Sovereign, "we desire to see the representation of the country [illegible] upon a sound basis; if we desire to see a settlement of the question [illegible] I will not say shall be final, but which shall render unnecessary and [illegible] probable any further agitation upon the subject for a very considerable time,

LORD CARNARVON.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company)

n I say this object cannot be attained by making the question one of party l political strife for the purpose of obtaining office or Parliamentary majorities. question must be examined in a fair, deliberate, and dispassionate spirit; must be prepared to give and take, to meet each other's views, and, above things, to cast away all party objects."

The real obstacle had been the Adullamites. But, says Mr. Hayward, [illegible]

... to Mr. Gladstone, dated the 31st of January, "the Cave ... ...ly. Elcho, Lord Grosvenor, heading one section with Lowe and ...man; Beaumont, Dunkellin, &c., with the other; the numbers about equal. . . . Beaumont and Co. would vote for an immediate settlement of the Reform Question. This he told me. Elcho would consent to no reduction of the Franchise."* The fate of this small but brilliant party, Bishop Wilberforce says, inspired Mr. Gladstone with a new commandment—'Thou shalt not commit Adullamy."†

On the 11th of February Mr. Disraeli explained to the House of Commons how the Government intended to deal with Reform. He suggested that they should pass a series of Resolutions admitting the necessity of increasing the electorate, and of giving more direct representation to the working-classes, but affirming that it was contrary to the Constitution to give any single interest in the country dominant power over the others. His Resolutions were also in favour of basing the franchise on rating, of plural voting, of the use of voting papers, and of the extension of borough boundaries. The House of Commons, however, clearly showed that it desired the Government to bring in a Bill, and that was plainly the opinion of the public also. Lord Malmesbury writes on the 16th of February:—"New plan on Reform proposed by Disraeli. Four franchises, namely, £5 rated house, £50 in savings bank, an educational franchise, and direct taxation, supposed in its result to give 680,000 voters to property, and 360,000 to democracy. General Peel positively objects. The press, in a body, abuse our Resolutions."‡ On the 19th a Cabinet meeting was held, at which General Peel, finding he was the only dissentient, withdrew his objections.§ But public opinion was against the scheme, and the spirit of dissension was brooding over the Cabinet. "Meanwhile," writes Lord Malmesbury, who has given the world the only authentic account of the secret history of the startling events which followed, "after a Cabinet held on Saturday, Feb. 22nd, at which no difficulty occurred, and after Lord Derby's having gone down to Windsor to announce unanimity of the Cabinet, on Sunday night Lord Cranborne informed Lord Carnarvon that he could not agree to the Reform Bill as it stood, and must resign. Lord Carnarvon did the same, and at 8.30 on Feb. 25th they wrote to Lord Derby to call a Cabinet at twelve for Lord Cranborne to explain his objections. The confusion may be conceived, as at 2 p.m. Lord Derby had summoned his party to hear the new Bill, and Disraeli was to explain it at five in the House of Commons.

* Correspondence of Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 158.

† Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 242.

‡ Memoirs of an ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 365.

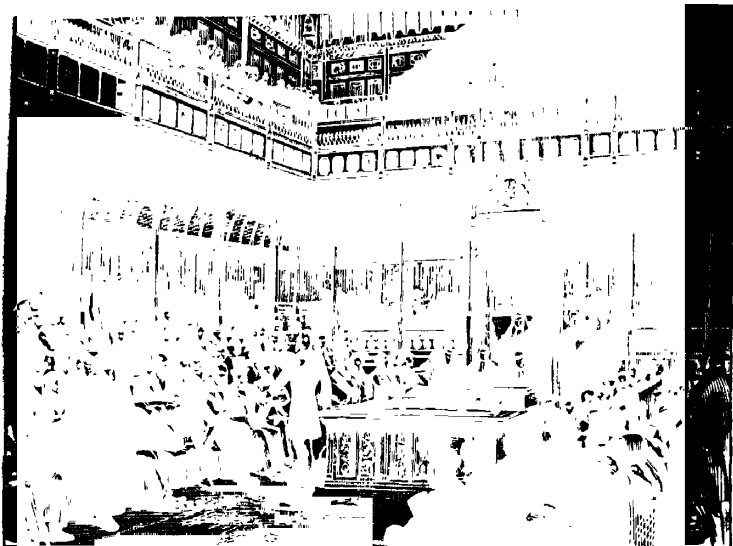
§ This was a year fruitful in Cabinet meetings. On the 22nd of January Lord Malmesbury writes, "Cabinets every day to the end of the month; some at Lord Derby's, who was ill with the gout."—Memoirs of an ex-Minister, ibid.

It was a paralysis. The dissentients were now joined by General Peel, who refused to remain [he had dissented from the first], and in half an hour, at Stanley's suggestion, they agreed to meet the M.P.'s with a Bill founded on the £6 and £20 rating, to which the trio agreed. This crude action exposed us to great condemnation and ridicule." The Bill was afterwards nicknamed the "Six Hours Bill," and some indiscreet revelations which were made by Sir John Pakington led to it being scoffed at as "the Ten Minutes Bill." A more ludicrous blunder has probably never been committed by any Government, as some of the Ministers confessed to each other. "No doubt," writes Lord Malmesbury, "the best thing in such a position would have been to accept the resignation of these three able and honourable men (however serious the loss), and to tell the truth to Parliament, deferring the Bill for a week. I wrote a strong letter to Lord Derby from Heron Court, begging him to do this. The following Saturday it was done, and the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough and Mr. Corry took the vacant seats in the Cabinet—the first as Board of Trade, the second as Colonial Secretary, the third as First Lord of the Admiralty; Northcote, India; and Pakington, War Office. The statement made by Lords Cranborne and Carnarvon was that Disraeli and Baxter* had completely mistaken their figures, and that the result would not be what we intended, but would be perfectly fatal."

On the 26th of February a meeting of Liberal members, held at Mr. Gladstone's house, expressed a very strong opinion against the Resolutions and against the Bill with the four franchises—"fancy franchises," they were called by Mr. Bright and the Radicals—which Mr. Disraeli had sketched under pressure from Mr. Gladstone on the previous day. It was resolved to move an amendment to the Resolutions. But on the same evening Mr. Disraeli foiled this attack by withdrawing them, and by promising to bring in a Bill next week. This was the "Ten Minutes Bill" which had just been adopted in haste by the Ministers at their distracted Councils in Lord Derby's house. On the 28th of February Lord John Manners, in a letter to Lord Malmesbury, writes:—"A meeting of Conservative M.P.'s was held at the Carlton to-day, Sir M. W. Ridley in the chair; between 120 and 150 present. Much difference of opinion, no resolutions passed, but a general disposition evinced in favour of rated residential household suffrage *v.* £6 rating and an equal division of new seats between the counties and the boroughs. An anxious desire expressed that we should fix upon the franchise thought best and then stick to it, declining to carry our opponents' measure. They (our opponents) are, I believe, in equal difficulties, and are quite unable to take office at present."† On the 4th of

* Mr. Dudley Baxter, who prepared Mr. Disraeli's figures for him.

† See on this subject a curious letter from Mr. Hayward to Mr. Gladstone written on the 15th of August, 1866. Mr. Hayward says:—"I entirely agree in what you say of the House of Commons and the Liberal party, which is neutralised by the individual crotchets of its members."—*Correspondence of Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C.*, Vol. II., p. 147.

... it was made known to the country that Lord Carnarvon, Lord Cranborne, and General Peel had resigned their seats in the Cabinet; and on the 18th of March Mr. Disraeli asked and obtained leave to bring in the Bill which the Government had finally adopted. In the debate on the Second Reading Mr. Gladstone somewhat haughtily formulated the changes in it which he must demand. These practically eviscerated the Bill, and at the time it was not supposed that the Government could with any degree of self-respect

MR. DISRAELI INTRODUCING HIS REFORM BILL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

assent to them. But when the Bill went into Committee it was soon apparent that Mr. Gladstone and his followers meant to force all their proposals on the Government. Ministers day after day held melancholy and mournful Cabinet meetings, and it was with rage that the Adullamites saw the men whom they had brought into office surrendering position after position.

"The *laissez aller* system followed by the Government," writes Lord Malmesbury in May, "trying to make the best they could of it, but constantly yielding something. The Conservative members seem disposed to adopt anything, and to think that it is 'in for a penny in for a pound.'" At each Cabinet meeting it was found that the Bill had become more Radical; indeed, it seemed as if Tory opposition stimulated Radical aggressiveness. Nor was the demoralisation confined to the Tory Party. There was some dread lest the persistent humiliation to which Mr. Gladstone and his

[illegible] Mr. Disraeli day after day [illegible] resign and abandon the Bill. A body of Radicals, called the "[illegible] Clique," began to give the Government friendly aid, and so [illegible] cumbered Mr. Gladstone's opposition, that for a time he refused to [illegible] sponsible for the leadership of the Liberal Party. The great difficulty [illegible] to apply the Bill to tenants who compounded with their landlords for [illegible] rates. As these householders were not *personally* rated, they would [illegible]

COUNCIL CHAMBER, OSBORNE.

(After a Photograph by F. G. C. Stuart, Southampton.)

enfranchised. Mr. Gladstone's idea was to definitely fix the franchise at a £5 rating limit, and on the 5th of April Mr. Coleridge was put up to move an instruction to the Committee to clear the path for Mr. Gladstone's proposal. The Radicals who met in the "Tea Room" of the House of Commons forced Mr. Coleridge to give way. When Mr. Gladstone in Committee proposed his plan, it was defeated by the defection of the Tea Room Party. Finally, the matter was settled by Mr. Disraeli putting an end to the practice of compounding for rates, so that every householder, unless he were a pauper, got a vote. Perhaps the most graphic view of the struggles, and the confused strife of this Session when Mr. Disraeli demoralised his own party by perpetual surrender, and broke up the Opposition under the solvent of

... is given by Mr. Paul's comparison of the original provisions of ... Bill and its provisions when it received the Queen's assent.

ORIGINAL BILL.	BILL AS PASSED.
Household franchise in boroughs, conditional on two years' residence, and personal payment of rates.	Household franchise, conditional on *one* year's residence; compound householder abolished, the occupier alone being rated.
£15 franchise in counties.	£12 franchise in counties.
Educational franchise for graduates or associates in Arts of any University of the United Kingdom, for those who passed senior middle-class examinations, for clergymen, professional men, and schoolmasters.	*No* educational franchise.
A pecuniary franchise for savings bank depositors with balance of £50, fundholders of like amount, and direct taxpayers to the amount of £1 per annum.	*No* pecuniary franchise.
Dual voting—a provision entitling the holder of the pecuniary franchise to vote for the same borough in respect of any franchise involving occupation of premises, and payment of rates.	*No* dual voting
Voting papers.	*No* voting papers.
No lodger franchise.	A £10 lodger franchise.
No cumulative vote or three-cornered constituencies, these being declared by Mr. Disraeli erroneous in principle and pernicious in practice.	*Four* three-cornered constituencies.
Twenty-three towns under 7,000 in population to be deprived of one member, and Totnes, Reigate, Great Yarmouth, and Lancaster, convicted of corrupt practices, to be disfranchised	Thirty-five towns below 10,000 in population deprived of one member. Eleven boroughs ultimately disfranchised.
Fourteen of the new seats to be given to boroughs, fifteen to counties, and one to London University.	Eighteen of the new seats to boroughs, twenty-five to the counties, and one to London University, one seat being afterwards given to Wales, and seven to Scotland.
No third members to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds.	Three members given to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds.*

As the Duke of Buccleuch said bitterly, the only part of the Bill which the Radicals had allowed to stand was "the word 'Whereas.'" Mr. Disraeli, in fact, induced his party to tolerate the measure because he surrounded Household Suffrage with an elaborate series of checks. The process of removing these one by one, but so gradually that he familiarised his followers with capitulation, was the process which he subsequently described in a speech at Edinburgh as that of "educating his party." But when the checks disappeared the Conservative Reform Bill was to all intents and purposes the Bill of Mr. Bright and the advocates of Household Suffrage pure and simple. In June Lord Malmesbury says, "After many vicissitudes, the Reform Bill came up to the House of Lords, and Lord Derby moved the Second Reading without a division, saying it was 'a leap in the dark.' Peers on our side were averse to it, but at a meeting of

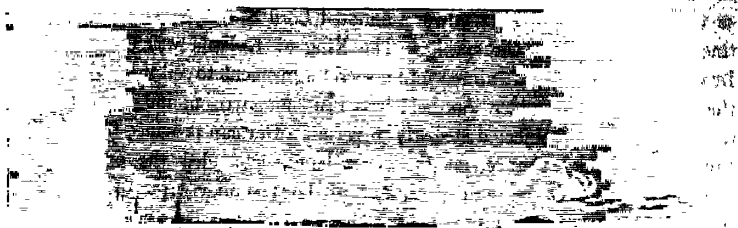
* Mr. Alexander Paul's History of Reform, pp. 201—203.

then Lord Derby said he would resign if it was rejected." That settled the matter. The Bill was ultimately passed on the 15th of August with only one important amendment—the clause creating the three-cornered constituencies. The Bills for Scotland and Ireland were carried in the following year, the Irish franchise being, however, fixed at £4 in boroughs. At Manchester and Edinburgh Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, during the recess, celebrated the passing of the Bill at great Conservative festivals, Mr. Disraeli vaunting the success with which he had "educated" his party up to the point of surrender.

During the struggle for Parliamentary Reform in England another great democratic movement on the Continent was in full and rapid progress. It was the movement of the German people in favour of German Unity, which had been arrested in 1848. The pacific policy of the Queen had saved England from sharing in Palmerston's wild scheme to thwart the aspirations of the German race in 1865. Hence Englishmen could view critically the strife between the people of Germany, led by Prussia, and the forces of Teutonic feudalism, organised and made militant by Austria. But it was impossible for the Queen to be indifferent to the result of this conflict. The husbands of her daughters were fighting on different sides. The struggle had been long foreseen by the Prince Consort, who was a strong partisan of German Unity, and had for years used all his influence with the Court of Berlin to induce Prussia to lead the national movement in Germany. In the summer of 1866 Europe felt that the truce of Gastein was fast coming to an end. Manteuffel was the Prussian Governor of Holstein. Goblenz was the Austrian Governor of Sleswig, and the claims of the Augustenburg Pretender—reserved for future settlement by the Convention of Gastein—soon furnished the administrators of the two provinces with a fruitful cause of quarrel. When a popular ovation was accepted by the Prince-Pretender in Sleswig, Manteuffel harshly reprimanded him. At Kiel in Holstein Austria openly encouraged the Pretender's Party in defiance of Prussia. Agitators from South Germany went about the country, under Austrian patronage, urging the Holsteiners to shake off the yoke of Prussia. The "conjoint dominion" was no longer endurable. Austria proposed to submit the dispute to the German Diet, a proposal which Prussia rejected, and when the Powers began to prepare for war, their example was followed by Italy, who now saw her chance of delivering Venice. In fact, early in spring, 1866, Italy and Prussia had entered into a secret Treaty embodying offensive and defensive action against Austria. The French Emperor knew of the existence of this Treaty, and it was a mystery why he did not intervene between the disputants. The probability is that he calculated on being able to interfere with profit to France after Prussia and Austria had each exhausted themselves in a long and sanguinary struggle, a reckoning which the sudden collapse of Austria completely upset. Napoleon III., though ostensibly suggesting a reference of the

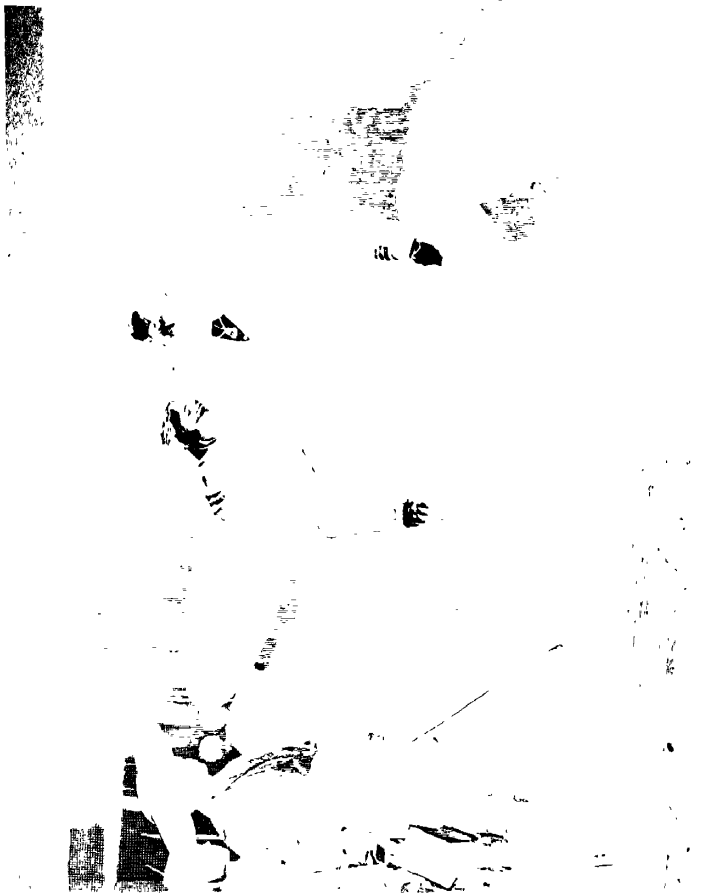
a European Conference, was secretly intriguing with both Powers. To Prussia he proposed an alliance on the basis of ceding to France the left bank of the Rhine, including Belgium, which England was bound to defend by arms. To Austria he offered an alliance based on the cession of Venice to Italy, in return for Silesia—a province which every Prussian regards with pride, as one of the Great Frederick's spoils of war. And all this time England was under the delusion that France was still a loyal ally, while the English Foreign Office was in utter darkness as to the subterranean negotiations in which Napoleon was engaged. Nothing now made for peace, except the scruples of the King of Prussia, who was personally attached to the Austrian Emperor, and who regarded with horror anything approaching fratricidal strife. The project of a Conference was abandoned because Austria disliked it. Prussia refused to submit to the arbitration or jurisdiction of the German Diet, the majority of which took the side of Austria, and the Austrians accordingly plunged into war, with Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hanover, Saxony, and many of the smaller States as their allies. In England fashionable opinion was all in favour of Austria. Her army, we were assured by the leading organs of the upper classes, was invincible. As for the troops and the generals of Prussia, they were spoken of as if they were beneath contempt.

On the 14th of June the Diet, 1866, on the motion of Austria, resolved to put in Federal execution against Prussia, in Holstein. On the 16th Prussian troops were marching through Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Hesse-Darmstadt in three columns on Saxony. This swift blow paralysed the minor States; in fact, Bavaria, with her army of 100,000, was not ready to come to the help of Austria till the war was over. Western Germany north of the Maine thus fell an easy prey to Prussian skill and valour. But that skill and valour were more conspicuously displayed in the chief theatre of the war. The Austrian commander, Marshal Benedek, having allowed the Prussians to seize Dresden at the outset, joined the Austrians in Bohemia. In two columns, one under the "Red Prince" (Frederick Charles), and the other under the Crown Prince (the "our Fritz" of the Queen's family), the Prussians poured like a rapid and resistless torrent through Saxony and the Silesia passes, in a parallel line, into the plains of Bohemia. What need to tell the tale? The flower of the Austrian army—its German troops—was wasted in Venetia. The Italian and Hungarian regiments in Bohemia were disaffected. The Prussians had the needle-gun, whereas the Austrians had the old, slow-firing muzzle-loader. Von Moltke, the ablest strategist in Europe, directed the Prussian attack, and thus fight after fight was lost by Austria. On the 3rd of July, 1866, the crowning victory of the war was won by Prussia at Sadowa, where the Crown Prince, aided by Blumenthal, played the part of Blucher at Waterloo, and the invincible Austrian legions lay prostrate in the dust. In Italy the Austrians were more successful. They won the battle of Oustozza and the sea-fight of Lissa—victories

which were barren of results. Peace was signed at Prague on the [illegible] of August, 1866. Venice had been surrendered to France, who was to hand it over to Italy. Austria was expelled from Germany, and the Danish duchies were transferred to Prussia, but with the proviso that the people of North Sleswig might, if they desired it, join Denmark. Saxony, however, retained

PRAGUE.

a certain amount of independence, whereas the smaller States were to be organised into a new German Confederation under Prussian leadership. Germany north of the Maine was annexed to Prussia. The triumph of Prussia was immediately followed by the reorganisation of the French army, and the initiation of reforms in Austria.

The aim of Lord Derby's Government had been to withdraw England entirely from foreign politics, but that did not prevent Englishmen from rejoicing at the creation of a strong progressive German Power in Central Europe capable of curbing the restless ambition of France, and at the defeat of Austria—one of the strongholds of decaying feudalism. During 1867 the work of consolidating North Germany went on rapidly, and Baron Beust, the Saxon Minister, was called to carry out the new policy of reconstruction

... At last the independence of Hungary was recognised, and the ... Emperor having sworn to maintain the Hungarian Constitution, he ... crowned in Pesth as King of this ancient Monarchy. When Hungary had been conciliated, Baron Beust next proceeded to frame a constitution for the other provinces of the Empire. One little cloud, however, arose on the untroubled horizon of the English Foreign Office. A pending dispute as to the occupation of Luxembourg tempted Lord Stanley to interfere in Continental affairs during the spring. The King of Holland was Grand Duke of Luxembourg, and he had entered into a secret agreement to sell it to France. But the capital of the province was held by a Prussian garrison, and the new North German Parliament objected strongly to permit a German province to pass under French dominion. France, on the other hand, demanded the evacuation of Luxembourg, and on the 23rd of April, 1867, Lord Stanley wrote to inform Lord Malmesbury that war was imminent. The Luxembourg Question arose simply because the French Emperor had been outwitted by Bismarck's diplomacy. The claim of France for a cession of German frontier had been postponed till after the peace with Austria was signed. By giving the South German States easy and generous terms, Bismarck had induced them to sign secret Treaties with Prussia, putting their armies at her disposal should France make war on her. Hence, when M. Benedetti presented the French claim for compensation in 1866, Bismarck defied his threats, and as France had neither allies in Germany nor breechloaders in her arsenals, she had to submit. But in 1867 Napoleon imagined he had discovered in Luxembourg a door into Germany that could be forced by diplomacy, and hence the negotiations with the King of Holland, which had been rendered abortive by the resistance of Prussia. The French ambassador in London then appealed to Lord Stanley to use his good offices as mediator, his proposal being that France would cease to press for the purchase of Luxembourg if Prussia would evacuate the garrison, which barred one of the military routes from France into Germany. England advised Prussia to give way. Russia proposed a Conference of the Powers to settle the question, a proposal which Prussia accepted, and the more especially as she doubted whether the dissolution of the Bund which authorised her occupation of Luxembourg had not destroyed her claim to maintain her garrison there. She had also failed to induce Austria to enter into an alliance with her, and so she was open to consider a compromise. Prussia withdrew from the fortress on condition of its being dismantled and the territory "neutralised," and the European guarantee for the neutralisation of Luxembourg was supposed to be a sufficient compensation for the loss of the fortress. This arrangement was formulated in the Treaty signed at London on the 11th of May, 1867, and at the time it enhanced the *prestige* of the Tory Government, to whose diplomacy it was greatly due. But, as a matter of fact, it simply served to embitter the relations of the disputing Powers. It left Prussia angry because France had ousted her from the fortress. It left France angry because Prussia had

thwarted her attempt to take the territory. Altogether, the Foreign Policy of France in 1867 was strangely bungled. Napoleon, by forbidding the King of Italy to "protect" the Pope against Garibaldian bands, had humiliated a grateful ally. French troops crushed the Garibaldians at Mentana, and thereby deeply wounded the susceptibilities of the Italian people. Above all, the Mexican tragedy utterly discredited the French Government in the eyes of Europe. For when France withdrew her troops from Mexico, under pressure from the United States, the Emperor Maximilian elected to remain in the country. His cause soon became hopeless. The Empress Charlotte undertook a fruitless journey to Europe to beg for succour, which was denied her. Her husband was finally taken prisoner by the Mexican Republicans and shot by order of a court-martial. "There is a very touching account," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 10th of July, "in to-day's papers of the Emperor Maximilian's execution. He died like a Christian and a soldier. His poor wife has become quite insane. The French expedition to Mexico and its tragical end are a sad blot on Louis Napoleon's career." *

Though the colony of Victoria was still vexed by the conflict between the two orders of its Legislature, and India was suffering from a famine in one of its Provinces, the dependencies of England in 1867 enjoyed profound tranquillity. One of them, indeed, took a new departure in colonial history. On the 26th of February Lord Carnarvon, carrying out the policy of his predecessor, passed a Bill through the House of Lords, incorporating the scattered provinces of Canada into a Federal Dominion. The financial history of the year, too, was uneventful. Mr. Disraeli introduced his Budget on the 4th of April, just before the Easter recess. In the previous year Mr. Gladstone had determined to use the balance of his surplus for the creation of terminable annuities in order to extinguish debt. The distracted state of affairs abroad, and the difficulties of the Government at home had, however, frustrated the scheme. But it was adopted by Mr. Disraeli in 1867. "He converted £6,000,000 of stock," says Mr. A. J. Wilson, "costing £180,000 per annum in interest, into an annuity of £440,000, expiring in April, 1885. Of the gross estimated surplus of £1,200,000 he proposed to keep £250,000 against contingencies; and the resolution was wise, for, owing to the Abyssinian War, and to the increase in the general costliness of the public services, the year ended with a considerable deficit. Mr. Disraeli estimated his revenue at £69,340,000, and the actual income was £69,600,000. But the expenditure, instead of being only £68,134,000, as estimated, reached £71,759,000. Deducting £2,000,000 charged that year to the war, the ordinary expenditure still exceeded the estimate by fully a million and a half, about £700,000 of which was due to the increased cost of civil administration."† Hence the

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 371.

† The National Budget, by A. J. Wilson, p. 95. Macmillan and Co.

[illegible] impressed the public mind that the time had [illegible] must be made not to reduce taxes, but to pay off National Debt.

The Session of 1867 was not prolific in Irish legislation. Ministers [illegible] private members once more made futile attempts to unravel the tangled [illegible]

LORD NAAS (AFTERWARDS EARL OF MAYO).

of the Land Tenure question. One measure, indeed, of a vigorous an[d] decided character, was rapidly passed, namely, the Act for continuing f[or] three months the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland. But as [to] land tenure, Lord Naas, on behalf of the Government, introduced a Bi[ll] very early in the Session to promote the improvement of land by tenant[s]. The Bill was founded on the principle of the Lands Improvement Act. The[re] were several kinds of improvements, for the making of which money was a[d]vanced under the Lands Improvement Act. These were, thorough draining, [the] reclamation of waste lands, the removal of old and useless fences, the makin[g]

[illegible] roads, and the erection of farmhouses, dwellings, and other buildings. On the Second Reading of Lord Naas' Bill being moved, a considerable diversity of opinion was exhibited with respect to the tendency and operation of the measure. Several amendments were proposed and discussed at length, and the debate was adjourned. Owing, partly to the pressure occasioned by the Reform debates, and other questions, and partly to a general impression of the futility of attempting to carry a measure of this description, the Bill was dropped.

Another effort was made, with similar results, by the Marquis of Clanricarde, who laid on the table of the House of Lords a Bill for giving facilities for voluntary contracts between landlords and tenants in Ireland. The Bill did not obtain a second reading. A third attempt to deal with the difficulty was made by Sir Colman O'Loghlan, who obtained leave to bring in a Bill, its main object being to encourage the granting of leases, and to discourage tenancies at will. After much controversy this measure was also dropped, and the Irish people read the old moral from these debates, that they must look elsewhere than to Parliament for the redress of their grievances. An effort was now made to raise the Irish Church Question. Sir John Gray, on the 7th of May, moved that the House of Commons on a future day resolve itself into committee to consider the temporalities and privileges of the Established Church in Ireland. This was a motion that was not unattractive to the Whigs, and so Colonel Greville seconded it as a Protestant who, living in Ireland, felt it his duty to protest in the strongest manner against the continuance of an unjust establishment. Sir Frederick Heygate moved the previous question, and then Mr. Gladstone intervened, giving a hint of his coming Irish policy. He found a difficulty in supporting the Resolution, not because he questioned the soundness of it, but because it was an abstract Resolution, and the House ought not to pass it without having a plan for giving effect to it. We might, he contended, support a religious establishment to maintain truth, but we did not support the Irish Protestant establishment for that purpose only, seeing that we also supported the Catholic College of Maynooth. We might maintain an established church because its doctrines were those of the bulk of the people. But that was notoriously not the case in Ireland. We might keep up an established church to supply the poorest class of the community with free and cheap religious teaching. But the Protestant Church in Ireland was the church of the rich. He trusted the time was not far distant when Parliament would take the question of the Irish Church up; and when it did he hoped that "a result would be arrived at which would be a blessing to all." This speech, coming from the author of the celebrated work in defence of established churches, was listened to with consternation by the Tories. They began to regret that they had "unmuzzled" Mr. Gladstone, to use Palmerston's phrase, by turning him out of Oxford. The matter was, however, shelved for a time, the "previous question" being carried by a majority of 195 to 183.

That the attack was preconcerted by the Liberal leaders was indicated by the fact that in the House of Lords Earl Russell, on the 24th of June, moved an address to the Queen, praying her to order, by Royal Commission or otherwise, full information to be procured as to the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland, with a view to their more equitable application for the benefit of the Irish people. Lord Russell hinted that he favoured the application to Ireland of the voluntary principle, and if that were done he would appropriate the property of the Church to educational purposes. Lord Cairns, however, declared that the destruction of the Established Church, whose function it was to teach Christian truth, would be fatal to the landed interest, and to the commerce of Ireland with England. But a motion for an address praying simply for a Royal Commission was agreed to, and the Commission was issued by the Crown in the ensuing autumn. Meantime, as the *Times* wrote in 1865, Ireland was "being cleared quietly for the interests and luxury of humanity." And yet not too quietly. The progress of Fenianism, especially in the British Army, was wonderfully rapid. Hundreds of agitators were carrying on their secret propaganda. Scores of Irish-American officers were pouring into Ireland, telling the people that General Sheridan and other hot-headed soldiers of their race in the United States were eager to interfere on their behalf. Early in 1867 sporadic risings of small, half-armed mobs were put down with ease, and in the trials which followed the capital sentence passed on those found guilty was commuted to one of penal servitude, the abstinence of the rebels from wanton outrage giving the Queen a reasonable ground for exercising her prerogative of mercy. But the Fenian organisation had grown to unexpected strength in England, and within a few days after Ministers announced the Bill suspending Habeas Corpus in Ireland (11th of February) a band of men, headed by Irish-American officers, would have surprised and seized the arsenal of Chester Castle, with its 20,000 stand of arms, had not their design been divulged by treachery. In autumn an event occurred which has to this day been the matter of hot controversy between Irishmen and Englishmen. The leadership of the Fenian conspiracy had now passed into the hands of a Colonel Kelly, who succeeded Mr. Stephens. He was returning from a meeting at Manchester with his friend Captain Deasy, and they were both arrested by the police on suspicion of loitering for purposes of burglary. They gave false names, but it was soon discovered who they were. The Fenians of Manchester resolved to rescue them, and on the 18th of September the prison van in which Kelly and Deasy were being conveyed to Salford was attacked by a body of thirty armed men. The horses were shot. The escort ran away, and the Fenians then ordered Police Sergeant Brett, who was on duty inside the van to unlock the door. He refused, and a pistol was fired at the lock, in order to break it. Unfortunately, the bullet struck Brett, who died from the wound. Kelly and Deasy made their escape, and were heard of no

[illegible]. But in the meantime a crowd had gathered, and had nearly [illegible] to [illegible] William Philip Allen, one of the rescuing party, several of them, including men called Larkin, Maguire, O'Brien (*alias* Gould), and Condon (*alias* Shore), were captured and tried for the murder of Sergeant Brett. They were all sentenced to be hanged, though the evidence against them was somewhat faulty. One of the prisoners (Maguire) was undoubtedly arrested by mistake, and the newspaper reporters who were present at his trial petitioned for his release. On further investigation it was found that the reporters were right, and the man was set free. But three of the prisoners were executed on the 23rd of November, although they protested they had not the remotest idea of hurting Sergeant Brett. "Condon," writes Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., "in speaking, used a phrase that has become historic: 'I have nothing,' he said, in concluding his speech, 'to regret or to take back. I can only say, 'God save Ireland.' His companions advanced to the front of the dock, and, raising their hands, repeated the cry, 'God save Ireland'" *—a phrase that became the shibboleth or watchword of the Irish Nationalist Party. Condon was reprieved because he was an American citizen. Numbers of eminent Englishmen—headed by Mr. John Bright, Mr. Mill, and Mr. Swinburne—endeavoured to get the others reprieved also, but in vain. Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien were hanged on the 23rd of November, and their execution produced a profound impression on the Irish race all over the world. In the towns in Ireland great and solemn funeral processions marched through the streets. Mr. T. D. Sullivan wrote the poem "God save Ireland," which displaced the National Anthem at Irish political gatherings. "To an Irishman," writes Mr. O'Connor, "then a youth, living in the country house of his fathers, and deeply immersed in the small concerns of a squire's daily life, the execution of the Manchester martyrs was a new birth of political convictions. To him, brooding from his early days over the history of his country, this catastrophe came to crystallise impressions into conviction, and to pave the way from dreams to action. It was the execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien that gave Mr. Parnell to the service of Ireland." † But another event happened which made it clear that the Fenian conspiracy was still formidable. One of its leaders, an Irish-American officer named Burke, had been captured and cast into Clerkenwell gaol, and his friends resolved to rescue him. Their agents, on the 13th of December, placed a barrel of gunpowder opposite the exercising ground of the gaol, where General Burke was supposed to be walking at the time. They then blew down the wall. Fortunately for himself, the Government had learned that a rescue was to be attempted, and the General had accordingly been removed to another part of the prison, otherwise he would have been killed. The victims were poor people who lived in the houses opposite the gaol, of whom twelve were killed and one hundred

* The Parnellite Movement, by T. P. O'Connor, M.P., chap. vii.

† *Ibid.*, p. 137. Popular Edition, Ward and Downey, 1887.

and [illegible] shockingly injured. An ignorant Fenian named Barrett was convicted of having been implicated in this clumsy plot, and was tried and executed in front of Newgate. This outrage ruined the Fenian organisation not only in England but in Ireland. Many honest Irishmen, who in a fit of patriotic enthusiasm had joined its ranks, withdrew from a body whose [illegible] and dark designs they saw were apt to be carried out with the stupid brutality that marked the Clerkenwell outrage.

THE QUEEN LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL. (*See p.* 292.)

But the Fenians were not the only outragemongers who frightened the comfortable classes out of their senses in 1867. The skilled artisans in many cases had employed their trade organisations to coerce by violence masters who refused to yield to the demands of their workmen, and workmen who refused to obey the orders of their Unions. Early in the year a Commission had been appointed to consider the legal position of the Unions, which was most unsatisfactory, and a separate Commission, appointed to investigate outrages which had been perpetrated at Sheffield, made some astounding revelations. They reported that the officials of the Sawgrinders' Union had hired assassins to maim, murder, or torture people who thwarted the policy

66

[illegible] Union.* They reported that similar barbarities were practised by the officials of the Brickmakers' and Bricklayers' Unions in Manchester. The country rang with denunciations of the working classes, and "strikes," such as that of the London tailors, were carried on with unparalleled acrimony. War between "the two nations," to use Mr. Disraeli's phrase in "Sybil," was imminent. It is curious to observe how seldom public writers and speakers on the conflict between Labour and Capital which then raged, took the trouble to ascertain the precise position of the artisans in the struggle. The truth, however, had been told with uncompromising honesty by the Committee of the House of Commons, who in 1821 had reported that outlawry made Trades Unionists lawless. In that year it was true an Act had been passed to legalise workmen's combinations for improving wages and reducing the hours of labour. But then this Act gave the preference to the word of the master in any dispute between him and his servant, and pedantic judges had made it a dead letter, by ruling that "all combinations in restraint of trade" were criminal. Nor had they stopped here. They roused the wrath of the working classes to white heat in 1867, by ruling in the case of Hornby *v.* Close that Trades Unions could not even hold property or funds for benevolent purposes. In fact, at that period, the position of the English working man was one of almost servile degradation, and under an extended franchise such a state of things could not last long. On the 5th of March a Conference of Trades Unionists was held in St. Martin's Hall, London, to protest against the decision in Hornby *v.* Close, a meeting which was the germ of the great Trades Union Congress, that ultimately became a mighty power in the industrial world.†

Early in the year the Queen received with pleasure the intimation that Prince Arthur had passed his military examination in a manner that did him great credit. "I am delighted," writes the Princess Louis to the Queen on the 13th of January,‡ "to hear of dear Arthur having passed so good an examination. How proud you must be of him! And the good Major,§ who has spared no pains, I know—how pleased he must be! Arthur has a uniform

* Some of the witnesses under cross-examination broke down and fainted when confessions of guilt were extorted from them.

† It is instructive to look back on the speeches delivered at this meeting. They give one a vivid idea of the humiliating *status* of the British workman at that time. The complaints of the speakers may be summed up thus: (1), whereas the masters' associations were free to send circulars to each other urging the dismissal of "marked" unionists, workmen were, by a recent legal decision, guilty of an indictable offence if they "picketed" or endeavoured to dissuade each other from serving a master whose men had struck work; (2), the law of conspiracy had been so strained as to make an act which when done by an individual was legal, illegal when done by two or more individuals in combination; (3), masters who broke contracts were only fined, whereas breach of contract by workmen was punished by imprisonment.

‡ Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. [illegible].

§ Afterwards Sir Howard Elphinstone, K.C.B. He was the Prince's governor from 1859.

now, I suppose." From another passage in a letter of the Princess, one gathers that the cloud of melancholy which overhung the Queen's widowed life was beginning to disappear. "I think," says the Princess, replying to one of the Queen's letters on the subject, "I can understand what you must feel. I know well what those first three years were—what fearful sufferings, tearing and uprooting those feelings which had been centred on beloved papa's existence! It is indeed as you say 'a mercy' that after the long storm a lull and calm ensues, though the violent pain which is but the reverse of the violent love seems only to die out with it, and that is likewise better. Yet, beloved mamma, could it be otherwise? There would be no justice or mercy, were the first stage of sorrow to be the perpetual one." Still, the advancing year brought its own cares to the Royal Family. A Princess was born to the Prince and Princess of Wales on the 20th of February, and though the official announcements stated that both mother and child were doing well, this was by no means the case. The recovery of the Princess was not satisfactory, and the physicians at last had to admit that she was suffering from a peculiarly obstinate rheumatic attack, that sadly undermined her health and strength. The Queen had, as usual, confided her anxieties to her daughter at Darmstadt, who in reply wrote as follows:—"The knowledge of dear sweet Alix's * state makes me too sad. It is hard for them both, and the nursing must be very fatiguing for Mrs. Clarke. I am so distressed about darling Alix that I really have no peace. It may and probably will last long, which is so dreadful." On the 14th of April the *accouchement* of the Princess Christian took place, when she was safely delivered of a little Prince, the Queen being in close attendance by her bedside all day.

On the 20th of May the Queen laid the first stone of the Hall of Arts and Sciences at Kensington, now known as the Royal Albert Hall. It was intended, and has since been used, for scientific and artistic congresses, both national and international; performances of music, distribution of prizes by public bodies, agricultural, horticultural, and industrial exhibitions, and displays of pictures and sculpture. At the inaugural function 7,000 visitors were arranged in an oval amphitheatre richly draped, and gay with the bright summer costumes of the ladies, and with gorgeous official uniforms. Among the guests were the Foreign Ministers wearing their decorations, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their robes, Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, and other Ministers and Ex-Ministers. The foundation stone bore in gold letters the inscription, "This stone was laid by her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, May 20, 1867." Accompanied by Princesses Louise and Beatrice the Queen arrived at the entrance of the building at Kensington Gore at half-past eleven, where the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh met the party. After receiving

* The pet family name of the Princess of Wales—obviously a contraction of Alexandra.

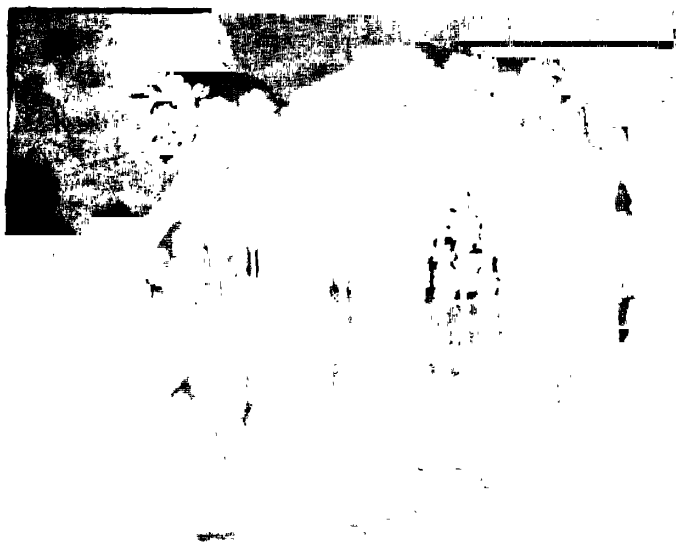
... read by the Prince of Wales, her Majesty made the following reply, but, contrary to her usual habit, in a scarcely audible tone of voice:—

"I thank you for your affectionate and dutiful address. It has been with a struggle that I have nerved myself to a compliance with the wish that I should take part in this day's ceremony; but I have been sustained by the thought that I should assist by my presence in promoting the accomplishment of his great designs, to whose memory the gratitude and affection of the country are now rearing a noble monument, which I trust may yet look down on such a

ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN AT KELSO. (See p. 5??.)

centre of institutions for the promotion of Art and Science as it was his fond hope to establish here. It is my wish that this hall should bear his name, to whom it will have owed its existence, and be called 'The Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences.'"

Amid a flourish of trumpets and the distant booming of twenty-one guns that had been stationed in Hyde Park, the polished block of granite was lowered into its place, the Queen declaring it well and truly fixed. The Archbishop of Canterbury offered up a short prayer, and the band and chorus delivered the vocal and instrumental music of a composition by the Prince Consort, entitled "L'Invocazione all' Armonia." The solo tenor parts were given by Signor Mario with great effect, and the Queen, while passing through the building, stopped where he stood, and personally thanked this sweetest of sweet singers.

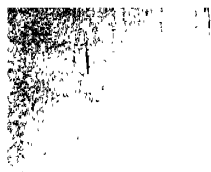
On the 22nd the Queen and Court left town for Balmoral. Before her departure she had decided not to invite formally any of the European Sovereigns who were in Paris visiting the French International Exhibition; but as the Sultan had intimated his intention of visiting England, orders were given to make preparations for his reception. The Court did not remain long in Aberdeenshire. From June to July the Princess Louis and her husband

VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO MELROSE ABBEY. (See p. 29[illegible].)

were in England, and the Queen had to return to Windsor to receive the Queen of Prussia, who paid her a visit on the 25th of June.

On the 13th of July the Sultan Abdul Aziz arrived in London. On the following day he visited Windsor. The Queen with the younger members of the Royal Family received his Majesty in the Grand Hall, and on his alighting she advanced to meet him. He stepped forward with an Eastern salutation, and kissed her hand, and in the interchange of courtesies which ensued, the Queen affectionately kissed his Highness, the young Izzedin Effendi, the Sultan's son, as did also the Princess Mary of Teck. The Grand Turk was indeed the lion of the London season of 1867, for Society was *en fête* in his honour. On the evening of the 19th, after being entertained at a splendid banquet given by the Duke of Cambridge, he attended a grand ball given by

the Secretary of State for India. The members of the Indian Council led the procession in a body by themselves, and Sir Stafford Northcote then preceded the august party, at the head of which walked the Sultan, with the Princess Louis of Hesse on his arm. In the brilliant train that followed Moslem and Christian Princes were strangely intermixed. The ball was opened by Sir Stafford Northcote and the Princess Louis, who led off the first quadrille, the Sultan looking on the scene with melancholy gravity, as if it were a show got up for his diversion. He, however, did full justice to the sumptuous supper, after which refreshment he returned to the ball-room, and about two o'clock took his departure, followed by the more distinguished guests. The scene at the India Office had been brilliant as one in Fairyland. But it was marred by one sad incident. Madame Musurus, the wife of the Turkish Ambassador, when taking some friends into supper suddenly dropped down dead. On the 20th the Sultan visited the Volunteer Camp at Wimbledon, and on the 22nd he was entertained by the Duke of Sutherland, and day after day the town was kept in a state of giddy excitement by the uninterrupted succession of spectacles and entertainments provided in honour of the Queen's Oriental guests. On the 23rd his Majesty left Buckingham Palace, where he had resided twelve days, and amidst the cheering of the populace took his departure for Dover. His visit rather obscured that of the Viceroy of Egypt, who was the guest of the nation at the same time, and was entertained by the Queen at Windsor on the 8th of July.

Besides the melancholy and tragic death of Madame Musurus there was only one other disagreeable incident attached to the Sultan's visit. A grand naval review at Portsmouth was arranged for his delectation and instruction on the 17th of July. It was known that the Queen intended to confer a mark of distinction on her Imperial visitor, but it was whispered that he was dissatisfied with what her Majesty proposed to do for him. The whole story has since been told by Lord Malmesbury, who says that at first the Queen, at Lord Derby's suggestion, offered to confer on Abdul Aziz the Star of India. But Fuad Pasha, who was in attendance on Abdul Aziz, hearing of this went to the Lord Steward and warned him that the Sultan would consider himself slighted if he were offered anything but the Garter. Already he had the Bath, and he seemed to consider the Star of India as an inferior distinction to the Bath. Lord Derby was remonstrated with, and finally it was settled that when the Queen received the Sultan on her yacht at the Naval Review she should give him the Order of the Garter. This was done with great pomp and ceremony, as Lord Malmesbury says, "in the midst of the howling of the storm and the roaring of the cannon." But here another hitch occurred. No ribbon was ready, so the Queen took the ribbon of Prince Louis of Hesse and presented it to the Sultan, intending that he should return it, when a new one could be got for him. "But," writes Lord Malmesbury, "the Sultan refused to give it (the ribbon) up, saying

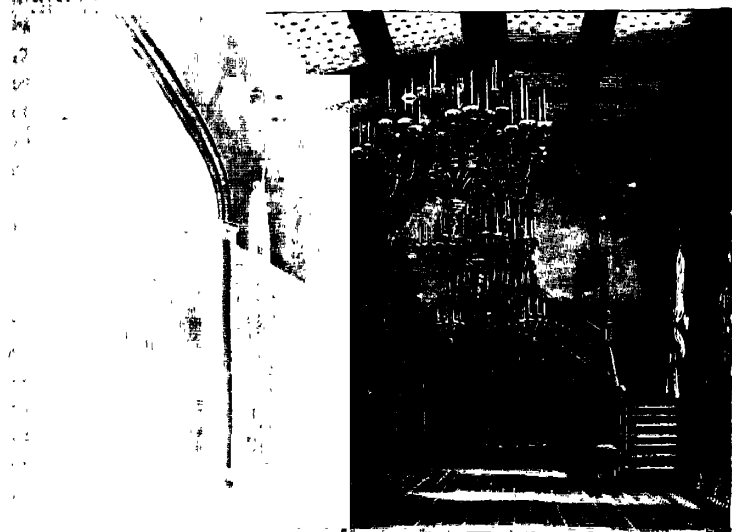
THE QUEEN INVESTING ABDUL AZIZ WITH THE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

that the one he had was given to him by the Queen, and that he would wear no other."*

In July the Empress of the French spent a few days quietly with the Queen at Osborne, and on the 9th of August the Queen paid a long visit to the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley, where she went through the wards, speaking after her homely fashion to the sick and wounded soldiers. She took a special interest in one case—that of a man who had been shot through the lungs at Lucknow, in 1858, but who had continued to do duty almost down to 1867.

In the end of the month the Queen resolved to pay a visit to the Scottish Border, an enchanted land of romance and minstrelsy, of fairy lore, and feudal chivalry. On the 28th of August, accompanied by Princess Louise, Princess Beatrice, Prince Leopold, Prince and Princess Christian, and Prince Christian Victor of Sleswig-Holstein, the Queen left Windsor Castle in the evening for Balmoral. She broke the direct route by having her special train stopped at Kelso, in order to visit a valued friend of the Royal Family—the Duchess of Roxburghe. On arriving at the station, the Queen affectionately kissed the Duchess; and her procession to Floors Castle was really a triumphal one. In fact, nothing could have exceeded the heartiness of the greeting which she everywhere got from the people. A vast crowd filled the Market-place, where her Majesty received an address from the magistrates of Kelso. In replying to it, she said, "I thank you, Mr. Craig, and the town of Kelso; an answer will be sent to your address." A little girl, the daughter of the Baron Bailie of Kelso, was then lifted up to the royal carriage, and presented to the Queen a large bouquet, which her Majesty received with an expression of delight. Her arrival at Floors, the seat of the Duke of Roxburghe, was announced to the town by a royal salute, fired from Roxburgh Castle. Great illuminations took place in Kelso at night, to the delight of thousands of country people. On the 22nd the Queen paid a visit to Melrose Abbey and Abbotsford. On reaching the Priory, she was received by the Duke of Buccleuch, the proprietor of the ruins and Lord-Lieutenant of the county. The Queen went to Jedburgh on the 23rd, and afterwards visited Hartrigge, a place associated with Lord Chancellor Campbell's memory. When the royal progress through the land of Scott and Thomas the Rhymer ended the Court proceeded to Balmoral.

This tour brightened the Queen's spirits, which seemed to have been slightly depressed before she left town. She had half hinted in one of her letters to the Princess Louis that her home was losing its attractions for some members of her family, and these suspicions the Princess promptly dispelled in a letter written from St. Moritz. "You say," she observes to the Queen, "that our home is dull now for those who like to amuse themselves. It is never dull, darling mamma, when we can be with you, for I have indeed never met a

* *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister.* Vol. I., p. 373.

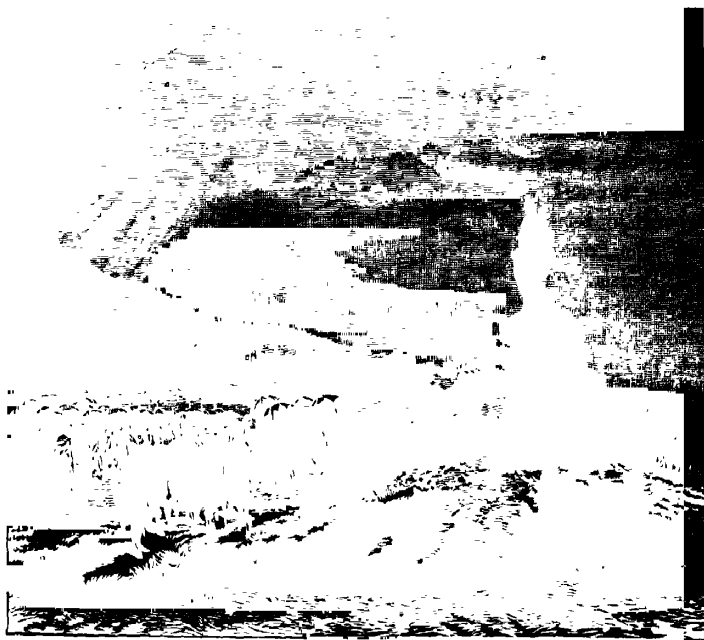
agreeable, charming companion. Time always flies by when one is with you. I hope it is not impertinent my saying so." In September the household at Balmoral was saddened by the death of Sir Frederick Bruce, whose sister, Lady Francis Baillie, was then staying at the Castle. Dr. Norman Macleod was also a welcome and valued guest at this time, and, writing in his Diary on the 18th of September, he says, "I had a long and pleasant interview with the Queen. With my last breath I will uphold the excellence and nobleness of her character."* Macleod was now avowedly the Queen's

THE BALL-ROOM, BALMORAL

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

favourite pastor in Scotland, and there can be little doubt that his influence over her Majesty's mind was most salutary. His visits always brightened the somewhat dull life of the Castle, and in a letter to his wife (15th October, 1866) he has given a vivid little autumnal sketch of a Balmoral "interior" in those days. He says "the Queen is pleased to command me to remain here (Balmoral) till Tuesday. I found Mr. Cardwell had been in the Barony, and, to the great amusement of the Queen, he repeated my scold about the singing.† After dinner the Queen invited me to her room, where I found the

* Life of Norman Macleod, D.D., by the Rev. Donald Macleod, B.A., Vol. II., p. 252.

† The Barony parish of Glasgow was the one of which Macleod was minister. In one of his sermons he had told his people that Scripture commanded them to *sing* the praises of God, not to *grunt* them. "But," he added, "if you are so constituted physically that it is impossible for you to sing, but only grunt, then it is best to be silent."

Princess Helena and Marchioness of Ely. The Queen ... a wee Scotch wheel, while I read Robert Burns to her—... and 'A Man's a Man for a' That,' her favourite. The Prince ... of Hesse sent for me to see their children. The eldest (Victoria), ... saw at Darmstadt, is a most sweet child; the youngest (Elizabeth) is ... fat ball of loving good-nature. I gave her a real *hobble*,* such as ... Polly. I suppose the little thing never got anything like it, for she ...

THE QUEEN UNVEILING THE STATUE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT AT BALMORAL. (See p. 298.)

and kicked with a perfect *furore* of delight, would go from me to nei... father nor mother, or nurse, to their great merriment, but buried her ... face in my cheek, until I gave her another right good *hobble*. They are ... dear children. The Prince of Wales sent me a message asking me to go see him. . . . When I was there the young Prince of Wales fell on ... wax cloth after lunch, with such a thump as left a swollen blue mark on ... forehead. He cried for a minute, and then laughed most bravely. There ... no fuss whatever made about him by mother, father, or any one. . . . ... is a dear sweet child. All seem to be very happy. We had a great deal ... pleasant talk in the garden." †

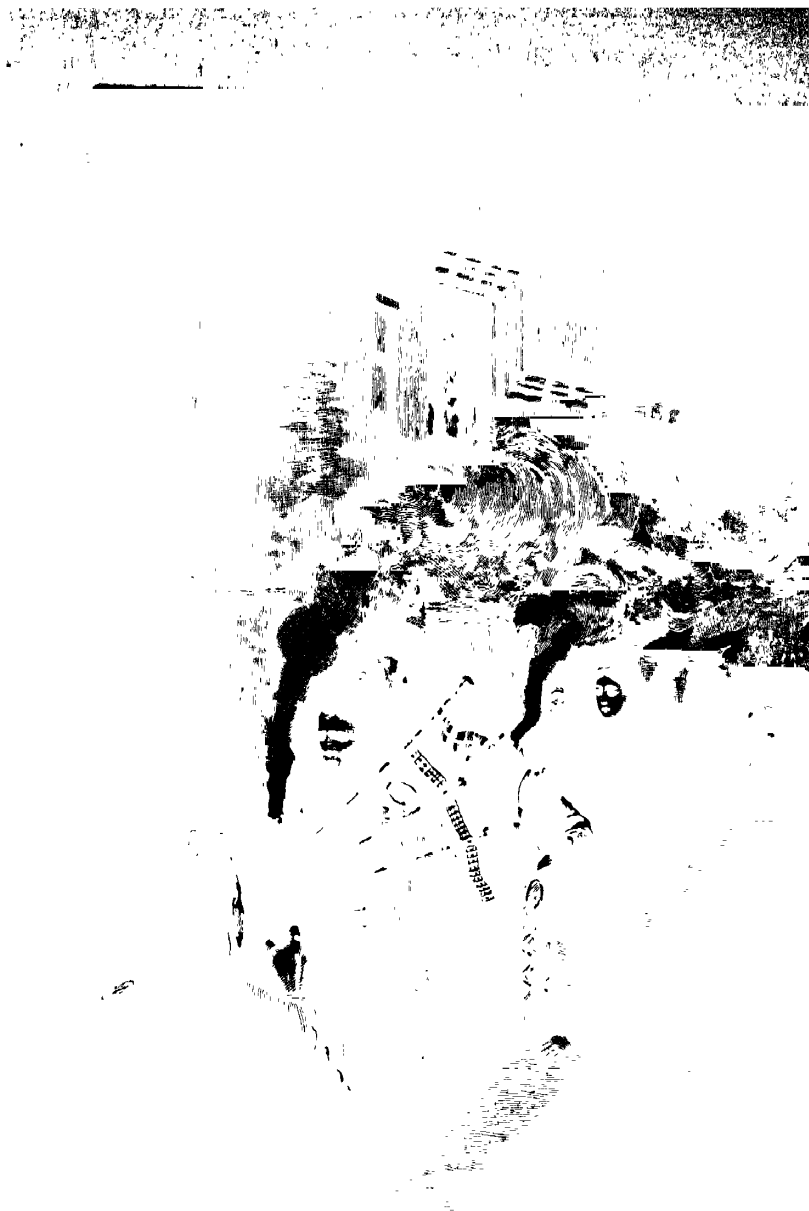
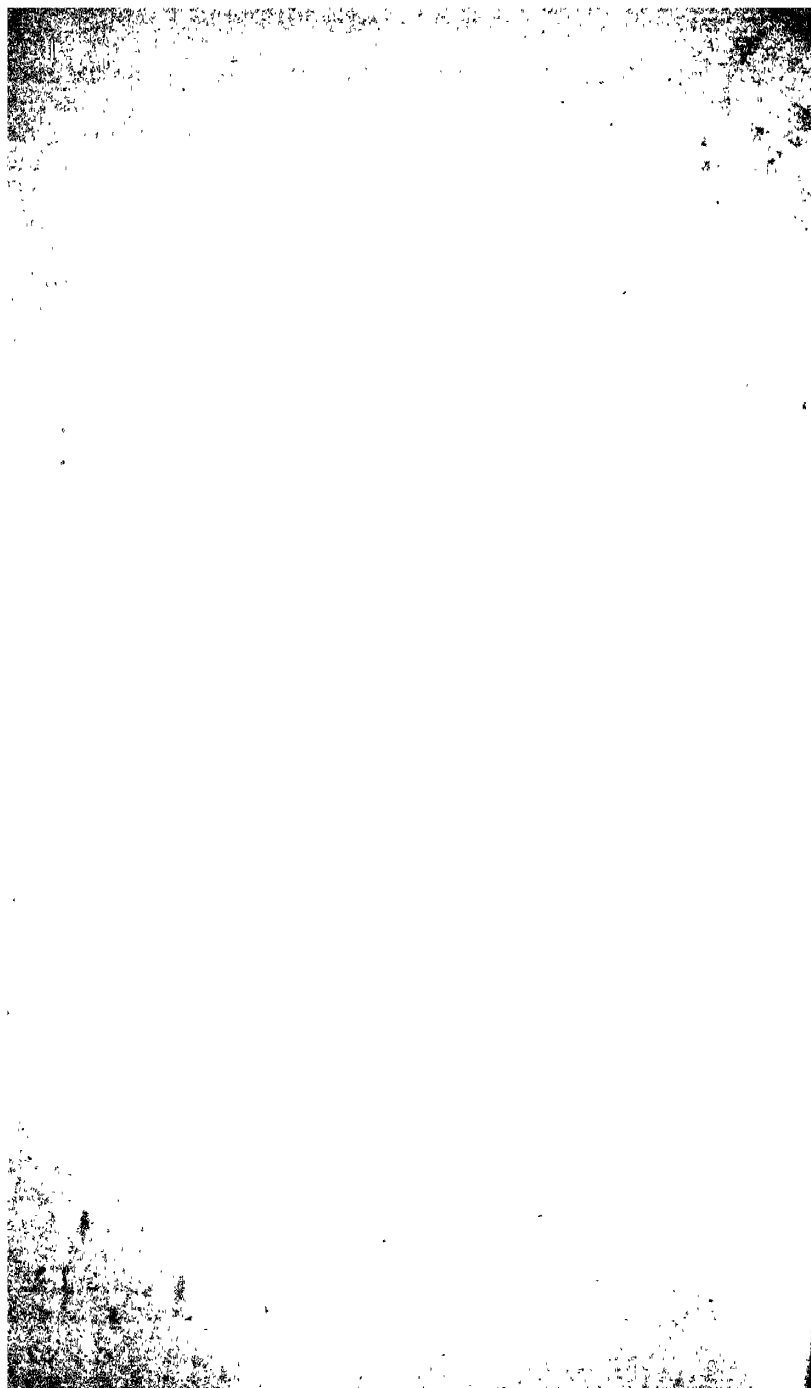
* Scots for *dandle*. † Life of Norman Macleod, D.D., Vol. II., pp. ...

[illegible] domestic cares were added to the overladen life of the [illegible]. To one of these, in a letter from Darmstadt, dated 10th October, [illegible] Princess Louis alludes as follows:—"I can't find words to say how [illegible] I am that dear, sweet Arthur* should have the small-pox! and that you [illegible] have this great anxiety and worry. God grant that the dear boy may [illegible] well over it, and that his dear handsome face be not marked. The [illegible] (Elphinstone) kindly telegraphs daily, and you can fancy far away how anxious one is. I shall be very anxious to get a letter with accounts, for I think constantly of him and of you." And again, on the 14th, she writes: "How glad I am to see by your letter that darling Arthur is going on so very well. One can't be too thankful; and it is a good thing over, and will spare one's being anxious about him on other occasions." In the same letter there is a reference to another matter which had caused the Queen some trouble. There had been, ever since the Danish war, a coolness between the families of her eldest son and eldest daughter, which her Majesty had strenuously endeavoured to remove. Her conciliatory efforts were this year crowned with success. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited the Continent, and met the King of Prussia. "Bertie and Alix," writes the Princess Louis, on the 14th October, "have been here (Darmstadt) since Saturday afternoon, and leave to-morrow. They go straight to Antwerp, and Bertie is going back to Brussels to see the cousins. The visit of the King went off very well, and Alix was pleased with the kindness and civility of the King (of Prussia). I hear that the meeting was satisfactory to both parties, which I am heartily glad of. Bearing ill-will is always a mistake, besides its not being right."† The embarrassments of the Darmstadt household, however, still continued to grieve the Queen, to whom her daughter the Princess Louis, confided all her troubles. The Princess had broken down in health during the autumn of 1867, and, in one of her letters she tells the Queen that as she does not consider it prudent, "for financial reasons,"‡ to engage a governess for her daughter, the Princess Victoria, she has asked Mr. Geyer, who taught her little black servant Willem, "to give her a lesson every other day."§ On the 18th of October the statue to the Prince Consort, at Balmoral, was unveiled, with reference to which the Princess Louis, in one of her letters (26th of October) expresses a hope which was fairly well realised—to the effect that the ceremony went off as well as the weather would permit"

* Now Duke of Connaught.

† Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and [illegible], p. [illegible].

‡ Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and [illegible] 1[illegible], 1[illegible].

§ [illegible], who had died a few months before, was a well-known figure at Balmoral. He was given to [illegible] by the Baron [illegible]-Schmittburg, who brought him from Java. Willem was the [illegible] of a negro father and a Javanese mother, and was a favourite with the Queen and her [illegible].

The Scottish festival of Hallowe'en (31st of October) was kept this year by the Queen with unusual formality. "We had been driving," she writes, "but we turned back to be in time for the celebration. Close to Donald Stewart's house we were met by two gillies, bearing torches. Louise got out and took one, walking by the side of the carriage like one of the witches in *Macbeth*. As we approached Balmoral, the keepers, with their wives and children, the gillies, and other people, met us, all with torches, Brown also carrying one. We got out at the house, where Leopold joined us, and a torch was also given to him. We walked round the house with Ross playing the pipes, going down the steps of the terrace. Louise and Leopold went first, then came Jane Ely, and I followed by every one carrying torches, which had a very pretty effect. After this, a bonfire was made of all the torches, close to the house, and they danced reels while Ross played the pipes."

In December, after returning from Balmoral, the Queen paid a visit to Claremont and to Lady Palmerston. "The visit to Claremont," writes the Princess Louis, "must have been quite peculiar for you; and I can fancy it bringing back to your mind the recollections of your childhood. In spring it must be a lovely place, and with gayer papers on the walls, and a little modern comfort, the house must likewise be very pleasant. . . . The account of your visit to Lady Palmerston and to her daughter is most touching. It is so inexpressibly sad for grandmother and mother, for it is unnatural for parents to survive their children, and that makes the grief a so peculiar one, and very hard to bear."

THE PRINCE CONSORT MEMORIAL AT BALMORAL.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NEW ERA OF REFORM.

"Little War" in Abyssinia—King Theodore's Arrest of Vice-Consul Cameron—The Unanswered Letter to the Queen—A Skilful but Expensive General—Sir Robert Napier's Expedition—An Autumnal Session—Addition to the Income Tax—Parliament in 1868—A Spiritless Legislature—Fishing for a Policy—Apologetic Ministers—Mr. Bright on Repeal—The Irish Church Question—Fenian Alarms—Illness and Resignation of Lord Derby—Mr. Disraeli Prime Minister—His Quarrel with Lord Chelmsford—Lord Derby Arbitrates—The "Giant Chancellor"—Mr Disraeli's New Policy—Discontented Adullamites—Public Executions—Lord Mayo and Concurrent Endowment—"The Pill to Cure the Earthquake"—Mr. Gladstone Attacks the Government—The Irish Church Resolutions—Resignation or Dissolution—Mr. Disraeli's "No Popery" Cry—Lord Chelmsford's Bad Pun—Defeat of the Ministry—Mr. Disraeli and the Queen—"Scenes" in the House of Commons—Charges of Treason—Mr. Disraeli's Relations with the Queen—A Parliamentary Duel between Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Bright—The Dissolution of Parliament—Mr Ward Hunt's Budget—Conclusion of the Abyssinian War—The General Election—Triumph of Mr Gladstone—Resignation of the Ministry—Mr. Gladstone's New Cabinet—The Queen's Politeness to Mr. Bright—Illness of Prince Leopold—Attempted Assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh—The Queen's Book—The Queen Accused of Heresy—The West-End Tradesmen and the Queen—Mr. Reardon, M P., suggests Abdication—A Bungled Volunteer Review at Windsor—A Hot London Season—Serious Illness of the Queen—Her Tour in Switzerland—Death of the Archbishop of Canterbury—Conflict between the Queen and Mr. Disraeli as to Church Patronage—The Revolution in Spain—Rupture between Turkey and Greece—Another War-Cloud in the East

autumn Session of Parliament had been held in November, 1867, in [illegible]ler to vote supplies for one of those "little wars" in which England has frequently been engaged during the Queen's reign, a war which arose out [illegible] a dispute with the King of Abyssinia. This swarthy and half-savage [illegible]entate had detained in captivity several British subjects, one of them [illegible]ng Captain Cameron, a British Vice-Consul on the Red Sea littoral. [illegible]eodore of Abyssinia had seized them to mark his indignation at Lord [illegible]ssell's culpable discourtesy in neglecting to answer a letter which he had [illegible]lressed to the Queen. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, a Syrian emissary of the [illegible]reign Office, had endeavoured to procure the release of the prisoners, but [illegible] his turn he, too, was seized and compelled to share their fate. When [illegible]rliament was prorogued the Queen's Speech had intimated that the cap[illegible]s would have to be rescued by force, and an army of 10,000 men, under [illegible] Robert Napier, was equipped at Bombay for that purpose. At the end [illegible] 1867 a portion of it had landed in King Theodore's country. Napier [illegible] a skilful but an expensive general. At the outset he spent £2,000,000 [illegible] his Expedition, and a further demand for an equal sum was made. [illegible]nce Parliament had to be summoned in November to vote these supplies. [illegible] additional penny was put on the Income Tax, and the Government was [illegible]horised to use the Exchequer balances for the expenses of the campaign. [illegible] most caustic critic of the Ministry was Mr. Lowe, who condemned it [illegible] declaring war without the authority of Parliament.

The New Year (1868) found Parties and politicians preparing for the [illegible] electoral struggle for power. But there could be no General Election [illegible] the new register of voters became operative. Hence the country passed

through a Parliamentary interregnum during which it was ruled by a House of Commons that had exhausted its mandate, and by its own act had ceased to represent the bulk of the enfranchised classes. It lacked authority to legislate, and was too spiritless to intrigue. All that could be done by the

SIR ROBERT NAPIER (AFTERWARDS LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA).

leaders was to prepare the ground for the General Election; in other words, they began to seek for a policy with which they could go to the country. Many Cabinet meetings were held in January, but with no very obvious result. Ministers seemed unable to hit on a programme, and when Lord Stanley and Mr. Gathorne Hardy addressed a great political meeting at Bristol on the 22nd, their chief object appeared to be to apologise for the Reform Act. It had been demanded in a manner that it would have been dangerous [illegible]

[illegible] and the "innovating impulse" which it might create would [illegible] [illegible] itself. Such, at least, was Lord Stanley's view. The Liberals, on the other hand, had been openly fishing for a policy. Some, like Mr. Lowe, Mr. [illegible], and Mr. Forster, pressed for radical measures of educational reform. "We must educate our masters," said Mr. Lowe, and so he now demanded national compulsory unsectarian education. A few rising young men, like Mr. Fawcett, gave prominence to Land Law Reform, the creation of peasant-proprietorship, abolition of primogeniture, and the like. Mr. Bright, however, like most thinking men at the time, contended that the Irish Question must hold the first place in the Liberal programme of the future. The recent activity of the Fenians, and the discovery that the Irish patriots had found in America a new fulcrum for their agitation, convinced Englishmen that a new departure must be taken in Irish policy. Unless England could dictate a Conspiracy Bill to the United States, the American-Irish could keep Ireland in revolutionary restlessness so long as Irishmen despaired of getting grievances redressed by the Imperial Parliament. But what should be done for Ireland? Some said the Land Question must be settled; others that concessions to the priesthood in the matter of education would suffice; others, like Lord Stanley, thought the Irish case was hopeless, and they talked of the impossibility of conceding anything to noise and menace.

Mr. Bright's great speech at Birmingham on the 3rd of February, however, advanced the position of the Liberal Party in the boldest manner. There had been some talk of giving Ireland political autonomy, but it had failed to touch the sense of the nation. Oddly enough, however, Mr. Bright did not show himself strongly antipathetic to this policy. He was opposed to the Repeal of the Union, but on the other hand he declared that Repeal was a course which was open to consideration if remedial legislation failed. And he was at great pains to prepare the ground for a Repeal agitation by reconciling the English mind to the discussion of such a policy. It was for this reason that he dwelt on the fact that Repeal of the Union with Scotland was once defeated in a full House merely by a majority of two. That, said Mr. Bright, was a high precedent, if any one wished to adopt a Repeal agitation as a remedy for Irish discontent. But in the meantime Mr. Bright's plans were (1), to disestablish the Anglican Church in Ireland and secularise its property, distributing the spoil in fair proportions among the chief sects of Ireland; (2), as to the land question, he proposed that a Land Commission should buy up the estates of absentee landlords and sell them to tenants, who were to pay the purchase-money in a certain term of years by a slight [illegible] to their rent. In the meantime London was swarming with special [illegible]. The garrison at Woolwich stood to its guns every night expecting a [illegible] attack from the river. Special precautions had also to be taken to [illegible] [illegible], and Lord St. Leonards, with unconscious humour, wrote a

letter to the *Times* imploring the Fenians to confine their operations to Ireland, because by annoying Englishmen they rendered the Irish cause increasingly unpopular in England. In these circumstances Ministers committed the fatal mistake of resolving to do nothing—except pass the Scottish and Irish Reform Bills, a Boundary Bill, and a Bribery Bill. They said that in two or three years' time they might be in a position to consider other matters such as that of National Education. The Irish Church could obviously not be assailed by a Party closely dependent on the goodwill of the English clergy. As for the Irish Land Question, Lord Stanley disposed of it by simply declaring that every proposal to deal with it which he would not like to see applied to England was pure "quackery."

On the 13th of February Parliament met, and on the 16th the town was startled to hear alarming accounts of the Prime Minister's health. Repeated attacks of gout had broken up his constitution, and on the 24th of February he resigned, Mr. Disraeli being chosen by the Queen as his successor. Here again the Queen showed her good sense. A foolish intrigue had been directed against Mr. Disraeli by some members of his Party, who having trusted him with carrying out a revolution, refused to trust him with the work of Government. Neither Lord Stanley nor the Duke of Richmond—whose names it is understood were mentioned as his rivals—had Mr. Disraeli's ability, experience, fame, and dexterity in managing men. They had in truth no qualification whatever, save their rank, which could put them in competition with Mr. Disraeli, and the Queen had naturally grave doubts whether, on the eve of an appeal to the new Democracy, it would be seemly to greet it with an open declaration that, when Capacity and Rank competed for the Premiership of England, Rank must carry the day. Mr. Disraeli's elevation had been, however, foreseen by many shrewd observers. During the vacation Bishop Wilberforce met a brilliant company of statesmen and men of letters at the late Lord Stanhope's place at Chevening. The events of the Session were frequently discussed, and their conversations are summed up by Wilberforce in his Diary as follows:—"No one even guesses at the political future: whether a fresh election will strengthen the Conservatives or not seems altogether doubtful. The most wonderful thing is the rise of Disraeli. It is not the mere assertion of talent, as you hear so many say. It seems to me quite beside that. He has been able to teach the House of Commons almost to ignore Gladstone; and at present lords it over him, and I am told says that he will hold him down for twenty years." *

Mr. Disraeli took an early opportunity of showing his colleagues that he meant to be master in his own house. His first act set the Tapers and Tadpoles of the Carlton Club by the ears. He sent Lord Chelmsford—whom he had not forgiven for his venomous opposition to the emancipation of the

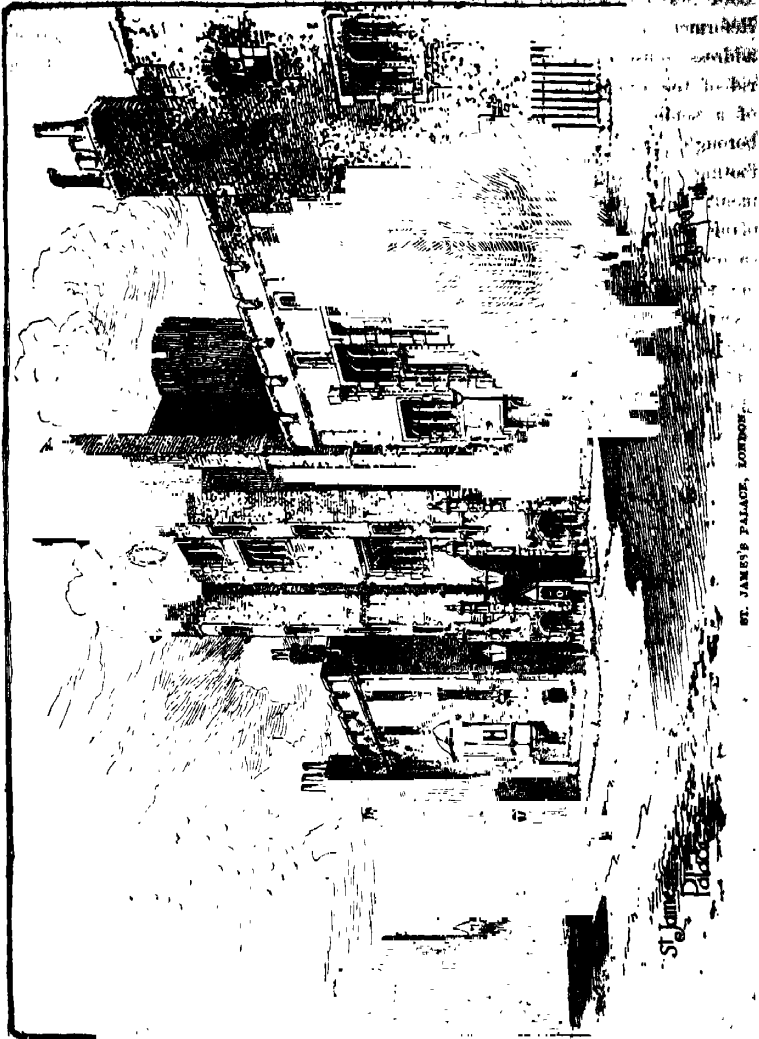
* Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 219.

intimation that he must resign. His next act was to offer the Chancellorship to Lord Cairns, in order to strengthen the debating power of the front Ministerial Bench in the House of Lords. According to Bishop Wilberforce's Diary, when Lord Chelmsford handed his seals to the Queen he held them back for a minute, and said, "I have been used worse than a menial. I have not even had a month's warning." * Certainly he might have been treated with more courtesy, but technically speaking Mr. Disraeli was well within his right in dismissing Lord Chelmsford. In 1866, when Lord Derby formed his Government, Lord Chelmsford took office on the distinct understanding that one day he must make way for Sir Hugh Cairns. "This being the case," says Lord Malmesbury, "he had no right to be angry at Disraeli's arrangement, but he was so, and appealed to Lord Derby, who confirmed the decision as being consistent with his original agreement." Mr. Disraeli did not withdraw Sir S. Northcote from the India Office, but conferred the Chancellorship of the Exchequer on Mr. Ward Hunt. "He is a giant in body," writes Lord Malmesbury, "being six feet four, and weighing twenty stone. When he knelt to kiss hands he was even in that position taller than the Queen." A still better qualification for office, however, was possessed by Mr. Hunt. As the hero of the debates on the compensation clauses of the Cattle Plague Bill, he had become the idol of the squirearchy, and his presence in the Cabinet did much to reconcile them to Mr. Disraeli's elevation to the Premiership. The constitution of the Government and disposal of the offices curiously reflected the influence which the new electors were already exercising on the ruling classes. The most striking thing about the reconstructed Ministry was the concentration of its power in the House of Commons. For the first time for many years there sat in the popular Chamber the Prime Minister (Mr. Disraeli), the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Stanley), the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Ward Hunt), the Home Secretary (Mr. Hardy, appointed on the retirement of Mr. Walpole), the War Secretary (Sir J. Pakington), the First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Corry), and the Secretary for India (Sir Stafford Northcote). In the House of Lords the representatives of the Government held offices of secondary importance.

The new Prime Minister met his followers in Downing Street on the 5th of March, and promised them that his policy would be truly Conservative. At half-past five he rose in the House of Commons, amidst general cheering, to explain his position, which he did with some superfluous humility. In Foreign Affairs his policy, he said, would be Lord Stanley's—one of peace without isolation—and in Home Affairs it would be "a Liberal one—a truly Liberal one." The Reform Bills for Ireland would proceed, an Education Bill was promised, and on the following Tuesday Lord Mayo would explain the views of the Cabinet as to Ireland—views which doubtless would

* Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 242.

satisfy "enlightened and temperate men" of all Parties. Some of the Adullamites thought that a mistake had been made in not attempting to

ST. JAMES'S PALACE, LONDON.

form a Coalition, and Mr. E. P. Bouverie gave voice to their querulous discontent. Before the sitting was over, Mr. Hardy succeeded in carrying a measure in which the Queen was interested—the Bill for abolishing the

humiliating spectacle of public executions. But it was quite clear that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Russell would now give the new Cabinet no mercy. Every one therefore felt that the crisis in its fate would be determined when Lord Mayo expounded its Irish policy. The Irish Church Question divided Reformers least, and it was known that to this question Lord Mayo would address himself. There were now three plans before the country for getting rid of the anomaly of supporting in Ireland out of national funds, the Church of a small, a rich, and an anti-national sect. Lords Hardwicke and Ellenborough had proposed to "level up" the Roman Catholics to an equal footing with the Protestants by raising £3,000,000 a year for their endowment. Lord Russell proposed to "level down" the Protestants to the same plane of equality as the Catholics, by diverting six-eighths of the Protestant endowments to Catholic purposes. Mr. Bright proposed to secularise all the Protestant endowments and devote them to purely national purposes, reserving £3,000,000 to break the fall of the Protestant churches, and provide each Roman Catholic parish with a small piece of glebe land. On Tuesday, the 10th of March, Mr. Maguire opened the debate on the affairs of Ireland, and Lord Mayo, with verbose embarrassment, gave an exposition of Irish policy, which sealed the fate of the Government. He promised (1) a small Bill for registering tenants' improvements and encouraging leasehold tenures, which nobody treated seriously; (2) Commissions of inquiry into the Land Question and into the Irish railway system, with a hint at granting Imperial subsidies to Irish railways; (3) the endowment of a separate Catholic University; (4) an inquiry into the Irish Church, with a suggestion that the right policy was to "level up" the Catholics to the same condition of endowment as the Protestants, and to increase the *Regium Donum*, or annual subvention of the Presbyterians. As Mr. Horsman said, Lord Mayo seemed to be looking everywhere for a policy without being able to find it. Inaction as regards the Church, procrastination as regards the Land, reaction as regards Education—such was the Irish policy of the Government. The idea of "levelling up" the endowments of the Catholics was felt to be impracticable, for it would have involved an expenditure of about £3,000,000 a year. If this sum were raised by Irish taxation, the Irish Catholics would naturally object to pay to their priests through the State the stipends which they already paid them as free-will offerings. If it were raised by Imperial taxation, it was hopeless to expect the Protestants of England and Scotland to endow an Ultramontane Catholic Church in Ireland. The scheme for a new Catholic University was equally objectionable. It was to have no connection with the State. Hence it would be a standing challenge to the accepted national policy of education, which links State control with State aid. As a remedy for Irish grievances, Mr. Bright likened it to the pill which Addison's quack sold "to cure the earthquake." Mr. Gladstone attacked the Government with all the eloquence

of action. His policy he declared to be the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Protestant Church, and he announced that he would take the opinion of the House on a definite proposal for carrying it out. For that purpose he produced three Resolutions on the 23rd of March, which affirmed the necessity for creating no new interests in the Irish Church "pending the final decision of Parliament." In a letter to Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Disraeli met the attack by raising a false issue. It was not, he said, the Irish Church that was at stake. What Mr. Gladstone challenged was really "the sacred union of Church and State, which has hitherto been the chief means of our civilisation, and is the only security of our liberty." It was obviously indiscreet for a Tory Minister to assert that the principle of a State Church was involved in the maintenance of an ecclesiastical establishment which served no State purpose whatever, save that of making the Irish people hate England. Mr. Gladstone's scheme was to terminate the existence in Ireland of any salaried or stipendiary clergy paid by the State, whether Catholic or Protestant; though, by way of compensation for life-interests, he promised to leave three-fifths of their endowments in the hands of the Anglican clergy. Lord Stanley moved an amendment which pleaded for delay. After a new Parliament had been elected, the Government, he said, would bring in a scheme to reform the Church of Ireland. Coupled with his admission that "considerable modifications in the temporalities" of the Irish Church would be necessary, his speech disgusted Mr. Disraeli's Orange supporters, and dispirited his English followers. What, asked Lord Cranborne, would anybody think of a man on the other side of the hedge, if he expressed an opinion that there must be "considerable modifications" in the money in the traveller's purse? Mr. Hardy completed the confusion of his Party by practically answering Lord Stanley, and declaring that he, at least, would never lay a sacrilegious hand on Church temporalities. The "Cave," too, broke up under pressure from the constituencies. Even Mr. Lowe assailed the Irish Church, averring that "the curse of barrenness" was upon it. "Cut it down!" he exclaimed; "why cumbereth it the ground?"

It is easy to see why Mr. Disraeli's strategy was at fault. He should either have nailed up the standard of "No surrender," or have boldly said the Irish Church must be disestablished, and appealed to the country to trust the work to Conservative hands that would deal tenderly and reverently with such an ancient institution. As it was, he made Lord Stanley hint that Ministers were ready next Session to produce a plan which Liberals could accept, and he made Mr. Gathorne Hardy soothe his followers with assurances that no harsh hands would ever be laid on the Irish Church. Mr. Gladstone carried his motion to go into Committee on his Resolutions, and on the 5th of April Lord Malmesbury writes in his Diary, "Government has been beaten on Lord Stanley's amendment. We shall not resign, but dissolve and meet a new Parliament." There is some reason to think that it was the intention

the Government not to dissolve Parliament till January, 1869, when the new electors came to power. And it is certain that the Radicals were by no means anxious to turn Mr. Disraeli out till they had convinced the now yielding Whigs that the era of inaction had passed away, and that the next Liberal Executive must be as Liberal as the new Parliament which it was going to lead. Mr. Disraeli's course of action at this time was therefore unintelligible. Though he knew that Mr. Gladstone's proposal had pleased the new Democracy, he made no attempt to "educate" his party up to a compromise* with the Opposition, who, after the first flush of victory, became a little nervous as they saw the great practical difficulties of Disestablishment looming larger every day. He missed his golden opportunity and raised a "No Popery" cry, declaring that the attack on the Irish Church was a conspiracy between the High Churchmen and the Roman Catholics to destroy the institutions of a Protestant Monarchy. This naturally alienated the votes of the High Churchmen, who were mostly Tories.† Nor did the Low Churchmen respond to the "No Popery" cry. They noted that it came from a Government which was prepared to endow a second Maynooth on a more sumptuous scale than the first, and from a Statesman who jeered at "the shallow fanaticism" of the Liberation Society. Perhaps this was fortunate. To have effected a compromise might have removed some of the practical evils of the Irish Church. But it would not have removed the sentimental grievance of the Irish people, who must have regarded even a reformed Protestant Church Establishment, as a badge of English conquest and a mark of Protestant ascendency. A war of words and wits between the Prime Minister and Lord Cranborne, whose invective he dismissed compassionately by saying it "wanted finish," did not tend to bring harmony into the Tory party, which seemed fast breaking into fragments. "The old Government," said Lord Chelmsford—a bad though sportive punster—to some friends, "was the Derby—*this one is the Hoax.*" After the Easter recess Mr. Disraeli took no notice of his defeat. Mr. Gladstone therefore kept pressing on his Resolutions, and as they embodied an Address to the Queen, everybody was speculating as to her answer. After three weeks' debate the first Resolution was carried on the morning of the 1st of May by a majority of 65—an increase of 5 on the majority for going into Committee. It was now impossible to conceal from the Queen that on a vital question the Cabinet had completely lost the confidence of the House of Commons. That very day Mr. Disraeli accordingly went to Osborne to see her Majesty, thereby giving dire

* Mr. Bernal Osborne had suggested one. It was to cut down the Irish Church establishment to five hundred ministers and four bishops.

† Writing to Wilberforce on the 9th of September on the subject, Mr. Disraeli says, "In the great struggle in which I am embarked, it is a matter of great mortification to me that I am daily crossed, and generally opposed by the High Church Party. Only think of Dean Hook opposing Henry Lennox at Chichester." The Bishop's answer was that Mr. Disraeli must expect to lose the High Church vote, seeing that he did not, in dispensing ecclesiastical prestige, sufficiently consider the claims of High Churchmen.—*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, Vol. II., p. 260.

offence to his colleagues, who rightly considered that, following [illegible] he should have called a Cabinet meeting before communicating [illegible] Sovereign. The Duke of Marlborough, indeed, insisted on resigning, [illegible] dissuaded from taking that step by Lord Malmesbury.* Then [illegible] a series of sensational "scenes" in the House of Commons. The position [illegible]

MR. GATHORNE-HARDY (AFTERWARDS LORD CRANBROOK).

most embarrassing, for several reasons. To suspend the creation of fresh interests in the Irish Church was to interfere with the prerogative of the Queen, who appointed bishops and archbishops. It was therefore impossible to proceed by Bill to disestablish the Irish Church. Resolutions had to be first adopted as the basis of an Address, praying the Queen to permit a measure, retrenching the prerogatives of the Crown in respect of Irish Church patronage, to be debated. This prevented the Government from accepting defeat in the

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. [illegible].

[illegible] on a Bill, which they could have quashed in the Lords, on the [illegible] that it would be better to refer the matter to the new constituencies. In view of the Address to the Crown, which was now inevitable, Mr. Disraeli had, however, to advise the Queen either to accept or reject it. If the Queen were advised to accept it, the Tory Party would be disheartened. It would be said that such advice implied the Queen's sanction to some form of disendowment. If the Queen, on the other hand, were advised to reject the Address, then the Minister would be responsible for embroiling the Sovereign with a House of Commons, the majority in which had been rendered aggressive by Parliamentary victories and popular sympathy. Lord Derby, in a moment of passionate unwisdom, urged the Ministry to reject the Address when it was drawn up. The lobbies of the House of Commons and the political clubs were then electrical with excitement. The leaders of parties almost came into personal collision with each other. Charges of "treason" were bandied about, when Tory partisans foolishly declared in private that the Queen was with them, and would never let the Radicals despoil the Irish Church. As for the Radicals, they retorted by saying that at the General Election when they marched to the polls, they would substitute Ebenezer Elliott's hymn, "God Save the People," for the National Anthem, "God Save the Queen."

The management of the business by the Prime Minister must have been maladroit indeed, when it raised such fierce and passionate antagonisms. But the question was—What advice did Mr. Disraeli really give the Queen when he saw her at Osborne? His own statement, on Monday the 4th of May, was so ambiguous that it further compromised the Sovereign, by dragging her into a war of factions. He said he had a constitutional right to dissolve a Parliament "elected when he was in Opposition," and he had advised the Queen on the previous Friday to dissolve. To render this course easy he had tendered the resignation of the Ministry—an offer made, it is now known, without consultation with his colleagues. The Queen had asked him to give her a day for consideration. Then she had ordered him not to resign, but had given him permission to dissolve as soon as the state of public business permitted it. The vital part of the statement occupied ten minutes in delivery. In it the name of the Queen was mentioned thirteen times, and it was so used as to convey the idea that it was her Majesty, and not her Minister, who had decided that a Cabinet which had lost the confidence of the House of Commons should hold office in the teeth of a hostile majority. What made matters worse was that the Duke of Richmond in the Upper House said that the Queen, in refusing Mr. Disraeli's resignation, had given him permission to dissolve "in the event of any difficulties arising." Again, by [illegible] or unfaithfulness of her Ministers, was the Queen held up to public odium. It was immediately inferred from the Duke of Richmond's statement that the Sovereign had delegated to her Minister the highest of

her prerogatives—that of dissolving Parliament—not for a special occasion, all the circumstances of which had been studied by her, but in a vague general kind of way, to enable him to coerce the Commons of England, whenever he thought fit. All through the week passionate conflicts raged in the House, greatly to the vexation of the Queen, whose attitude had been misrepresented as unconstitutional. On Thursday, the 7th of May, the two last Resolutions on the Irish Church passed without a division.* In the debate, however, Mr. Disraeli got up a turbulent "scene," by dropping quite casually a quiet sarcastic remark to the effect that those who introduced the Resolutions after throwing the country into confusion, were already quarrelling over the spoil. Mr. Bright could no longer restrain himself. He accused Mr. Disraeli of now abandoning, for the sake of office, the Irish Ecclesiastical policy he had advocated twenty-five years before.† He had talked of his interviews with the Queen "with a mixture of pompousness and servility," but he had deceived his Queen, if he still held the views which he advocated twenty-five years ago, and he had been guilty of a crime in skulking behind her authority, after he had pushed her to the front in a great party struggle. This turned the House into a scene of dreadful strife, and Mr. Disraeli retorted to the effect that Mr. Bright was not a gentleman. If Mr. Disraeli really desired to dissolve at this time it is strange that he missed this opportunity. Mr. Bright's vituperation, together with the growing rancour of Mr. Gladstone and his supporters, might have enabled the Premier to plead the factious violence of his opponents as an excuse for a penal dissolution. But he did not dissolve. It was thenceforward clear that if it be a vital principle of the constitution that the Government must enjoy the confidence and support of a majority of the House of Commons, the country was without any constitutional Government at all. Though it was expected up to the last moment that the Queen would give an evasive reply to the Address on the Irish Church, her answer was a frank declaration that she did not desire her interest in the temporalities of the Irish Church to obstruct the discussion of a Bill for dealing with them. A Suspensory Bill, preventing the creation of new personal interests, was accordingly passed by the Commons, though it was rejected by the House of Lords. At length Mr. Disraeli, after the Whitsuntide holidays, agreed to dissolve Parliament in October, and Mr.

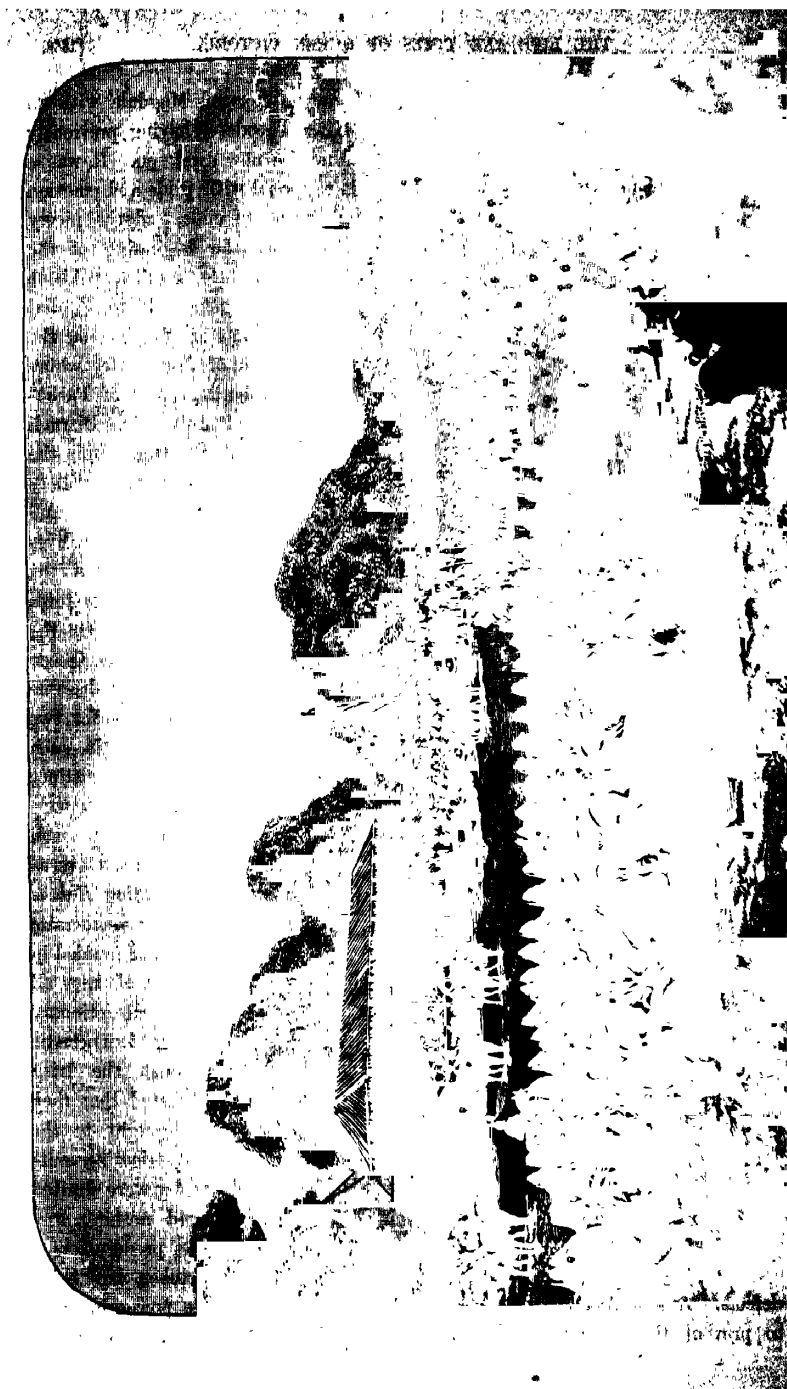
* The last had been altered to make it clear that the House merely asked the Crown for leave to discuss a Bill suspending the exercise of its patronage till the 1st of August, 1869. A new one was added by Mr. Whitbread affirming the necessity of discontinuing the Maynooth Grant and the Presbyterian *Regium Donum*.

† This was in his 1844 speech, when he advocated Home Rule for Ireland and the Disestablishment of "an absentee aristocracy and an alien church." Mr. Disraeli had been taunted with this phrase early in the Session, during the first debate on the Irish Question. His reply was infinitely humorous and audacious. He said of the phrase, with an exquisite touch of mournful reminiscence, "it appeared to me at the time I made it that nobody listened to it. It seemed to me I was pouring water on sand—but it seems now that the water came from a golden goblet."

Ward Hunt passed a Bill to facilitate registration, so that the lists of new voters might be made up on the 1st of November, the new writs for the General Election being issued on the 9th.

Little remains to be said as to the political events of the year. Mr. Ward Hunt, in producing his Budget on the 24th of April, admitted that the expenditure had increased from £66,780,000 in 1866—67 to £71,236,242 in 1867—68. The revenue received in the past year having only amounted to £69,600,000, there was a deficit of £1,636,000. Of course the £2,000,000 voted for the Abyssinian War accounted for part of the increased expenditure. For the rest, most of it arose from the carelessness of the Government in not insisting on keeping down the expenditure within the fixed limit of the estimates.* As for the coming year, Mr. Ward Hunt's estimated expenditure was £70,428,000. To this had to be added £3,000,000 for the Abyssinian War. From Revenue he expected to get £71,350,000, so that there was a deficit to make good. He therefore added twopence to the Income Tax, which within the year he expected to yield £1,800,000, but which still left him with a probable deficit to carry over of £278,000. Apart from the increased expenditure the Budget was a sensible one. On the 9th of June Mr. Hunt also moved the Second Reading of a Bill enabling the Government to buy all the telegraph lines in the hands of private companies at their highest price before the 25th of May next, estimating the cost at between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000.

Reference has already been made to the Abyssinian Expedition. At first the public took a dismal view of the enterprise. It was said that the mixed native and European force would fight well, but that on the road from the sea to King Theodore's fortress, it would be bled to death by mismanagement and maladministration. The result of the expedition was entirely satisfactory; indeed, there was but one fault to find with it, namely, that it had cost too much. The Viceroy of India and the Duke of Cambridge selected one of the ablest engineers in India—Sir Robert Napier—as Commander-in-Chief, and gave him *carte blanche.* His task was described as that of building a bridge four hundred miles long between Annesley Bay and Magdala. As to the road he had to traverse, when one of the soldiers was told he was marching over the table-land of Abyssinia, he replied, "Well, the table must have been turned upside down, and we're now a-marching over the legs!" Between Napier and his enemy there were many formidable native chiefs, who could only be conciliated by consummate diplomatic skill. How he succeeded in doing that, and in dragging his guns over the mountains by means of elephants, then used for the first time in African warfare since the days of Carthage; how he supplied his

* In [illegible] the Government had kept expenditure within the estimates by £370,000. They did so the following year by £92,000. But in 1866—67 the Derby-Disraeli Government let expenditure exceed estimates by [illegible], and in 1867—68 by £537,000. This rather told against Mr. Disraeli in the General Election.

[illegible] by boring Artesian wells; how he stormed Magdala with an [illegible] rush on the 13th of April, when King Theodore, having previously [illegible] the captives, committed suicide, need not be now dwelt on. It was a [illegible] little achievement, and the story of it was read with pride and emotion by the Queen. Napier's skilful adaptation of means to ends, and the nicety [illegible] calculations may be simply illustrated. At the beginning of the [illegible] he was asked when he could be at Magdala. He replied, "About the end of March." He was asked when he could get back to Zoulla. He said, "Early in June." As a matter of fact, he was at Magdala on the [illegible] of April, and he returned to Zoulla on the 18th of June, after which the country was at once evacuated. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to Sir Robert Napier on the 2nd of July, Mr. Disraeli complimenting him on having "planted the standard of St. George on the mountains of Rasselas," and "led the elephants of Asia, bearing the artillery of Europe, over African passes which might have startled the trapper and appalled the hunter of the Alps." As trappers hunt the beaver, which lives in water and not in mountains, the metaphor was a little mixed; but the orator's intention was good, and his gaudy phrases served to divert the town during the languor of perhaps the sultriest London season on record. On the 9th of July Mr. Disraeli brought to the House a message from the Queen conferring a Peerage on the leader of the Expedition—who thus became Lord Napier of Magdala—together with an annuity of £2,000 a year for two lives. As Napier's eldest son was an adult, and the usual grant in such cases had hitherto been for three lives, the Queen's message was a distinct concession to the economists.

Parliament was prorogued on the last day of July, and a curious passage in the Queen's Speech referred with satisfaction to the fact that the Government had not seen cause to use the power given them for suspending *Habeas Corpus* in Ireland. Then came the struggle for power in the new democratic constituencies. The usual preparation, said Mr. John Morley, in a Jeremiad in *The Fortnightly Review*, was made for the unlimited consumption of beer all over the land. Candidates of the old sort were put up. Reactionary Whigs, like Mr. Horsman, were suddenly transformed into iconoclastic Radicals, and were pledging themselves, not merely to abolish the Irish Church, but even to reform the House of Lords. Tories boasted that they were the only true democrats. Hardly any new men were brought to the front, and rich nobodies in many cases thrust aside true and tried servants of the people. Bloodshed was expected at Blackburn, and cavalry were drafted [illegible]. In short, Reform appeared to have changed nothing, and [illegible] General Election under it seemed painfully like all its predecessors.

Mr. Disraeli's Electoral Address, which was issued in October, had three [illegible]. It appealed to the country to return the Ministry to power in order to prevent the Pope from becoming master of England—a perfectly absurd

attempt to revive the "bogey" of Papal aggression. It proclaimed no positive policy, for it merely pledged the Government *not* to disestablish the Irish Church. It was as stilted in its rhetoric as Tancred's revelation on Mount Sinai. Mr. Gladstone's Address, issued a week later, was much more seductive and business-like. It proclaimed a positive policy of administrative reform and of retrenchment, justified a policy of conciliation to Ireland, and pressed for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The result of the appeal to the new electors was fatal to the Government. The Liberals carried the country by a majority of over 100 seats. Lancashire strongly supported the Conservatives—whereas Yorkshire was strongly Liberal. The Liberals showed themselves weak in some of the Home Counties where "villadom," as Lord Rosebery calls it, reigns supreme. Though the Tory Party was sadly shattered in Essex, the counties were, however, on the whole, wonderfully faithful to Mr. Disraeli, and he came within one vote of dividing with Mr. Gladstone the thirteen electoral boroughs, with a population between 100,000 and 60,000. The Liberals, on the other hand, were strongest in boroughs with a population between 60,000 and 20,000, and in those with a population above 100,000 they captured 41 seats out of 49. Mr. Gladstone was rejected by South-West Lancashire, but the Greenwich electors, having taken the precaution to return him, rendered his defeat of little practical importance. Mr. Mill lost his seat for Westminster, and thus his Parliamentary career closed, his only contribution to the Statute-Book being the law compelling railway companies to attach smoking carriages to passenger trains. Lord Hartington was beaten in North Lancashire, and Mr. Bernal Osborne, one of the wits of the House, lost his seat at Nottingham. Scotland returned only seven Tories, nicknamed by the late Mr. Russel, editor of the *Scotsman*, the "Seven Champions of Constitutionalism." Roughly speaking, the Liberals won in counties where Dissent was strong, whereas the Tories won in counties where the influence of the Church of England prevailed. The boroughs that were carried by the Tories were those where the competition of Irish labour was most felt, or where anti-Papal agitators had most influence, and in Lancashire, where Anglican clergy and laymen had, during the Cotton Famine, been most assiduous in administering the Relief Fund.

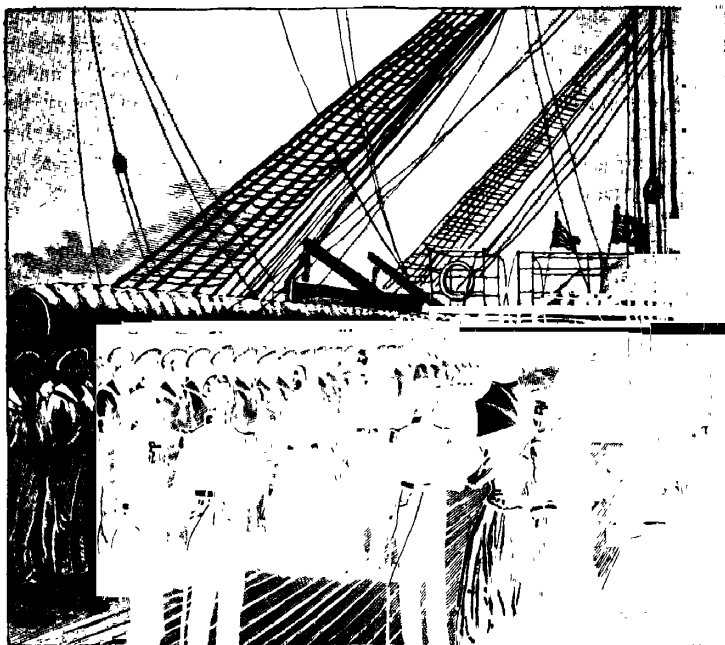
Mr. Disraeli met defeat with manliness and dignity. Mr. Gathorne-Hardy advised him to resign, but Lord Derby, on the other hand, urged him to hold on to office. On the 28th of November a Cabinet Meeting was held, and Ministers decided to resign rather than wait to be ejected from their places by a vote of the House of Commons. The Prime Minister went down to Windsor on the 2nd of December, and not only tendered the resignation of the Cabinet to the Queen, but advised her to send for Mr. Gladstone. In fact, Mr. Disraeli, like a highbred player, having lost his game paid the stakes without a grudge or a murmur. Mr. Gladstone was summoned by telegraph to Windsor on the 3rd, and was commissioned to form a Government.

Mr. Disraeli refused all honours for himself, though he was offered a peerage, and Mrs. Disraeli was created Viscountess Beaconsfield in her own right. On the 18th of December Parliament met, and the Ministry was complete. It consisted of fifteen members, of whom six were peers, one an eldest son of a peer, and eight were Commoners. The only Radical appointed was Mr. Bright—unless Mr. Gladstone could be counted a Radical—and in all questions between the middle-class and the masses Mr. Bright was already a Conservative. It was a Ministry of All the Talents—formidable in debate, great in administrative capacity, and strong in intellectual power—but it was unmistakably Whiggish. It was the Whigs who were first consulted about the disposal of the offices, and the spirit of Palmerston, who gave Mr. Milner Gibson a seat in his Cabinet "just to keep the Radicals quiet," still prevailed. In forming the Ministry, Mr. Gladstone thus ignored the fact that his Cabinet inaugurated a new democratic era, in which the relative importance of Whigs and Radicals had been reversed. By admitting Radicals merely to minor offices he disappointed the combative wing of his party, whose unbought zeal had really carried him to power.* Some Tories of the "baser sort" put about the report that the Queen would refuse to receive Mr. Bright as a Minister. The Queen, however, as if to mark her disapproval of such insinuations, went out of her way to pay Mr. Bright special attention when he was presented to her. With delicate tact she sent word to him that in deference to his hereditary scruples as a Quaker, she would not expect him to kneel before her when he came to "kiss hands" on taking office.

The stirring events now described had severely tried the nerves of the Queen. Early in the year she had been rendered anxious by a severe illness of the Prince Leopold, who was at one time so sick that it was supposed he was dying. Then she was still more shocked and alarmed by news of an attempt which had been made by a man, O'Farrell, to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh (Prince Alfred) on the 12th of March at Clontarf, near Port Jackson, in New South Wales. O'Farrel's motives were never quite satisfactorily explained, though it was said at the time that he was a Fenian emissary. He was hanged for the crime on the 21st of April, and the Duke, who had been shot in the back, gradually recovered from his wound.

The great and unexpected popularity with which a little book from the Queen's pen—"Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands"—containing a diary of her holiday rambles, was received during the season, gratified her

* The Cabinet was composed as follows:—Mr Gladstone, Prime Minister; Sir C. Page Wood, Lord Chancellor, with the title of Lord Hatherley; Mr. Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Austen Bruce, Home Secretary; Lord Clarendon, Secretary for Foreign Affairs (with Mr. Otway as his Under-Secretary); Earl Granville, Colonial Secretary; the Duke of Argyll, Secretary for India (with Mr. Grant Duff as Under-Secretary); Mr. Cardwell, Secretary for War; Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Irish Secretary; Mr. Childers, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Goschen, President of the Poor-Law Board; Mr. Bright, President of the Board of Trade; Lord Hartington, Postmaster-General; Lord Kimberley, Privy Seal; Earl de Grey, President of the Council.

much. It delighted the people, to whom it showed the homely, matronly, sensible business-like qualities which Englishmen value in the women of their race, reflected in the daily life of their Sovereign. It was a book that reproduced the wife and the house-mother rather than the Monarch, and it was written with great tenderness of feeling and artless simplicity of expression. The sketches, too, with which it was illustrated were amazingly

THE QUEEN INSPECTING THE "GALATEA" IN OSBORNE BAY. (*See p.* 319.)

popular, and in truth they were really bold and telling. But the little work had no public importance, save that it served to establish between the Queen and her people relations that were not only affectionate, but almost confidential. The extreme High Churchmen, however, were greatly alarmed to find from the Queen's Journals that she had strong leanings to the Presbyterian Church. This notion was due to the fact that she took great delight in the preaching and spiritual ministrations of the Scottish Chaplains Royal, who were of course Presbyterians, and who officiated at the Court when it was in Aberdeenshire. It was not easy to understand why the High Churchmen should desire to prevent the Queen from following the bent of her own mind and heart in such a matter. It was absurd to argue that her position as Head of the Church of England bound her to Anglican orthodoxy, for she

was also Head of the Church of Scotland. Nor did her Coronation Oath, which merely binds the Sovereign to uphold the Protestant faith, restrict her to the services of the Church of England. The fact is, personages belonging to the great family of European Princes have so many relationships and cross-currents of sympathy with kinsfolk of various creeds, that they become instinctively tolerant in religious matters. Still the attacks of the High Churchmen did neither the Queen nor her book any harm. It had merely revealed the fact that she was a Christian woman, personally pious and God-fearing, with a reverent and almost puritanical sense of duty, though rather indifferent, perhaps, to external religious forms. The Queen had shown that she understood the distinction between Christianity and Churchianity, and hence the outcry of the extreme Anglicans against her book. The truth was that her Majesty never made any secret of her personal liking for the ministrations of Dr. A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, and one of the leaders of the Broad Church Party in the Church of England. When she exhibited a similar preference for his Presbyterian friends, Dr. Norman Macleod and Principal Tulloch in the Scottish Church, her offence was complete in the eyes of violent High Churchmen.

After receiving the Address based on Mr. Gladstone's Resolution, and laying the foundation stone of the new St. Thomas's Hospital, the Queen fled to Balmoral to recover from the nervous excitement of political warfare. It unfortunately happened that when the Scottish Members in discussing the Scottish Reform Bill substituted a household franchise pure and simple for a rating franchise, a Ministerial crisis was produced. Mr. Disraeli, in fact, desired authority to coerce Members by threatening a dissolution. For this purpose he had to consult the Queen, and certainly the three days lost in communicating with Balmoral gave rise to some inconvenience. This tempted Mr. Reardon, M.P. for Athlone, in the interests of the West End tradesmen, to put a question on the notice-paper of the House of Commons, as to the cause of the Queen's absence from the capital. The Speaker, however, refused to let it appear, because it impudently suggested her Majesty's abdication in favour of the Prince of Wales. In June the Queen had recovered her health, and on the 22nd she gave a brilliant garden party at Buckingham Palace. Six hundred invitations were issued, and she received her company, says Lord Malmesbury, "very graciously." She was, he adds, "looking remarkably well, and everybody said she seemed to enjoy her party." Two days before that she had reviewed 27,000 Volunteers in Windsor Park. This affair was very badly managed. There were no commissariat arrangements, and there was no ambulance. Hungry officers wandered away to get food, and when the marching past was over, some of the troops—faint from hunger and thirst, and having lost their leaders—ignored discipline altogether, and on the return to Datchet Station heaped vituperation on any officers of rank they came across.

On the 9th of July both Houses of Parliament congratulated the Queen on the birth of a little grand-daughter, who had been brought into the world by the Princess of Wales on the 6th. On the same evening (the 9th) the Duke of Edinburgh, who had brought his ship, the *Galatea*, home, landed at Osborne and dined with the Queen; and on the 13th she visited her son's vessel, which she inspected under his guidance.

The season of 1868 was one of the hottest that had ever been experienced, and the Queen has all through life suffered so much from sultry weather, that in summer she has to do most of her work in the open air under the shade of a verandah or a tent. The heat, together with the worry of Ministerial crises, again broke down her nerves and brought on fainting fits, which alarmed her physicians. When Parliament was prorogued they urged her to go to Switzerland, and on the 6th of August she reached the Lake of Lucerne, travelling privately under the title of the Countess of Kent. Writing on the 10th of August to the Queen, the Princess Louis of Hesse says:—"I have just received your letter from Lucerne, and hasten to thank you for it. How glad I am that you admire the beautiful scenery, and that I know it, and can share your admiration and enjoyment of it in thought with you." Her Majesty and her companions —the Princess Louise, Prince Arthur, and Lord Stanley—went up the Righi and Mount Pilatus, and made a short stay on the Furka Pass. "How, too, delightful," writes the Princess Louis of Hesse, "your expeditions must have been! I do rejoice that, through the change of weather, you should have been able to see and enjoy all that glorious scenery. Without your good ponies, Brown, &c., you would have felt how difficult such ascents are for common mortals, particularly when the horses slip, and finally sit down. I am sure all this will have done you good; seeing such totally new beautiful scenery does refresh so immensely, and the air and exertion—both of which you bear so well now—will do your health good." She returned to England on the 11th of September, having broken her journey at Paris, where she stayed with Lord Lyons at the British Embassy. "I am so grieved," writes the Princess Louis, "that you should have been so unwell on the journey home. Dear, beautiful Scotland will do you good." But the return to Balmoral was not a return to rest. The preparation for the General Election involved much harassing business, and Mr. Disraeli, Minister in attendance, was not always in the sweetest humour. On a great many points he found the Queen rather more difficult to "educate" than his Party. This gave a tone of acerbity to many of his communications written at the time, which was quite foreign to his character. In a letter, dated Balmoral Castle, 28th September, written to Bishop Wilberforce, Mr. Disraeli, while scolding some High Churchmen for following Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester, whom he terms a "provincial Laud," because he intrigued with the Party of Disestablishment, apologises for not having sent it sooner. "I have delayed writing to

[illegible] he says, "several days because I wanted to get a quiet half-hour; and there is not a sentence in this in which I have not been interrupted. Carrying on the government of a country six hundred miles from the metropolis doubles the labour. The stream of telegrams and boxes is really appalling!"* A collision of will, if not a conflict of opinion, now occurred between the Queen and Mr. Disraeli regarding the disposal of certain Church patronage. Dr. Longley, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had died in October, and the Queen has always claimed the right of controlling appointments to the see of Canterbury, on the ground that the Primate is, in a sense, the chief of the Court Chaplains. At coronations, royal marriages, baptisms, and funerals he is, of course, the principal celebrant. It was felt all over England that the time had come for appointing to this great office a man of strong individuality and firm character, not merely a "Benevolent Smile," as one of Dr. Longley's predecessors—the amiable Howley—had been called. At the same time, though the public desired to see in the new Primate a real leader of men, they did not desire a bigot or a brilliant intriguer, whose life had been consecrated to strategy and finesse. The Queen not only sympathised with this general feeling, but she had, with singularly sound judgment, selected as her favourite candidate perhaps the only prelate in England whose appointment could satisfy it. Unfortunately Mr. Disraeli ignored the general sentiment of the nation, and what was still worse, he did not seem to be capable of suggesting any candidate for the Primacy whose personal qualities corresponded with the desire of the people. There was a strong party, headed by the Dean of Chichester (Dr. Hook), who favoured the candidature of the Bishop of Oxford, far and away the ablest Anglican ecclesiastic whom England has produced during the Queen's reign. But at the time he was, despite his marvellous gifts, "an impossible" aspirant. His daughter and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Pye, had just "gone over to Rome," and his enemies unjustly insinuated that the Bishop himself was at heart "a Papist." His public life had been, to a great extent, one of finesse and intrigue. He had offended Mr. Disraeli by supporting Mr. Gladstone's candidature at Oxford, and it was feared his appointment would cause the Tory party the loss of many votes in the General Election then pending. It was said at the time that the Queen, remembering the argument between Wilberforce and the Prince Consort as to the miracle of the swine, was personally opposed to his selection. This, however, was not true. She would have accepted Wilberforce, whose brilliant intellect, flashing wit and charm of manner fascinated every one with whom he came in contact, though her personal preferences were in favour of another prelate. But Mr. Disraeli having expressed his personal antipathy to the Bishop of Oxford, her Majesty forbore to hint at his claim. But, in the end, she insisted on the

* Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 267.

appointment of Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London. Dr. Jackson, Bishop of Lincoln, was in turn appointed to the see of London, to which Wilberforce had the strongest claim. To the see of Lincoln, Archdeacon Wordsworth, a nephew of the poet, and a theological antiquarian of great repute among the High Churchmen, was preferred. The selection of Dr. Tait procured for

THE CATHEDRAL, LINCOLN.

Mr. Disraeli the cordial congratulations of all parties, and it was admitted even by the Radicals that it immensely increased the popularity of a moribund Ministry. As a matter of fact, however, the credit was really due to the Queen, and not to the Minister. During November Wilberforce was at Blenheim, and in his Diary he records a conversation which he had with the Duke of Marlborough on this subject. "The Duke," writes Bishop Wilberforce, "told me of Disraeli's excitement when he came out of the royal closet. Some struggle about the Primacy. Lord Malmesbury also said that when he spoke to Disraeli he said, 'Don't bring any more bothers before me;

I have enough already to drive a man mad.'" Then a few days later (18th November) Dr. Wilberforce had a conversation at Windsor with Dean Wellesley, an ecclesiastic deep in Court secrets, who said to him, with reference to the struggle for the Primacy, "The Church does not know what it owes to the Queen. Disraeli has been utterly ignorant, utterly unprincipled: he rode the Protestant horse one day; then got frightened that he had gone too far, and was injuring the county elections, so he went right round and proposed names never heard of. Nothing he would not have done; but throughout he was most hostile to you [Wilberforce]; he alone prevented London being offered to you. The Queen looked for Tait,* but would have agreed to you. . . . Disraeli recommended † . . . for Canterbury!! The Queen would not have him; then Disraeli agreed, most reluctantly and with passion, to Tait. Disraeli then proposed Wordsworth for London. The Queen objected strongly; no experience; passing over bishops, &c.; then she suggested Jackson and two others, not you [Wilberforce], because of Disraeli's expressed hostility, and Disraeli chose Jackson. . . . Disraeli opposed Leighton with all his strength on every separate occasion. The Queen would have greatly liked him, but Disraeli would not hear of him. You cannot conceive the appointments he proposed and retracted or was over-ruled in; he pressed Champneys for Peterborough; ‡ he had no other thought than the votes of the moment; he showed an ignorance about all Church matters, men, opinions, that was astonishing, making propositions one way and the other, riding the Protestant horse to gain the boroughs, and then when he thought he had gone so far to endanger the counties, turning round and appointing Bright and Gregory; thoroughly unprincipled fellow. I trust we may never have such a man again." § The importance of Dr. Tait's appointment to the Primacy could hardly be exaggerated. In the great Church controversies he had distinguished himself by his intrepid and masculine good sense. His orthodoxy was unimpeachable, but whenever a heretic was being prosecuted his voice was always loud in demanding fair play and in pleading for toleration. He had congratulated the Church on being able to utilise Professor Jowett's irrepressible "love of truth" and Dr. Pusey's "personal holiness." In short, he represented the national principle of comprehension—the national desire to include within the State Church all good men, no matter what their theological views might be, who recognised the divinity of Christ, and were prepared to abide by the legal ritual of the Reformed Anglican Communion.

* For Canterbury.

† It was said that Dr. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester, was referred to here.

‡ It is a curious fact that his appointment of Dr. Magee, Dean of Cork, to this see brought the Government almost as much credit as the appointment of Dr. Tait to Canterbury. Dr. Magee was erroneously supposed to be Mr. Disraeli's favourite candidate. But in this case also he seems to have got credit for the Queen's skill in selection.

§ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, Vol. III., pp. 265–269.

On the 3rd of October the infant son of the Princess Mary of Teck was christened in the dining-room of Kensington Palace, among the sponsors being the Queen and the Princess of Wales. On the 21st the Crown Princess of Prussia, travelling as the Countess Lingen, visited England, and was very warmly greeted wherever she went. Most of her time was spent at St. Leonards-on-Sea.

On the 5th of December the Queen was informed that Mr. George Peabody had presented £100,000 to the poor of London. This was his second gift, so that his whole donation came to £350,000. It was felt that it was somewhat unfortunate that it had been left to a foreigner to point the path of duty out to English millionaires. On the other hand, there were critics who tried to depreciate the practical value of Mr. Peabody's charity. The money was to be expended in housing the poor. "But," said these critics when the first blocks of Peabody Buildings were built, "it was not the poor who were housed in them, for clerks and young middle-class people took the new rooms." It was apparently not noticed that the clerks must, in that case, leave their dwellings empty for others, so that the housing of the poor would in any case be facilitated by reduced pressure on house accommodation.

The 14th of December was the seventh anniversary of the Prince Consort's death. Accordingly the Queen and her family proceeded to the Mausoleum at Frogmore, which had now been completed, and where a special service was held. It was a matter of great regret that the Princess Louis of Hesse had been unable to be present, and she gives expression to that feeling in one of her letters (20th of November). But she was recovering from her *accouchement*, and it was impossible for her to leave her home.

As the year ended, the mind of the country was disturbed by tales of impending war. The Princess Louis of Hesse and the Crown Prince of Prussia both warned the Queen of the dangers which menaced Europe. France had arranged to withdraw her troops from Rome in order to attack Germany, and a Spanish garrison was to be substituted as the Pope's guard. From the letters of the Princess, it is plain that the Queen comforted her relatives by assuring them that, from her information, it was clear there would be no war. Napoleon's scheme for garrisoning Rome by Spanish troops was upset by the sudden outbreak of a revolution in Spain, provoked partly by the reactionary policy, but mainly by the personal misconduct of the Queen Isabella. Violent measures of repression were adopted to crush the conspiracy. On the 18th of September a revolt broke out at Cadiz, and the Queen and her dynasty were dethroned. General Prim and Marshal Serrano formed a Provisional Government, which, however, relegated to the Cortes the task of determining the destinies of the nation. Much more serious was the sudden rupture between Greece and Turkey at the end of the year. It was remembered that Lord Clarendon—who had been appointed Foreign Secretary in deference to the Queen's partiality for him—was the Minister

under whose guidance England had drifted into the Crimean War. The re-opening of the Eastern Question immediately after he took office was considered to be ominous of mischief. For two years there had been friction

WINDSOR CASTLE, FROM THAMES STREET, AND "BIT" OF THE OUTER WALLS.

between Greece and Turkey, the cause being that the Greeks had been assisting the Cretan insurgents both with men and money. The Sultan at last, in a fit of impatience, sent an Ultimatum to Greece threatening war unless the Government made reparation to Turkey for the support which it had given to

the Cretan rebellion. The Great Powers obtained for Greece an extension of time for her reply to the 17th of December, and on that date the Athenian Government rejected the Ultimatum. But the rise of Germany had altered all the conditions under which Russia as patron of Greece could attack Constantinople, and it rendered the Anglo-French alliance no longer desirable. Still a Conference was proposed by Count Bismarck in the closing days of 1868 to prevent war, whilst the Greeks were arming in hot haste, and Hobart Pasha was blockading Syra. The great danger lay in Clarendon's possible adherence to Palmerstonian traditions. If he declared for war in defence of Turkey with France as an ally, the prospect was dismal. Such a policy meant that England would have to face the combination of Germany, and perchance Italy with Russia, and it is certain that the Queen, like the nation, would have resisted it to the last. The Conference did its work well—as might have been expected. It had been proposed by Bismarck, who had a reputation for never associating his name with failures, and the event proved that he had judged rightly of the exigencies of the nations.

CHAPTER XIV.

A HOPEFUL YEAR.

Hopefulness all round—Ministers at the Fishmongers—The Queen's Speech—The Legislative Bill of Fare—The Queen and Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Policy—Release of Fenians—Mr. Gladstone's Scheme for Disestablishing the Irish Church—The Debate in the Commons—The Second Reading Carried—The Bill in Committee—Read a Third Time—The Lords and the Bill—Amendments of the Peers—The Lords Bought Off—The Bill becomes Law—Mr. Lowe's First Budget—The Endowed Schools Bill—The Habitual Criminals Act—The Lords and the Commons' Legislation—Official Hostility to Reforming Ministers—Weak Members of the Cabinet—Mr Reverdy Johnson and the *Alabama* Claims—The Policy of "Masterly Inactivity"—Liberalism in France—Prince Leopold's Illness—The Queen's Interview with Mr. Carlyle—Visit of Ismail Pasha to the Queen—The Peabody Statue—Prince Alfred in Australia—The Prince of Wales and Court Dress—Death of Lord Derby—Death of Lady Palmerston—Opening of Blackfriars Bridge and Holborn Viaduct—O'Donovan Rossa, M.P.—Orangemen and Fenians.

HOPEFULNESS was the prevailing feeling with which the year 1869 was hailed by everybody. Politically the country was in a state of tranquillity. The democracy had won a great victory at the polls, and a new and brilliant ministry had been called to power to give effect to the will of the people. Trade, it is true, was still suffering from the shock of 1866. The supply of raw cotton was scarce, and high prices lessened the demand for the manufactured article. The policy of the Trades Unions aggravated the uneasiness of the mercantile community. Superficial observers began to declare that the Unionists, by hampering their employers at home, were driving trade abroad, and a demand for

Protection, under the guise of Reciprocity, was heard, though as yet but faint amid the din of controversy. Some of the leading men in great commerc centres like Manchester were so impressed with the manifest ignorance economic principles exhibited in these controversies that they started a series evening lectures for working men on political economy, Professor Stanley Jevo undertaking to deliver the course.* On the other hand, the country was fı from all difficulties as to foreign affairs—even the dispute with the Unit States as to the *Alabama* claims was supposed to be in a fair way of settleme under the flattering unction of the American Minister's post-prandial rhetor The first weeks of the year were enlivened by the trials of election petitions, a the new tribunal of judges appointed to try on the spot cases of corrupt practic on the whole, gave general satisfaction. It was felt that if the new court w a judge without a jury, the old one—a committee of the House of Commons was a jury without a judge, and that in respect of consistency in interpreti the law and logical application of principles, the new court was a vast impro ment on the old one.

Though everybody knew that the Irish Church Question must overshad all others, the utterances of Ministers were eagerly scanned for indications policy. The spirit of economy, it soon appeared, would reign supreme in t administration, for not only did Mr. Goschen at the Poor Law Board issue ord prohibiting the guardians of the poor in London from giving relief to the ab bodied poor except under conditions of task-work, but the Admiralty issued circular instructing naval officers to forbid unremunerative and profitless wo and save coals and stores as much as possible. In his speeches to his cc stituents in Renfrewshire, the Home Secretary, Mr. Austin Bruce, proclaim his conversion to the ballot; but Mr. Lowe, at Gloucester, seemed to limit hims to rather stale denunciations of the Tory Party. On the 11th of February Minist dined with the Fishmongers' Company in the City, but even there their reticer was remarkable. Mr. Gladstone significantly intimated that the Ministry we encouraged in pursuing their Irish policy of conciliation, not only by the verd of the country, but by "the constitutional character of that Sovereign wh delight it is to associate herself both with the interests and convictions of l people." † Mr. Lowe spoke in a caustic saturnine vein about the difficulty forcing economy on the servants of the Crown in public departments: th resented an order to save stores as savouring of meanness. And then the Ho of Commons was always too ready to force up expenditure in detail, whi clamouring for its reduction in mass. Mr. Bright observed that the Board Trade was merely a department that sent recommendations to people who rar

* Letters and Journals of W. J. Stanley Jevons. Edited by his Wife, p. 246.

† Yet at the time the Queen was personally opposed to Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church policy, so tl his statement was somewhat misleading. Perhaps he made it to minimise the evil effects that might produced by rumours of her Majesty's hostility to the verdict of the elections. These rumours w then current.

paid attention to them, and then launched into an attack on bishops and archbishops, who were, he said, overpaid, owing to the credulity, if not the liberality, of the people. His Grace of York had a few days before claimed that the Episcopal Bench supplied a Liberal element to the House of Lords, and this seems to have tempted Mr. Bright into his display of spleen. Altogether, the first impression produced by the Ministerial speeches was that the Government, though full of good intentions, meant to carry them out in an arrogant and irritating manner. In the meantime a change had taken place in the leadership of the Tory Party in the House of Lords, Lord Malmesbury retiring in favour of Lord Cairns.

On the 16th of February Parliament was opened by Commission, the Royal Speech being read by the Lord Chancellor. As the Queen did not attend, it was decided by the Cabinet to propose that Parliament should wait upon her, and present their Address in reply to the Royal Speech, to her personally—a somewhat unusual, though not unprecedented, proceeding when the Queen is herself absent from the opening of Parliament. The Speech was in style a little flabby, especially where it touched on the Irish Church Question. No measure of Disestablishment was definitely promised, but it was announced that Parliament must take in hand the task of "the adjustment of the ecclesiastical arrangements of Ireland." The Speech promised reduced estimates,* hinted at the restoration of Habeas Corpus to Ireland, and it embodied Mr. Austin Bruce's pledges in Renfrewshire to bring in a Scottish Education Bill. Perhaps it was because Ministers strove after brevity that they omitted from the Speech many measures to which it was generally known they were committed, *e.g.*, Mr. Bruce's Bill for dealing with Habitual Criminals, Mr. Goschen's Poor Law Bill, Mr. Forster's Middle Class Education Bill, the Bill abolishing University Tests, a Bill to establish Municipal Government in Counties, and a Bill abolishing Imprisonment for Debt. The Address was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Cowper, selected as a compliment to the Whigs, and Mr. Mundella, who was chosen to please the Radical artisans. The debate on the Address was a tame business. The leaders of the Opposition, desirous of posing as magnanimous adversaries in defeat, offered no serious criticism. The Government leaders had, therefore, virtually nothing to reply to. Previous to the moving of the Address Mr. Gladstone gave notice in the House of Commons that on the 1st of March he should move that the Acts relating to the Irish Church establishment, and to the Maynooth Grant, and also the Resolutions of the House of Commons of 1868 be read; that the House should resolve itself into Committee to consider these Acts and Resolutions. Mr. Forster, too, gave notice of his Middle Class Education Bill. The Attorney-General gave notice of a Bankruptcy Bill; Mr. Goschen announced Bills amending the law assessing Occupiers Holding for short terms, and equalising

* It described the reductions for the first time in the records of Queen's Speeches as having been already made, not as reductions that were only in contemplation.

the Assessment of Metropolitan Property; and the Home Secretary announced his Bill for the more effectual Prevention of Crime. Whatever might be said of the Ministry, it was obviously bent on making its mark on the Statute book. The House of Lords, indeed, began to take alarm at the extreme activity of the Commons. They complained that they were not entrusted with work till after Easter, when the Commons sent them their Bills to revise in the dog days, and Lord Salisbury angrily threatened to obstruct Bills if they were not sent up to the Peers in time for full discussion; but the fault was really that of their Lordships. As Lord Russell put it, to initiate Liberal Bills in the Upper House is to secure their rejection; to bring them there after they have been accepted by large majorities of the House of Commons, gives them a chance of being passed into law.

When the Committee on the Address brought up their report Mr. Gladstone moved that the Address be presented by the whole House to the Queen in person. The Queen's absence from the opening of a new reformed Parliament had been taken by various Opposition organs as a proof that she was inclined to obstruct the policy of the Ministry. That her Majesty was, as a matter of fact, opposed to Mr. Gladstone's policy of Disestablishment is apparent from the Diary of Bishop Wilberforce, where, under date 20th March, one finds the following entry:—"Back to Windsor Castle and prepared sermon. Dined with the Queen. A great deal of talk with the Princess Louise; clever and very agreeable. The Queen very affable. So sorry Mr. Gladstone started this about Irish Church, and he is a great friend of yours," &c. But a still more authoritative disclosure of the Queen's personal objections to Mr. Gladstone's plans is given in a letter from the Princess Louis of Hesse. Writing on the 25th of April, in reply to a communication on the subject from the Queen, the Princess says:—"The Irish Church Question, I quite feel with you, will neither be solved nor settled in this way; and instead of doing something which would bring the Catholics more under the authority of the State, they will, I fear, be more powerful."* The Queen's consent to come to London and receive the Address in reply to the Royal Speech in person was accordingly obtained by Mr. Gladstone for the purpose of taking the sting out of statements which had gone round the Tory Press as to her Majesty's opposition to his Irish policy. It hardly tended to reconcile the Queen to the views of the Cabinet that her consent to receive the Address was asked in a manner that precluded the possibility of refusal, save at the risk of insulting the Legislature. But in this affair Mr. Gladstone was doomed to disappointment. Before the Address could be presented her Majesty said she must abandon the idea of coming to town to receive it. Prince Leopold suddenly fell ill, and as the Queen was reluctant to leave him, the Address was delivered to her in the usual manner, and answered by her in the

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 214.

stereotyped terms. Thus it came to pass that the first meeting of the reformed Parliament was not honoured with any special mark of personal recognition by the Chief of the State.

From the 1st of March to the end of July, however, the affairs of Ireland

MR. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE (AFTERWARDS LORD CARLINGFORD).

completely absorbed public attention. As an earnest of their conciliatory policy, Ministers had allowed the Act suspending Habeas Corpus in Ireland to expire. In February they pardoned forty-nine of the Fenian prisoners, selecting the objects of the Queen's clemency from those who were dupes as distinguished from ringleaders. This still left eighty-one prisoners under sentence, and whilst it did not satisfy Irish hopes, it encouraged a belief that it was comparatively safe to play at treason in Ireland. As Lady Clanricarde said in a letter

Mr. Hayward, "the released Fenians are now [April 13] socially, financially, and in character, in a better position than they were at any other time of their lives."* The popular notion in Ireland was that they had cowed the Government. Nor was the Church Question the only one which was agitating the Irish mind. Shrewd observers had, indeed, warned Ministers in the autumn of 1868 that the Irish people were even more eager for Land Reform than the Disestablishment of the Church. Writing to Mr. Chichester Fortescue on 15th of October, 1868, Mr. Hayward says, "Froude, who has been two months in Ireland, mostly near Kenmare, says, that so far as he saw, the Irish Church Question is little thought of in comparison with the Land Question, and he knows of nothing that could be proposed in the way of compromise, as the proprietors want to get rid of their small tenants, and the small tenants want to get rid of the landlords. Lord Lansdowne's manager told him that he could make £25,000 a year out of the property by clearing out the cottiers." † It was, therefore, creditable to Ministers that, when questioned on the subject in both Houses, they declared that whenever the Church Question was disposed of, they would try and solve the Irish agrarian problem.

On the 1st of March Mr. Gladstone rose in an eager and crowded House and moved that the Irish Church Resolutions be read. After that ceremony, he moved that the House go into Committee to consider them. This being done, he then proceeded to unfold his plan, in a speech which was a masterpiece of artistic exposition. Technically speaking, he proposed to disendow the Irish Church absolutely from the passing of the Act, because he vested all its property in a Commission, appointed for ten years. But the Church was to be disestablished at a date fixed by him as the 1st of January, 1871. Whenever the Act passed the Church would be quite free to take collective action for its future management, and whenever it could present the Crown with a scheme of organisation the Queen would be advised to incorporate it as a Free Church. The Commission, of course, was to pay the life incomes of the clergy. But these life incomes under the Bill might be commuted for a fixed sum, to be handed over to the new Church Corporation. Private gifts made to the Church since 1660, and all ecclesiastical fabrics, would remain in the hands of the disestablished clergy. Similar methods for dealing with the State subsidies to Presbyterian clergymen and professors were proposed, and the trustees for the Presbyterians and for Maynooth College were to have fourteen times their annual subvention given to them in full satisfaction of all claims. The tithe charge was to be sold to the landlords for twenty-two and a half years' purchase, the money to be vested in the Commission. As for the surplus property, or "spoil," as it was called, it was to be devoted to keeping up pauper lunatic asylums, infirmaries, and hospitals for the poor, and asylums for idiots, institutions which were then chargeable

* Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol II., p. 200.
† *Ibid.*, p. 191.

on the country.* The leading idea disposing of the surplus for the benefit of the poor, was generally admitted to be an ingenious way of meeting the cry of sacrilegious spoliation.† Lord Westbury was, however, said to have remarked that in taking endowments from the Irish clergy whose intellects were warped, and giving it to lunatics and idiots who had no intellects at all, Mr. Gladstone had followed a natural law of association, and had exhibited a nicely discriminating sense of the relative value of competing claims on his compassion.

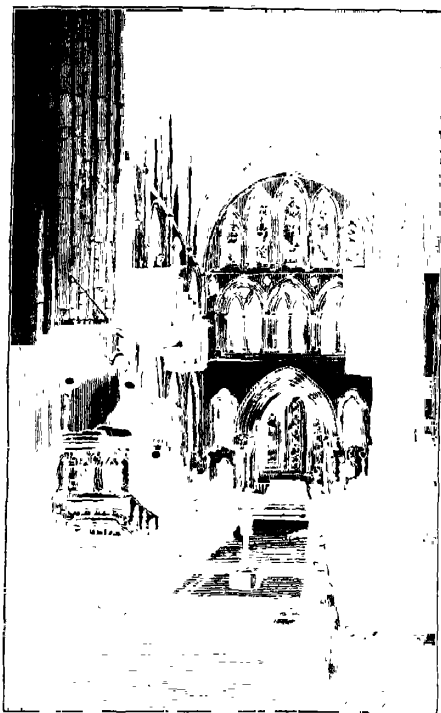
But the country was impervious to all sarcasms of this sort, and it was lavish in praise of a measure so obviously characterised by breadth of view as to its ends, and minute completeness and efficiency of detail, as to its means. The strategic value of Mr. Gladstone's policy in passing the Suspensory Bill in 1868 was now apparent to everybody. The discussions it provoked had armed him at every point, and from the almost embarrassing returns of dates and materials with which it furnished him he was able to draw up a measure which was felt to be complete and symmetrical. He reduced its weak points to a minimum—in fact, if the principle of the Bill were accepted, it would be very difficult for the most unscrupulous opposition to wreck it on details. Mr. Disraeli's criticism was very mild. He said Mr. Gladstone "had not wasted a word," but despite his statement, the Opposition must still "look on Disestablishment as a great political error," and on Disendowment as "sheer confiscation." Whether intentionally or not, his tone conveyed an impression that, so far as he was concerned, he would have been glad, after the verdict of the General Election, to throw over the Church. But Sir Stafford Northcote a few days afterwards told a meeting of Middlesex

* It may be well to summarise Mr. Gladstone's financial statement —

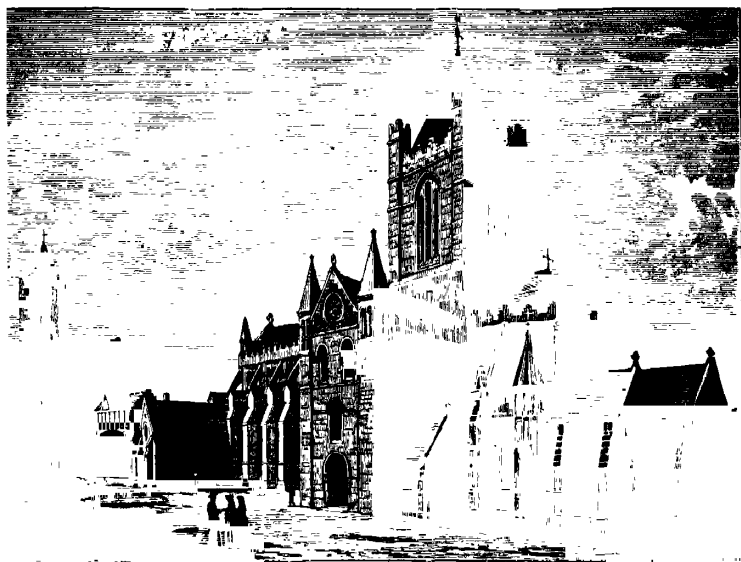
Assets of the Church		Charge on the Church Fund.	
(1) Commuted Tithe Rent Charge	£9,000,000	Commuted Life Interests of Bishops, Beneficed Clergy, &c.	£4,900,000
(2) Land and Perpetuity Rents	6,200,000	Curates	800,000
(3) Money	750,000	Lay Compensations	900,000
		Private Endowments to be Repaid	500,000
		Presbyterians and Maynooth	1,100,000
		Building Charges	250,000
		College Expenses of Presbyterians and Catholics	35,000
		Expenses of Commission	200,000
	£15,950,000		£8,685,000

Thus there was a surplus fund for distribution of, say, £7,500,000, the interest on which, £311,000, Mr. Gladstone distributed as follows:—(1), Lunatic Asylums, £185,000; (2), Deaf and Dumb Institutions, £30,000; (3), Idiot Asylums, £20,000; (4), Nurses for the Poor, £15,000; (5), Reformatories and Industrial Schools, £10,000; (6), County Infirmaries, £51,000.

† It would seem that Dean Swift anticipated Mr. Gladstone's notion. When Vicar of Laracor Swift presented the vicarage with nineteen acres of land. He had endowed it with certain tithes, which he left in trust for the established episcopal religion. But he stipulated that in case of Disestablishment the tithes should be administered "for the benefit of the poor." Stella (Esther Johnson), in her will, dated 30th October, 1727, also anticipated Disestablishment. In leaving £1,000 to endow a chaplaincy in Steevens' Hospital, Dublin, she provided that if the Church were disestablished the bequest should be null and void.

Conservatives that the Bill was a combination of robbery and bribery, and Sir J. Pakington significantly thanked Providence for the House of Lords. Mr. Disraeli felt that his resignation before Parliament met, implied an acceptance of the verdict of the country. To him and to many others, including the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee), the

CHOIR OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN

two Archbishops, Lord Salisbury, Lord Nelson, "our best Churchman," according to Wilberforce, Lord Carnarvon, and the Duke of Richmond, it seemed unwise to divide the Houses of Parliament against the principle of a national decision, to which the leaders of the Opposition bowed when they resigned. They would have preferred to accept the Bill in principle, and in Committee to have extorted from the Government the best possible terms for the Church. But the advice of extreme men prevailed, and so the Tory leaders decided to oppose the Second Reading of the measure. On the 18th of March Mr. Disraeli moved its rejection, in a speech remarkable for its brilliancy and the skill with which he laid bare the weak points of Mr. Gladstone's plans.

[Y]et his followers heard his epigrammatic assault with unconcealed dismay, and [a]fter it was delivered condoled with each other because it was a fiasco. The [f]ault of the orator was that he gave his Party no position or counter-[s]cheme behind which they could entrench themselves. He ignored the cardinal [f]act of the controversy, that the Irish people were smarting under a [s]ense of injustice, because their own national church had been robbed to [e]nrich the ministers of an alien creed. He conjured up terrible but imaginary [r]evolutionary catastrophes as the results of the Bill. He dwelt on the value

CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN

[o]f the Irish Established Church as a body bound by law to receive the [r]eligious pariahs of the country, an argument that made the blood of most [o]f his lieutenants, who were pious Churchmen, run cold. Three discontented [p]riesthoods instead of one, said he, would make themselves organs of Irish [d]iscontent; ignoring the fact that the one priesthood which would *not* be [s]marting was five times as numerous and potent as the other two put to-[g]ether. But the debate as a whole was unreal and academic. It was more [l]ike a bout with foils than a duel *à outrance*. The speakers who were [c]hiefly affected by the religious side of the question thought it expedient to [r]epresent the Bill as an alarming attack on property. The champions of [p]roperty, on the contrary, represented the Bill as an impious attack on religion. [T]hree speeches alone maintained the reputation of the House—those of Mr.

Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Sir R. Palmer. They each spoke as if they had a heart and a conscience, and were personally responsible for the moral and political results of their votes. Mr. Gladstone rested his case on the absolute necessity of redressing a wrong done by a strong nation to a weak one in an age when might was right. The Empire as a whole had a moral right in national interests to prevail over any of its parts. But Ireland, he said, had a right to be governed so that it might be known to all men that her life was not hostile but supplementary to that of the Empire. Mr. Bright's speech was full of intense Christian feeling. He expressed, in words vibrating with genuine emotion, his horror at a system which associated any Christian church with a policy of conquest. As for the charges of robbery, he disposed of them in the splendid peroration in which he declared that the plan for disposing of the Church surplus realised his highest ideal of Christian statesmanship. It applied funds which were misused in stimulating barren sectarian controversies and enmities, to beneficent purposes untainted by doctrinal partisanship or dogmatic preferences. Sir Roundell Palmer surprised every one by his candid admission that a large measure of disendowment in Ireland was a moral necessity. All establishment revenues, such as those attached to episcopal sees, the capitular revenues of cathedrals, and funds for preaching Protestantism in places where there were no Protestants, he admitted could not justly be appropriated by a small alien sect in the name of the Irish nation. But then, he argued with subtlety and power, it was equally unjust to alienate parochial endowments, which were locally of parochial use in promoting the objects which they were instituted to further. Sir Roundell Palmer's speech, in fact, revealed what would have been a possible compromise had it not come too late. He suggested that which Mr. Disraeli had failed to discover—an alternative policy—when he issued his electoral manifesto staking the fortunes of the Irish Church on the cry of "No Surrender." The Second Reading of the Bill was carried, after a week's debate, by a majority of 118.* *Paucis carior est fides quam pecunia.* Hence, after this division, the Churchmen thought there was nothing left to fight for save the money which the Irish clergy should be allowed to carry with them into the desert of Disendowment. On Wednesday, the 14th of April, Mr. Disraeli called the Tory Party together at Lord Lonsdale's house, and the meeting agreed not to press private amendments, but to support Mr. Disraeli's own proposals which he submitted to the House of Commons next night. He proposed that the Church, though disendowed, should remain under the discipline and patronage of the Crown.†

* Sir Roundell Palmer's argument was the only one that disturbed the conscience of the majority. Indeed, the only conceivable answer to it was that local church endowments, which were really useful in doing good parochial work, were instituted not for local but for national reasons. For national reasons such as Mr. Gladstone adduced, they might be justly resumed by the State to be applied to national purposes.

† Mr. Disraeli's argument was, that a church, to be established, must have a temporal Sovereign as its head. The Church of Rome was "established" in Ireland, because the Pope was a temporal

He demanded a year's reprieve from disestablishment. He proposed to compensate permanent curates, to pay over to the Church a capital sum of four times its net annual revenue, also a sum equal to fourteen times the annual charges for repairs; and he demanded that the Church should be allowed to hold all private property ever given to it, whether in Catholic or Protestant times. He insisted on compensation for life interests on a more extravagant scale than the Bill sanctioned, and his proposal as to tithes was amusingly unscrupulous. One of the great points in his speech on the Second Reading was, that the Bill, whilst it confiscated the property of the Church, offered a conciliatory bribe to the landlords. The tithe rent-charge was sold at twenty-two-and-a-half years' purchase to the landlords, on condition that they made it yield the State four and a half per cent. on its capital value. But to accommodate them Mr. Gladstone said that if they wished to buy up the tithe but could not pay the money down for a twenty-two-and-a-half years' purchase, they could borrow it from the State, and refund it by paying three per cent. on it for forty-five years. In other words, Mr. Gladstone charged them three per cent. for interest, and kept the other one and a half per cent. of the tithe yield for forty-five years as a sinking fund to wipe out the original advance. Mr. Disraeli, however, proposed to sell the tithe rent-charge to the landlords at an average price struck from the records of the Landed Estates Courts during the past ten years. As rent-charges sold in the Landed Estates Courts were not sold under the security of the Government, the price at which landlords would have bought up these charges under Mr. Disraeli's amendment would have been about twenty-five per cent. under that demanded by Mr. Gladstone. The case of the "permanent curates" seemed to excite much sympathy in the House Mr. Gladstone was also at first inclined to yield to, though he ultimately rejected, an appeal from one of his supporters, Mr. Wykeham Martin, who desired to let the clergy of the Irish Church keep their glebe houses when free from building debt, without paying ten years' purchase for the site as the Bill provided.

In truth, it was soon seen that it was hopeless to attack the Bill in Committee. Mr. Gladstone was master of every detail—legal, historical, and archæological. He showed himself an expert among the experts, and it appeared that he had foreseen every objection and forestalled every counter-plan. Mr. Disraeli—who had left much of the work of Opposition to Mr. Hardy and Dr. Ball—soon grew sick of the discussion, and used his influence to quicken the progress of the measure, the Third Reading of which was fixed for May 31st, when it passed by a majority of 114. On the Queen's birthday the leading Conservative Peers held a meeting, at which strong efforts were made to reject the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Lords. The

Sovereign. On grounds of religious equality, said Mr. Disraeli, it was necessary to retain the Queen's supremacy over the Irish Church, so that it might enjoy the same status as its Roman rival. His theory of Royal supremacy over Church discipline and doctrine horrified his High Church supporters.

ablest peers were, however, in favour of timely surrender, in the hope that they might extort better terms of compensation for the Church. That was also the view of the Episcopal Bench. On the other hand, the Irish Bishops said frankly that feeling ran so high among their flocks that they did not dare to let the Second Reading pass unchallenged. To do so, would sacrifice all their moral and personal influence in the Irish Church. The English Bishops admitted that they must do whatever their Irish colleagues did, and thus it came to pass that whilst Dr. Magee, the Bishop of Peterborough, privately argued in favour of accepting the principle of the Bill, and then making the best possible terms for disendowment, he delivered in the House of Lords by far the most eloquent and powerful speech denouncing its principle from a moral point of view. At another meeting of Tory Peers held at the Duke of Marlborough's house, Lord Cairns and Lord Derby unfortunately induced the majority to sanction the policy of moving the rejection of the Bill. The debate in the House of Lords lasted all through the week, beginning on the 14th of June, and it was remarkable for sustained eloquence and intellectual power. The Bishops, especially Dr. Magee, carried off the honours of the fray. The Archbishop of Canterbury produced a strong impression against rejecting the Second Reading, for the burden of his argument was that the State should establish a church in order to keep it from becoming fanatical, and then maintain it only as long as it could do so without defying the will of the people. The Liberal Peers were timid and feeble, and the case for passing the Second Reading was really made out by Lord Carnarvon, Lord Salisbury, the Bishop of St. David's, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Stanhope. Perhaps the most striking point in the discussion was the clear indication it gave that the Peers, with the exception of Lords Salisbury and Carnarvon, were at heart partisans of concurrent endowment, and it was in this direction that most of the Amendments they proposed pointed, after the Second Reading had been carried by a majority of 33.* Lord Grey, for example, desired to cut out of the preamble of the Bill the clause forbidding the application of the Church surplus to religious uses, and Lord Russell wanted to authorise the purchase, out of the surplus, of churches, parsonages, and graveyards for all the sects in Ireland.

On going into Committee the Peers forced several amendments on the Bill. The date at which the Bill was to take effect was changed from 1871 to 1872. Existing Irish Bishops were to hold their seats in the House of Lords till they died out one by one. Curates' salaries were not to be deducted from life interests—an alteration that increased the compensation to the Church by about £300,000. Life interests were to be taken at fourteen years' purchase—the capital value to be paid to the Church, which would pay the annuities, a clear gain of about £2,000,000 to the Church. Glebes and glebe-houses were

* There was a majority of all orders for the Bill, except among Bishops and Viscounts. The vote of the new families was much more Conservative than that of the old ones.

to be handed over to the Irish Church, but when the Duke of Cleveland proposed that the same provision should be made for the clergy of other churches in Ireland, he was defeated by a combination of Ministerialists and Orangemen, who thereby destroyed the principle of religious equality on

DR WILBERFORCE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

(From the Photograph by S. A. Walker.)

which the Bill was founded.* On no single amendment, save one, did the Bishops vote for the Government, and on that one—the amendment delaying the division of the surplus *sine die*—the only Bishop who voted for the Ministry was Wilberforce. "Some one," writes Lord Malmesbury, "observing him going out with them [Ministers] in the division, said, 'The Bishop of Oxford is going the wrong way.' 'No,' observed Lord Chelmsford, 'it is the

* It is worth noting that the Roman Catholic Peers voted against all plans for concurrent endowment of Catholicism in any shape or form.

road to Winchester.'."* After the Third Reading of the Bill the Lords, however, accepted a re-amendment by Lord Devon that Irish Bishops should cease to sit in the Upper House, and Lord Stanhope carried another restoring the principle of religious equality by granting residences and glebes to Catholics and Presbyterians. The House of Commons rejected all the important amendments of the Lords, Mr. Gladstone contemptuously observing that the Peers seemed to judge affairs from a balloon. A bitter and protracted struggle between the two Houses was averted by Lord Cairns, who privately negotiated a compromise with Lord Granville. Its main point was that in return for the concession of an additional 5 per cent. on the commutation of life interests (making it 12½ per cent.), the Tory Peers would let the Bill pass. In plain English, Lord Granville bought off the opposition of the Peers by a re-endowment of £500,000 for the Free Protestant Church of Ireland, and the Act received the Royal Assent by Commission on the 26th of July. It was understood that the Queen was prepared to use her influence to bring about a compromise less humiliating to the House of Lords. But the matter was taken out of her hands. Lord Malmesbury says, "Lord Cairns settled it with Lord Granville, taking the whole responsibility upon himself, for he never consulted any of his party, and a great many are much displeased. Lord Derby was so angry that he left the House."

Great interest attached this Session to Mr. Lowe's first Budget. Mr. Ward Hunt had been mistaken in his estimate of income, for while he anticipated a revenue of £73,180,000, only £72,591,991 had been received. But a saving in expenditure of £511,000 almost balanced this loss of revenue. Mr. Lowe estimated his expenditure for the coming year at £68,223,000, and, as taxes then stood, his income at £72,855,000, so that he had a surplus to handle of £4,632,000. Unfortunately, the cost of the Abyssinian War had been sadly under-estimated by Mr. Disraeli's Government, and £4,600,000 of Lord Napier's bill was still outstanding. Mr. Lowe's plan for replenishing reduced balances and meeting unexpected liabilities whilst still remitting taxes was at once original and ingenious. Long credit is given for taxes in England. By abolishing this credit and exacting the full tax within the financial year—that is to say, by collecting in 1869—70 the half of the tax that in ordinary circumstances stood over to 1870—71 — Mr. Lowe estimated he would have what he called "windfalls" of £600,000 on assessed taxes, £950,000 on the land and house tax, and £1,800,000 on income tax, which gave him £3,350,000. Applying this to the reduction of the Abyssinian War debt he left of it only £500,000 standing. But the estimated surplus was £4,632,000, so that even after

* Wilberforce was subsequently promoted to the See of Winchester. But Chelmsford's sneer was unjust. Wilberforce thought honestly that the nation having decided the question of immediate Disestablishment and Disendowment, delay would simply damage the interests of the Irish Church, and provoke a futile conflict with the people. Hence he voted against this amendment.—See Life of Wilberforce, Vol. III., pp. 287-289, and Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 408.

deducting the Abyssinian debt, he still had in hand £4,100,000 for remission of taxes, and the replenishment of the Exchequer balances which Mr. Ward Hunt's policy had exhausted. Mr. Lowe therefore remitted the shilling duty on corn, the duty on fire insurances, the hair powder tax, the duty on tea licences, and a penny of income tax. The carriage duty he simplified and reduced. The duty on horses he reduced—an announcement that gave infinite satisfaction to the House of Commons—and he abolished the special duty on post-horses. He said that as he could not take off the duty on armorial bearings, "it appeared to him the best thing he could do was to increase it." The perplexing and complex discussion which the scheme provoked, and the indignation of the small traders at being called upon to pay all their taxes in full instead of in two half-yearly instalments obscured the real issue. The real point to consider, however, was whether it was worth while to pay the April quarter's taxes in January, in order to get the remissions which Mr. Lowe promised. The House thought that the gain was commensurate with the sacrifice, and so the Budget passed without serious opposition.*

That the new House of Commons was leavened by a spirit of reform was manifest from the record of its legislative achievements. In March Mr. Forster introduced his Endowed Schools Bill, the gist of which was the appointment of a Commission, empowered, if need be, to reorganise compulsorily old endowed schools, and to adapt them to modern requirements. One curious feature in it marked the growth of opinion on the education of women. Girls, as well as boys, were to have a fair share of these endowments. Mr. Austin Bruce, the Home Secretary, passed an Habitual Criminals Act, in deference to the growing feeling of the people that the large class who lived by crime were far too gently treated by the authorities. It put habitual criminals, or persons twice convicted of crime, under police supervision for seven years, and in cases of fresh charges threw on them and on receivers of stolen goods the burden of proving their innocence, a burden that heretofore was laid on Society. Lord Hartington's Bill for purchasing the telegraphs carried out a bad bargain, to which Mr. Ward Hunt had committed the nation.† But all other legislation

* It is not generally known that the repeal of the shilling duty on corn, as indeed many of the ideas on which Mr. Lowe based his Budget were suggested to him by the late Mr. Stanley Jevons. "Having been consulted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer," writes Mrs. Jevons, "as to the pressure of taxation upon different classes of the people, Mr. Jevons sent to him on the 13th of March a report which he had prepared with much care. The result of his inquiries was, that the artisan, with only a moderate use of beer and tobacco, was less heavily taxed than the classes above or below him, but that the labourer, if he only moderately indulged in stimulants, was rather the most heavily taxed of any class in proportion to his income. Mr. Jevons, therefore, recommended the repeal of the remaining duty of a shilling a quarter on corn, which he believed formed an appreciable burden of about one per cent. of income upon the very poorest class on the borders of pauperism." Another proposal of Mr. Lowe's for re-coining the gold currency, owing to the defective weight of the coins in circulation, was also suggested by Mr. Jevons.—See Letters and Journals of W. Stanley Jevons, edited by his Wife (Macmillan, 1886), pp. 245—248.

† According to Lord Hartington's measure the purchase-money came to £6,750,000.

of importance was wrecked by the House of Lords. For example, the Commons in 1869 passed a Bill giving married women control over their own property; the Lords threw it out. The Commons affirmed the principle of abolishing University Tests; the Lords again stopped the way. The Commons passed a Bill abolishing the law of primogeniture; the Lords rejected it. The Commons accepted a Bill rating all Scottish landowners for the support of a universal unsectarian compulsory system of education in Scotland; the Lords quashed the project, which was denounced even by so Liberal a newspaper as the *Daily Telegraph* because it was "too revolutionary, too full of compulsion, and too Scotch." The Commons passed a Bill legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister; here again the Lords undid the work of the Commons. The questions relating to purity of election, forced on the country by the revelations made at trials of election petitions during the recess, were by the Commons referred to a Select Committee, on the understanding that it would report, as it did report, in favour of the ballot; but the Lords did not disguise their hostility to that project either. The first Parliament that met under household suffrage therefore demonstrated alike the intense devotion of the Commons and the intense hostility of the Lords to all progressive legislation.

And yet any shrewd observer could see that the Ministry, despite its reforming zeal, was not gaining strength in a reforming House of Commons. The belief in Mr. Gladstone's ability and earnestness had not decayed; but his colleagues were busy accumulating a baneful crop of private hatreds. Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Childers cut down expenditure in the army and navy, and Mr. Baxter, as Secretary to the Admiralty, insisted on buying stores for the public on the economical business-like principles that guide private firms. Mr. Childers found the Admiralty in a state of chaos. When anything went wrong everybody was generally responsible, but nobody in particular could be punished. Mr. Childers fixed responsibility for patronage and discipline, for building and equipping ships, and for finance on three subordinates. To reduce the redundant officers he offered to give them a lump sum down, instead of half-pay, if they would retire. He, or rather Mr. Baxter, laid down the rule that it was better to buy stores in the open market instead of contracting for them. As to the fleet, he introduced the principle of reducing it as much as possible at foreign stations, where it was difficult to control, and concentrating it as much as possible at home, where it was easily within reach of his arm. In ship-building he insisted on concentrating expenditure, not on repair, but on construction, and on building, not a great many ships of a semi-obsolete type, but a few heavily-armed and armoured swift vessels, which would be guaranteed to beat any craft afloat. The Tory Opposition somewhat unpatriotically joined in the "hue and cry" which every incompetent official and every useless clerk who was shelved by these reforms raised against Mr. Childers. The dockyard men actually assaulted Sir C. Wingfield, Member for Gravesend, because he defended reductions. The words and deeds of Mr. Childers and Mr. Baxter were misrepresented by Tory partisans,

who tried to make political capital out of the storm of prejudice which dispossessed jobbers raised against them. Yet, as a matter of fact, whereas the Tory Ministry discharged 3,948 dockyard hands, and pensioned 411, Mr. Childers merely pensioned 617 men, aided 666 to emigrate, and gave gratuities to 117.

THE VICTORIA EMBANKMENT, LONDON.

Forthwith a powerful body of officials, most of whom had the means of influencing the newspaper press, foreseeing that the corrupt spending departments were in danger of being reorganised, began to wage a "paper war" against the Ministry. Mr. Lowe's vitriolic insolence to deputations who came to do business with him, his quarrel with the legal profession over the site of the New Law Courts, his contemptuous criticism of the Money Market, his proposal to coin a new sovereign with enough alloy to cover the cost of mintage, and his

determination to collect the income-tax in a lump sum in the January quarter of the year, also raised up hosts of enemies. Mr. Bruce annoyed people by his obstinate officialism, and Mr. Ayrton by his overweening niggardliness, his too obvious desire to effect mean savings meanly, and his foolish fancy for rubbing pepper into the wounds of those whom he cut by his sharp tongue. Mr. Bright's speeches on the Irish Church Bill should have vastly augmented his reputation; but his indolence as an administrator was notorious. His resolve to prevent the Board of Trade from doing any work for the people which it could avoid doing disgusted Tories and Radicals alike. His opposition to Lord Edward Cecil's Resolution in favour of a Bill to check adulteration, based as it was upon the ideas of the old Whigs, and informed as it was by the prejudices of the vulgarest type of small tradesman, did much to destroy his popularity. Adulteration, he said, was only another form of competition. The use of false weights, as a rule, was a pure inadvertency, and if traders were to be spied on every hour by inspectors he (Mr. Bright) would advise them to emigrate. All his arguments, curiously enough, were those by which the coining of counterfeit money might be defended, and the effect of them on the public mind was not favourable to the Cabinet of which he was a member. Lord Granville, too, had sadly mismanaged the Colonial Office. His policy of gradually withdrawing Imperial troops from the self-governing colonies, and teaching them to rely on themselves and their territorial militias for defence was wise and prudent. But it was carried out with a lack of tact that irritated the susceptibilities of the Colonists. Lord Granville hardly concealed his approval of the wild doctrines of Professor Goldwin Smith to the effect that colonies were a burdensome nuisance, and that the best thing to do with them was to cut them adrift. The tone of Colonial Office despatches at this time was studiously impertinent. As for Lord Granville's subordinates at Whitehall, they prided themselves on treating eminent Colonists as if they were returned convicts. Lord Granville's refusal to permit a British regiment to remain in New Zealand, then engaged in a Maori war, and his recommendation to the Colonists to recognise the independence of the Maori king, naturally rendered his Colonial policy hateful to all colonists.

Foreign affairs alone seem to have been prudently managed. The only serious question with which the Foreign Office had to deal was that of the *Alabama* Claims. The Tory Ministry, reversing the somewhat defiant policy of Lord Russell, had conceded to the American Minister—Mr. Reverdy Johnson—every claim he was instructed to prefer.* This policy was continued by Lord Clarendon. Mr. Johnson's method of working was to stupefy the English nation with gross flattery and with ecstatic post-prandial outbursts of brotherly love, and then cajole it into immeasurable concessions. He was a professional

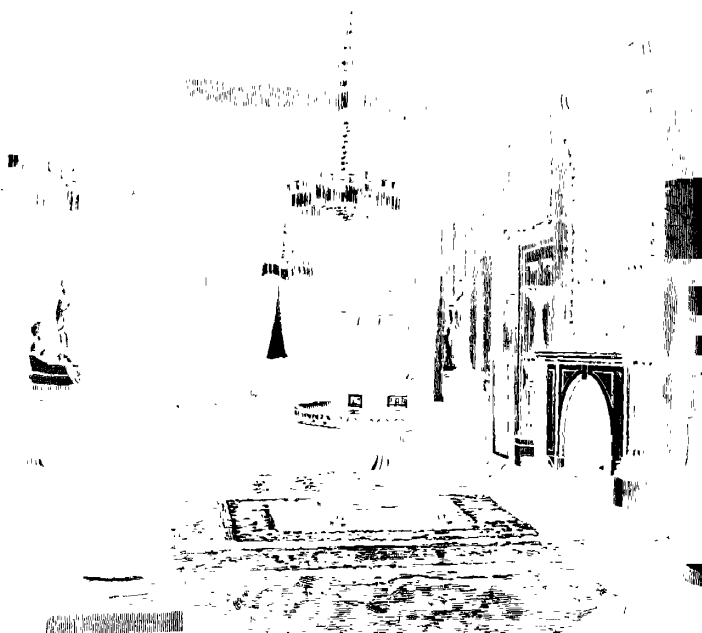
* They even retreated from the position of Lord Russell, who very properly refused to admit to arbitration any question as to the right of England to recognise the South as a belligerent Power—a concession which was not only an abject surrender of Sovereign rights, but *ultra vires* on the part of any Minister.

diner-out, and he took in his hosts as well as their dinners. But the American democracy ignored the concessions their Minister had obtained. Their attention was fixed on his exaggerated assurances of their goodwill, at a time when they desired him to convey the impression that they still regarded with dignified displeasure the unfriendly attitude of England during the Civil War. The Convention negotiated between Mr. Johnson and the Foreign Secretary was accordingly denounced by Mr. Sumner in the Senate in a speech in which he not only demanded an apology from England for recognising the Confederate States as belligerents, but consequential damages for all injuries to America, that were indirectly as well as directly due to the escape of the Confederate cruisers from British ports. When the Senate refused to ratify the Convention, the reply of Lord Clarendon was a courteous and decisive refusal to conduct negotiations on the absurd basis put forward by Mr. Sumner. Mr. Johnson was recalled. Mr. Motley, the eminent historian, was sent in his stead to the Court of St. James's, and towards the end of the year American public opinion began to favour a reopening of the negotiations on a more reasonable basis, but at Washington, and not in London.*

The India Office, too, under the Duke of Argyle, was managed so as to add considerably to the *prestige* of the Government. The affairs of India had indeed been conducted, since the accession of Sir John Lawrence to the Viceroyalty, with consummate ability. The struggle for power in Afghanistan between the descendants of Dost Mahomed had been watched by Lawrence with masterly inactivity. At last, as if by a Providential inspiration, Lawrence came to the conclusion, in 1867, that of all the rival aspirants the fugitive Shere Ali was the one who was to be favoured by Fortune. He avoided an alliance with the usurper Azim Khan, and when Shere Ali at last ascended the throne his friendly overtures were amicably met. When Lord Mayo succeeded Lawrence in 1868, his appointment was denounced as a Tory job. Mr. Gladstone, with great generosity, refused to yield to those who pressed him to recall Mr. Disraeli's viceroy in 1869, and Lord Mayo developed an unexpected capacity for government. He carried out Lawrence's frontier policy only with greater warmth of feeling. On the 27th of March Shere Ali met Lord Mayo in durbar at Umballa, and was splendidly entertained. There Lord Mayo formally

* It was to some extent ignored at the time that for much of the damage done to American commerce the Federal Navy was to blame. It afforded the most meagre protection to the American mercantile marine. Though it was known a few days after its escape that the *Sumter* was roaming in West Indian waters, yet off *none* of the ports it visited during the next two months was there a Federal war-ship waiting to sink it. The *Alabama* did most damage at the points which one would have thought would be swarming with prowling Federal cruisers, namely, the Azores, the crossing of the Gulf Stream, the Brazilian Coast, the "calm belts," where ships from the South cross the tropics at the Cape, and in the China seas. Yet in none of these quarters was Captain Semmes attacked or waited for. Captain Semmes admits in "My Adventures Afloat," that but for the gross negligence and incompetence of the United States Naval Department he could not have done the damage he did. The admission discounts much of the argument in favour of supplying swift, unarmoured cruisers in war time.

recognised his guest's position, and on behalf of the Indian Government arran to supply him with arms and a subsidy of £120,000 a year to defend his thr

Foreign affairs had little interest for the Queen in 1869. In Germ the policy of Von Bismarck was directed to prevent the premature devel ment of the national sentiment in favour of forming a new German Emp France was engaged in hastily reorganising her military system, and

THE QUEEN'S DRAWING-ROOM, OSBORNE.

(From a Photograph by Hughes and Mullins, Ryde, Isle of Wight)

French Emperor, broken in health and depressed in spirits, had to meet, w anxious heart, the rising tide of Liberalism, which the elections that follov the dissolution of the Legislature, showed was beginning to flow in Fran In July, when the Legislative Body met, the Opposition, which used number about six, numbered 120, and when they threatened to attack Government M. Rouher offered to come to terms with them.* The Emper illness postponed matters for two months, but meantime the old Minis resigned in favour of a more Liberal one. Finally, a still more Liberal

* The Senate was to be assembled to pass Bills which the Opposition had demanded. The Legisla Body was to control the Budget. Independent Members were to be allowed to initiate Bills. Minis though not responsible actually to the Legislature, would be allowed to sit in it.

was formed by M. Emile Ollivier, at the end of the year, charged with the mission of transforming Bonapartism into Constitutional Monarchy, on the basis of Parliamentary Government. In Spain the revolution of the previous year

ISMAIL PASHA.

still dragged on. The financial embarrassments of Italy had rendered the House of Savoy a little unpopular, but the recovery of Victor Emmanuel from a perilous illness, and the birth of an heir presumptive to the Italian Crown, soon restored the popularity of their Monarchy among the Italians. The Pope attained the summit of his ambition by assembling at Rome, on the 8th of

December, a grand council of the Latin Church, for the purpose of sanctioni formally the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the Holy Fath speaking *ex cathedrá* and *quoad sacra.*

We may presume that the Queen's domestic circle was, early in the ye alarmed by the strangely sudden illness of Prince Leopold, which prevented h from receiving in person the Address from the House of Commons in re to the Speech from the Throne. No notice of this illness is, however, tak in the letters of the Princess Louis of Hesse; in fact, it seems to be the on illness of the Prince to which that illustrious lady does not allude in h correspondence with the Queen. The sole reference to Prince Leopold at th period is in a letter from the Princess to her mother, dated 30th January, which she says, "Our thoughts and prayers are so much with you and de Leopold on this day [his Confirmation]. May the Almighty bless and prote that precious boy, and give him health and strength to continue a life well begun and so full of promise." A month later the Queen had sad tidin of further domestic anxieties from her tender-hearted daughter. One of h servants had fallen ill, and the Darmstadt household was so seriously unde handed, that the Princess herself had to drudge in her nursery. "You w be amused," she cheerily writes, with an obvious effort to spare her moth unnecessary anxiety, "when I tell you, that old Amelung is coming to sle with baby, and take charge of him; but she is too old and out of practi to be able to wash and dress him morning and evening besides, so I do th and it is, of course, a great assistance to all my being able to do it, and don't mind the trouble. Of a morning, as Louis is usually out riding or at h office, I take Victoria and Ella out, who are very good little girls, and ve amusing."* It was fortunate for the amiable Princess that her illustrio mother had brought her up to be a helpful housemother, competent at a moment to cope with the *res augustæ domi.*

In the beginning of the year the Queen had an interview with Mr. Carly in whose sorrowful life Dean Stanley had interested her. Her Majesty express a desire to become personally acquainted with a man whose genius had sh so much lustre on her reign, and, according to Mr. Froude, Carlyle felt f the Queen "in her bereavement as she had remembered him in his own." Th meeting took place in the Westminster Deanery, and Carlyle's account of it as follows:—"The Queen was really very gracious and pretty in her demeano throughout; rose greatly in my esteem by everything that happened; did n fall in any point. The interview was quietly very mournful to me."†

On the 17th of April the Queen visited Aldershot, and reviewed the troo stationed there. The weather was so bad in the morning that it was suppos that the review would be abandoned, but eventually, about midday, the clou

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch a Letters, p. 211.

† Carlyle's Life in London, by J. A. Froude, Vol. III., p. 380.

cleared off and the "Assembly" sounded. The Queen, accompanied by the Princess Louise and Princess Beatrice, left Windsor a little before noon, and was escorted by a troop of Life Guards as far as Bagshot, where a troop of the 5th Dragoon Guards relieved them, and conducted the Royal party to the camp. Her Majesty drove to the Royal Pavilion, where she partook of luncheon, and as the weather at this time was exceedingly threatening—rain falling heavily—the signal was hoisted at headquarters for the troops to "wait further orders." At three o'clock, the weather having somewhat cleared, the review took place, about 8,000 of all ranks being on parade.

But in spite of diversions of this sort the Queen felt at times the increasing loneliness of her life. In reply to some expression of this the Princess Louis writes to her on the 16th of April, "We shall, indeed, be so pleased, if later you wish to have any of the grand-daughters with you, to comply with any such wish, for I often think, so sadly for your dear sake, how lonely it must be when one child after another grows up and leaves home: and even if they remain, to have no children in the house is most dreary. Surely you can never lack to have some from among the many grandchildren; and there are none of us who would not gladly have our children live under the same roof where we passed such a happy childhood, with such a loving grandmamma to take care of them." In May, however, the secluded life of the Queen was to some extent brightened and cheered. "How glad I am," writes the Princess Louis, "that the dear Countess [Blücher] is with you again; she is the pleasantest companion possible, and so dear and loving, and she is devoted to you and dear papa's memory as never any one was."

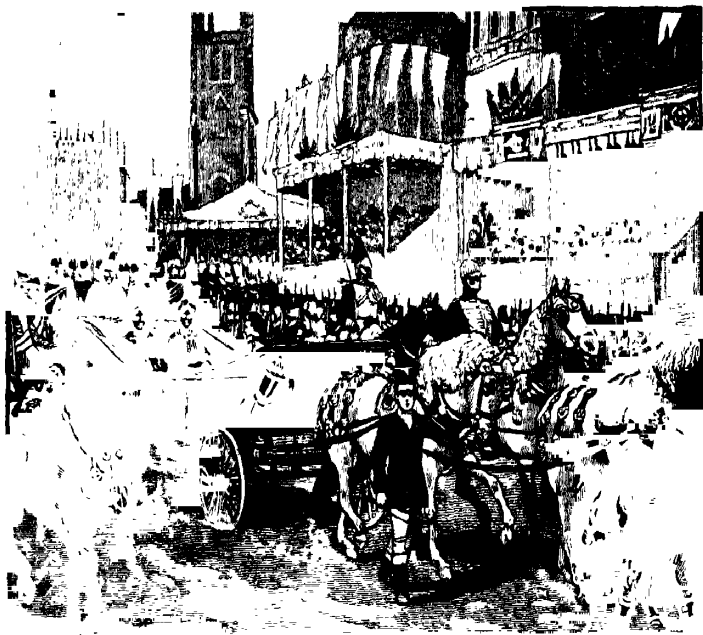
On the 22nd of June Ismail Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, paid a second visit to England (his first having taken place in 1867), and during his short stay of eight days his time was well occupied with *fêtes*, reviews, and banquets. He was met at Charing Cross by the Prince of Wales with a royal greeting in the name of the Queen, and drove to Buckingham Palace amid cheers from the crowd outside the station. On the 24th he left Buckingham Palace for Windsor Castle on a visit to her Majesty. The Prince and Princess of Wales and Prince Hassan, the Viceroy's son, accompanied him, and with a select party dined with the Queen. On the 26th the Queen entertained the Viceroy with a review of 5,000 troops in Windsor Great Park. Next day he returned to town and dined with the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House. On July 1st, having taken leave of the Prince and Princess of Wales, Ismail Pasha started on his return journey. He was at this time endeavouring to strengthen his independent position in Egypt, and though he met with little encouragement, he considered it advisable to try and secure English support against the Sultan.

Her Majesty had taken a deep interest in the statue to Mr. Peabody, executed by Mr. Story, the American sculptor-poet, which was to be erected within the precincts of the Royal Exchange, in the City of London. Accordingly, the Prince of Wales unveiled the memorial on the 23rd of July, and his neat, natural, and

THE TAPESTRY ROOM, ST. JAMES'S PALACE. (*From a Photograph by H. N. King.*)

polished oratory, especially his graceful allusions to his own reception in America, attracted some notice at the time.*

* The speeches on this occasion were all good or eccentric. Mr. Motley, the United States Minister, for example, said of Mr. Peabody, "That fortunate as well as most generous of men has discovered a secret for which misers might sigh in vain—the art of keeping a great fortune for himself through all time. For I have often thought in this connection of that famous epitaph inscribed on the monument of an old Earl of Devonshire commonly called the Good Earl of Devonshire—'What I spent I had, what I saved I lost, what

In the autumn the Queen enjoyed a series of excursions from Invertrossachs, to which the Princess Louis of Hesse refers in one of her letters from Kranichstein. "What charming expeditions you must have made," writes the Princess to her Majesty, "in that lovely country. What I saw of it some years ago I admired so intensely. You can well be proud of all the beauties of the Highlands, which have so entirely their own stamp that no Alpine scenery, however

THE QUEEN OPENING HOLBORN VIADUCT

grand, can lessen one's appreciation for that of Scotland. . . . Many thanks for the grouse, which have just arrived—the first since two years ago!" *

During the year the Queen was subjected to considerable annoyance, owing to the mismanagement which seemed to mar the success of the Duke of Edinburgh's tour in Australia. At the time he was shot at by O'Farrell the Legislature of New South Wales passed at one sitting a Treason-felony Bill, the provisions of which were of the drastic character enforced in modern times

gave away remains with me.'" When Mr. Story's turn came to address the company he pointed to his statue, and merely said "That is my speech."

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 221. For a detailed description of the excursions, see More Leaves from a Journal of a Life in the Highlands, pp. 116—147.

only by the autocrats of *opera-bouffe*. But after a while from across the sea whispers of heart-burnings and discontent were wafted, which first took definite form in spring, when an ugly item was discovered in the Civil Service Estimates. It was a sum of £3,500 for gifts and presents made by the Duke of Edinburgh while voyaging in Australian waters with the *Galatea*. The Colonists were, not unnaturally, irritated at what they considered the lack of taste shown in throwing on the Estimates the expense of those trifling gifts which the Prince had made to several of the most eminent Australians. Though no defence was formally made for the Prince, obviously his youth and inexperience accounted, to some extent, for the unfortunate error.

A visit paid by Prince Arthur to Ireland in summer also led to some unpleasantness. In Derry the Prince's appearance seemed to suggest to the Orangemen the idea that the occasion was one for assailing Mr. Gladstone and the Ministry, and for making riotous attacks on the Catholics who retaliated after their kind. The Mayor of Cork, too, presiding at a dinner given to two released Fenians on the 28th of April, lauded O'Farrell's motive in shooting the Duke of Edinburgh. The observations were so pointedly directed at Prince Arthur's visit, that they constituted practically an invitation to assassinate him. The Government accordingly brought in a Bill on the 5th of May to dismiss Mr. O'Sullivan from office "as if he were naturally dead," the first reading of which Mr. Disraeli, to the consternation of his followers, showed a desire to resist.* Mr. O'Sullivan, however, saved everybody further trouble by resigning his office.

On the other hand, if two of the Queen's sons were a little unfortunate in their experience of popular demonstrations, the Heir Apparent was fast becoming the idol of Society. It was understood that he had used his influence in order to bring about a change in Court dress, which was taken as a concession to the democratic spirit of the age. What was the origin of the rule compelling unofficial persons to wear a distinctive dress when presented to the Queen? In the early Georgian period no such rule existed. Nobody but a gentleman could go to Court, and so people who were presented, as a matter of course, wore the ordinary dress of a gentleman, just as officers have always approached the Queen in uniform, which, in theory, is their ordinary dress. But in time persons who were not, technically speaking, gentlemen, were presented to the Sovereign. The introduction of what is now known as "evening dress" for persons of all grades abolished costume as a mark of rank. Yet the Court still adhered to the theory that any one presented to the Sovereign must bear about him an outward and visible sign that he was a

* It was objectionable, he said, because it was a Bill of pains and penalties for mere words. Government had released the Fenians. Why, then, object to Irishmen honouring them? He also complained that the House was asked to act on the *ipse dixit* of "an Irish Attorney-General." Mr. Beresford Hope promptly rebelled against his leader, and approved of the Bill as a "manly step." Mr. Gathorne-Hardy also deserted his chief, and said he would stand by the Government.

gentleman, and as the ordinary "swallow-tail" coat was common to all classes, the rule was laid down at Court that what had been the peculiar costume of a gentleman down to the time of George III. should always be worn. The new Court costume, as sanctioned by the Lord Chamberlain in February, 1869, was, however, a compromise between the old fashion of the Georgian period and the conventional "swallow-tail." In form and colour the levee dress resembled an ordinary evening dress. But the material was to be velvet and not broadcloth, and the collar of the coat was to be straight and embroidered with gold. The dress sword and cocked hat were still to be worn. As for the full-dress to be worn at Drawing Rooms, it was also a compromise. Trousers were not to be worn unless they were decked out with broad gold stripes down the sides.

On Saturday, the 23rd of October, Lord Derby died in the seventy-first year of his age, forty-nine years of which had been spent in political life. For a quarter of a century his name and influence had worked like a wizard's spell on the minds and hearts of the Tory Party, and yet, as a statesman and a legislator, he had done comparatively little. Passionate unwisdom was too often the leading trait of his policy, but his impetuous and imperious self-confidence, his stately presence, his eager spirit, fiery partisanship, and irrepressible pugnacity rendered him an invaluable Party leader. He passed away amid the wreckage of most of his political idols, conscious that he had failed in what he had haughtily asserted was his mission—to stem the tide of democracy. That a superb air of aristocratic distinction surrounded even his blunders was perhaps the secret of his success as leader of the House of Lords. As a fluent, stimulating, passionate speaker, with a style at once incisive, stately, and sonorous, he ranked as one of the last of the rhetoricians among the Peers of England.

On the 11th of September the Queen lost a good friend, in whose widowed life she had frequently displayed her sympathetic interest. That friend was Lady Palmerston, who had long reigned as the leader of Whig society in London, and who died at Brocket Hall in her eighty-third year. She was the last of four great ladies of quality whose social influence did much to shape the fortunes of their country and the course of politics—Lady Jersey, Lady Willoughby, Lady Tankerville, and herself—and who, by a curious coincidence, not only began life together, and married at the same time, but were firm allies and friends to the end, and died at the same age.* She was, when Countess Cowper, one of the first six patronesses of Almack's. She kept at Panshanger the most brilliant political *salon* of the time when the Princess de Lieven, the Duchess de Dino, Talleyrand, Pozzo, Alvanley,

* Memoirs of an Ex-Minister, Vol. II., p. 411. The best sketch of Lady Palmerston that has appeared was the obituary notice in the *Times* of the 15th of September, from the pen of Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C.—See Mr. Hayward's Correspondence, Vol. II., p. 201, also Hayward's Selected Essays, Vol. II. (Longmans, 1878.)

Luttrell, and Lord and Lady Holland were among her closest and most confidential friends. She was Lord Byron's patron in 1814, and as the sister of Melbourne, and the wife of Palmerston, she was the social centre of Whiggery till within four years of her death. Mr. Hayward has done ample justice to the pure refinement and sweetness of her disposition, to the constancy of her friendships, and the easy placability of her resentments. "For myself," writes her son-in-law, Lord Shaftesbury, "I may say that until I lost her I hardly knew how much I loved her."* And again in his Diary, Lord Shaftesbury writes, "forty years have I been her son-in-law, and during all that long time she has been to me a well-spring of tender friendship and affectionate service. . . . . Few great men, and no women, except those who have sat on thrones, have received after death such abundant and sincere testimonies of admiration, respect, and affection. The Press has teemed with articles descriptive of her life and character, all radiant with feeling and expression of real sorrow." † Lady Palmerston, in fact, reaped the reward of a long career, which she spent for the sole purpose of making everybody with whom she came in contact, happy. Her second husband, Lord Palmerston who to his last hour treated her with the tender gallantry of a lover, was the hero of her career, and one of the prettiest stories told of her is to the effect that she once said his death had prolonged her own existence. Her explanation of the paradox was, that latterly she had been pursued by the fear that his strength would give way without his being conscious of it, and that she looked with horror to the possibility of the man she worshipped sinking into senility. ‡

On the 6th of November the Queen visited the City of London for the purpose of opening the new bridge over the Thames at Blackfriars and the new Viaduct over the Fleet Valley, from Holborn Hill to Newgate Street. When it was announced in October that this visit would take place, a rumour was spread abroad to the effect that the unemployed poor of London were to be organised by agitators so as to line the route which was to be traversed by the Queen. Curiously enough, the representatives of the unemployed, greatly to their honour, discouraged this proposal on the ground that the spectacle would pain the Sovereign deeply at a moment when she was striving, in spite of her shattered nerves and sorrowing heart, to do her

* Hayward's Correspondence, Vol. II., p. 202.

† Hodder's Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., Vol. III., pp. 251-252 (Cassell and Co., 1886.)

‡ It may be interesting to record that the most brilliant Queen of Society in the Victorian period was a hard-working, thrifty house-manager. During her reign she managed personally not only the sumptuous hospitalities, but the accounts of Cambridge House, Brocket Hall, and Broadlands, and kept Palmerston's private affairs in admirable order. Even her visiting cards were filled up by her own hand till within a very few years of her death. There was one other trace of old-fashionedness about her. She was the last lady of quality who pronounced the word oblige as if it were spelt "obleege."

public duty to the best of her power. Then it was rumoured that Fenians would interfere with the Royal procession, but, as a matter of fact, no mishap marred the double ceremony. The great concourse of people who received the Queen was unusually enthusiastic, and she herself was obviously charmed with the warmth of her reception.

The year closed with gloomy news from Ireland. The electors of Tipperary,

THE QUEEN OPENING BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE.

acting under Fenian intimidation,* had returned the Fenian "convict" Jeremiah O'Donovan, or "O'Donovan Rossa," as he called himself, to Parliament, an election which was of course void, and which was alleged, by opponents of the Ministry, to demonstrate the futility of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy of conciliation. Dark rumours also flew round to the effect that the Government had in contemplation the summoning of Parliament and the suspension of Habeas Corpus in Ireland. The Orangemen, who had resented the disestablishment of the Irish Church by menaces of rebellion, now threatened to

* Two-thirds of the electors abstained from voting. Jeremiah Donovan prefixed the aristocratic 'O'" to his surname to give himself social importance. To distinguish him from other O'Donovans he place of his birth, Rossa, was now added to his name, thus: "Jeremiah O'Donovan (Rossa)." In England it soon came to be written as if "Rossa" were actually his surname.

stand aloof in any conflict between the Crown and the Fenians.* At a time when Englishmen were being persuaded to adopt a conciliatory Irish policy, when, after having disestablished the Church, they were meditating the disestablishment of the rack-renting landlords, the Irish people deemed it wise to increase their demands. They raised the old agitation against the Union. By the Tipperary election, however, they showed that Repeal was meant to be a stepping-stone to an Irish Republic, and it was in vain that English Liberals, who feared lest this extravagance might create a violent anti-Irish feeling in England, remonstrated with the Nationalist leaders. They remained—

> "Deafer than the blue-eyed cat,
> And thrice as blind as any noonday owl."

CHAPTER XV.

FALL OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

Social condition of the Country in 1870—Mr Bright's "Six Omnibuses in Temple Bar"—Opening of Parliament—Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill—Amendments to the Bill—Dual-Ownership Established—The Bill and the House of Lords—The Revolt of Lord Salisbury—The Education Bill—Mutiny of the Liberal Dissenters—Mr. Lowe's Second Budget—The Civil Service opened to Competition—Mr Cardwell's Failure at the War Office—The Queen and the Army—Mr Childers and Admiralty Reform—Mr Baxter and Navy Contracts—The Wreck of the *Captain*—Lord Granville and the Colonies—Death of Lord Clarendon—The Franco-Prussian War—Collapse of the French Armies—Sedan—Fall of the Bonapartist Dynasty—Proclamation of the Third Republic—Investment of Paris—The Government of National Defence at Tours—M. Gambetta Rouses Prostrate France—Gallant Stand of the Mobiles—A Passing Glimpse of Victory—The Queen and the War—Prussia and England—Russia Repudiates the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris—Papal Infallibility and the Italian Occupation of Rome—King William Proclaimed German Emperor—Opening of London University—Betrothal of the Princess Louise—Death of General Grey—Death of Dickens—The Novelist and the Queen—Garden Party at Windsor Castle—The Red River Expedition

If the social condition of Ireland when the year 1870 opened was gloomy, that of England could not be considered bright. Trade was still bad, and desponding critics began to hint that it would not for many years recover from the disaster of 1866. Raw cotton was still scarce and dear, and high prices had rendered the demand for manufactured goods stagnant. The feud between the capitalists and the trades unions was still disturbing the peace of the industrial world, and the political horizon of the Continent was heavy with the bodeful war cloud that broke during the latter half of the year in the sudden storm that wrecked the Second Empire. Irish land tenure,

* On the 7th of December Mr. W. Johnston, M.P., one of the Orange leaders, told an Orange Lodge at Derry that between Fenians and Papists he chose Fenians, and added, amidst enthusiastic cheers, that "it is no part of the duty of an Orangeman to fire a shot or draw a sword as between the English Government and the Fenians."

establishment of a national system of elementary public instruction in
gland, and the admission of candidates to the Civil Service by competitive
amination, were the topics that were most keenly canvassed in the early
eks of the year. From this discussion it was clear that public opinion was
against what was derisively called "the one-horse system of legislation"
that is to say, the exhaustion of the Session by one great measure like the
sh Church Bill. At least four measures were expected from Parliament
the year closed—the Irish Land Bill, the Primary Education Bill, the Bill
olishing University Tests, and a Bill introducing Election by Ballot. In
end of 1869 a few changes had occurred in the composition of the
nistry. Mr. Layard had been appointed Minister to Madrid. To him Mr.
rton succeeded as First Commissioner of Works, while Mr. Stansfeld took Mr.
rton's place as Financial Secretary to the Treasury. Lord Cairns resigned
leadership of his Party in the House of Lords, and it seemed likely that
Duke of Marlborough or the Duke of Abercorn would be his successor.
t from this calamity the Tories were saved by the self-denial of Lord
irns, who withdrew his resignation and resumed his post. Speculation was
sy as to the Ministerial programme, and Mr. Bright's speeches at
rmingham, in which he dwelt on the difficulties of legislation, had a de-
essing effect on the country. "You cannot drive six omnibuses abreast
rough Temple Bar," was the phrase with which Mr. Bright endeavoured to
derate the expectations of the people. On the other hand, Mr. Forster,
lressing his constituents at Bradford, endeavoured to neutralise Mr. Bright's
as for delay. It was true, he said, that it was hopeless to drive six
nibuses abreast through Temple Bar, but that was *no* reason why they
uld not go through one after the other. The "Irish Land Omnibus," said
. Forster, must go through first, after which the "Education Omnibus,"
ven by himself and Lord de Grey, must follow.

Parliament was opened by Commission on the 8th of February with a
een's Speech, from which, at the last moment, paragraphs congratulating
ance on the re-establishment of constitutional government, and rejoicing
r the reception of the Duke of Edinburgh in India, had been mysteriously
ised. The Royal Speech promised reduced estimates, an Irish Land Bill,
Education Bill, a Licensing Bill, a Land Transfer Bill, an Intestacy Bill,
Bill to legalise Trades Unions, and a Merchant Shipping Bill. The Ballot
l was ignored, and the Bill for the abolition of University Tests dimly
uded to, rather than definitely promised. In the House of Lords Opposition
ticism was in the main a complaint that the Government had abdicated its
ctions of maintaining order in Ireland. In the House of Commons Mr.
sraeli admitted that the Irish policy of the Cabinet was not *per se* the
se of Irish disturbances. But it had been so susceptible to misapprehen-
n that it had sent Ireland into "spontaneous combustion" and "riotous
llucination." It was a policy which had excited the wildest of false hopes,

both as to the Repeal of the Union, and the transference of the landlords' property to the tillers of the soil. But both Lord Cairns and Mr. Disraeli avoided committing their Party either to a demand for coercive legislation in Ireland, or to any position on the Land Question that would prevent them from attacking or supporting the Ministerial Bill when it was produced. On the Liberal benches, however, it was felt that the only weak point in Mr. Gladstone's policy touched by his Tory critics was what he called "the discriminating amnesty" to the Fenian prisoners. It was generally admitted that if Ministers had only clearly said at the outset that they did not intend to extend their amnesty, the hopes that had unsettled and agitated the Irish people during the recess would never have been raised.

On the 14th of February Mr. Gladstone introduced his Land Bill, which legalised all Ulster customs of selling tenant-right, gave the tenant a right to compensation for his improvements and for capricious eviction, and provided means for peasants buying their holdings through advances made out of the Irish Church surplus, in cases where the tenant deposited one-fourth of the purchase-money. Mr. Disraeli was, on the whole, generous in his treatment of the Bill. Irish landlords, like Lord Granard, recognised its moderation, and, though they did not quite approve of its principles, they deprecated all factious opposition. It was soon seen that the Tory leaders meant to let the measure pass. But Mr. Disraeli, ever mindful of the great secret of successful leadership, resolved, with masterly strategic skill, to show his followers "sport" by advising them, at a meeting held in Lord Lonsdale's house, to attack three points. On each of these they were in full accord with him. On one of them they had a chance of winning; on another they might safely yield, and yet get great credit for the highest patriotism; whilst on the third, though defeat was probable, it could not be attended with dishonour. The first point was that police-cess—incurred to protect landlords from assassination—which the Bill divided between landlord and tenant, should be paid by the latter alone. The second was that where there was doubt about an improvement, the law should presume it was made by the landlord, and not, as stipulated, by the tenant. The third was to cut out of the Bill everything that interfered with freedom of contract. In other words, Mr. Disraeli desired to leave landlords and tenants free to contract themselves out of the Bill in a country where the landlord, and not the tenant, was really the only one of the two contracting parties who could be plausibly called free. Upwards of three hundred amendments to the Bill were, however, put down before Easter, and the first clause, legalising Ulster customs, took twelve hours' debating before it passed the ordeal of Committee. The Government soon found it necessary to modify the measure so as to separate compensation for improvements, from compensation for eviction. Then they struck out a clause which enabled landlords to get rid of all claims by offering a tenant a thirty-one years' lease. These changes, Mr. Disraeli alleged,

formed a breach of the terms on which he had promised the Government conditional support, and for a time factious obstruction prevailed.* For the clause enabling landlords to nullify the Bill by offering leases, Ministers

BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE, LONDON.

substituted a clause permitting landlord and tenant to come to a voluntary arrangement for a thirty-one years' lease, but allowed the Courts to take this offer of a lease, if it were refused, into consideration in assessing compensation for eviction. Mr. Disraeli's argument here was far-seeing. He

* Mr. Disraeli did not object to compensation for disturbance when it meant compensation for unexhausted improvements, or for the "interruption of a course of good husbandry."

and these changes would tempt the landlords to use ruthlessly the only power left to them by the Bill—that of eviction for non-payment of a rent which, however, they were permitted to raise, till it was impossible for any tenant to pay it. This, indeed, was what happened. At first the Bill, as has been explained, compensated eviction by the offer of a thirty-one years' lease. The moment that clause was withdrawn, and eviction was compensated by damages, it was recognised that occupancy, *per se*, gave the occupier certain rights in the soil; in other words, the dual-ownership of landlord and occupier was then recognised as a principle. A long and weary struggle in Committee, in which the defence of the Bill was brilliantly conducted by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chichester Fortescue, followed, and the Opposition, aided by some crotchety Liberals, attempted to smother its principle by loading it with incompatible details. As Easter drew near, it was despondently whispered that the measure would have to be abandoned. Under unseen pressure from the constituencies, however, the action of the House was quickened after the Easter Recess, and all attempts at re-opening the controversy over the principles of the Bill under the pretext of improving it in detail, were crushed. Considerable concessions were made to the Tories. Mr. Gladstone's original scheme provided that no tenant who paid under £100 a year of rent could contract himself out of the Bill. The Government lowered the limit to £50 of rental. The clause creating the presumption that improvements were made by the tenant, was limited as regards those made before the Act took effect. In Committee nothing was done for tenants who were evicted after it was known the Land Bill would be brought in. Nothing was done for reclaiming occupiers under middlemen, whose own tenancies expired with their leases from superior landlords. But before Parliament adjourned for Whitsuntide the Bill had passed through the House of Commons substantially unchanged. The landlords' friends preferred to accept it as an alternative to further agrarian agitation, though Mr. Hardy threatened that the House of Lords would abrogate the penalty on evictions.

Lord Cairns had by this time been compelled through ill-health to finally resign the leadership of the Tory Party in the Peers, which he had reluctantly resumed, and the Duke of Richmond had been chosen as his successor. The new chief's first speech on the Irish Land Bill was moderate and business-like, and his proposed amendments were to exempt all landlords from the Bill if they offered twenty-one instead of thirty-one years' leases, to fix a date beyond which no tenant's claim for improvements would be considered, to let landlord and tenant settle their disputes privately, without going into court, and to cut out a clause limiting distress for rent to persons who had contracted to submit to it. Though he disapproved of the Bright clauses creating a peasant proprietory, they were defended by Lord Salisbury and Lord Cairns. Lord Athlumney, as an Irish proprietor, said the Bill contained nothing which a humane landlord would object to accept, and the Duke of

Abercorn gave the measure a general support. Lord Derby's criticism was more subtle. The Bill did not apply to large farms. That was offering landlords an inducement to clear out small tenants, for it gave landlords what the custom of the country had denied them—a moral right to evict on paying damages for the privilege. Lord Lurgan on the Second Reading said the Bill no more hurt him than would a Bill legalising his debts of honour, but Lord Leitrim objected to it "from the title downwards," and thought that disputes between landlords and tenants should be settled by Quarter Sessions—a tribunal composed of landlords alone. In Committee amendments were passed cutting down the scale of compensation, denying compensation to assignees not approved by the landlord (Duke of Richmond), enacting that no tenant paying more than £50 a year was in any circumstances to get compensation for eviction (Lord Salisbury), asserting that the presumption of law was to be that all improvements were made by landlords (Lord Clanricarde), prohibiting tenants from letting gardens to their labourers (Duke of Richmond), in fact, with the exception of the Bright clauses, the Peers mangled the Bill so as to make it utterly useless to the tenants. The excitement usually stirred up by a conflict between the two Houses grew every day, and men began to talk of an autumn session, the rapid passing of the Bill again through the Commons, and a creation of new Peers to force it through the House of Lords. For this dead-lock Lord Salisbury was chiefly responsible, for he practically ousted the Duke of Richmond from the leadership. After a day's reflection, however, the Peers, influenced by Lord Cairns and Mr. Disraeli, retreated from the perilous position they had taken up. They withdrew their amendments on report, accepting instead a few plausible but transparently illusory compromises suggested by Lord Granville by way of saving their dignity. The result was that, for a time, Lord Salisbury was discredited, and the position of the Duke of Richmond, whose hand he had admittedly forced, was strengthened in the leadership. The Commons accepted all the amended amendments of the Peers except three,* and so the Bill passed. It marked an epoch in the political development of England. It was the first great constructive measure which recognised the right of the poorest class as distinguished from the middle class, to participate in beneficial legislation. It recognised the justice of legislating for the interests of the masses on the principle that it was not safe to leave them to the mercy of Supply and Demand, and of the economic Moloch of *laissez-faire*.

The other great measure of the Session—Mr. Forster's Education Bill—illustrated the change in the drift of English legislation during the Victorian age still more strikingly. On the 17th of February Mr. Forster introduced his

* The Commons restored the original scale of compensation for eviction, the original duration of the lease exempting holdings from the Bill, and they restricted the permission to settle disputes between landlord and tenant to cases where they acted in concert, and not to those in which the offer came from one party alone.

Education Bill. The problem to be solved, as Mr. Forster said, was "how to cover the country with good schools." The conditions under which it must be solved were two: (1), the interests of the parents and children must be harmonised with those of the ratepayers; and (2), the new system must not be so built up as to destroy the old one where it was efficient. England was mapped out by Mr. Forster into school districts.* If in any of these more schools were needed, the people would have a year of grace in which to provide them by voluntary subscription. If not, an elected local School Board would provide them compulsorily, and maintain them out of fees, rates, and the usual Government "Grants in Aid." Religious teaching was not proscribed—the kind and quantity of it to be given, subject to a Conscience Clause, being left to the Boards. The Boards might also assist existing schools, or adopt compulsory education if they chose, and the Bill dealt with children between the ages of five and twelve. Where districts or Boards refused to provide efficient schooling for the people, the Education Department was to have power to force them to do so. The opposition to the Bill centred round the religious question. As Mr. Lowe said in his speech on the Second Reading, the House agreeing on the general principle, fixed their whole attention on one narrow point, like a "fierce herd of cattle in a large meadow deserting the grass which is abundant about them, and delighting themselves by fighting over a bed of nettles in a corner of the field." The opposition of the Anglican clergy was anticipated. They naturally objected to any system that gave the parish schoolmaster something approaching the endowed status of the parish priest, and which released him from abject servitude to the Church. They could not conceal their hostility to a scheme of education which was National without being Anglican, and in which the principle of religious equality, so fatal to the claims of an Established Church, was not only recognised, but endowed by the State. But what had not been foreseen was the opposition of the Dissenting ministers and churches—an opposition that culminated in personal animosity to Mr. Forster. Representative Dissenters, like Mr. Winterbotham, told the House that they would prefer to delay the settlement of the whole question, till the country was prepared to accept secular education pure and simple. Their belief was that the Bill would tempt the different religious bodies to fight for control over the School Boards, so as to influence their decision on the question of religious teaching, and that in this struggle the Established Church, from the *prestige* of its connection with the State, would again assert its ascendency. The Party of Free Thought, led by Mr. Mill, joined the Dissenters in their attacks on Mr. Forster, Mr. Mill's objection to the Bill being, that under it the whole body of the ratepayers might be taxed to pay for teaching a particular religion to the majority. Lord Russell, who also pleaded for delay, advocated

* These were (1), in towns, the municipal boroughs; (2), in the Metropolis, workhouse school districts, or failing these, vestry areas; and (3), in counties, the civil parishes.

a compromise which would have legalised formal Bible-reading and hymn-singing during school-hours, divorced from any distinctive religious instruction,

MR DISRAELI (AFTERWARDS LORD BEACONSFIELD).

(From the Bust by J. E. Boehm, R.A., in the Possession of the Queen.)

whereas Mr. Mill and Mr. Fawcett would have preferred compulsory secularism, to permissive sectarianism. Bible-reading, without note or comment, it was felt, might be unobjectionable in the case of children reared in religious families. But it was obviously useless to the "wastrels" of the gutter

whom it was the primary object of the Bill to instruct. The great majority of Englishmen believed that moral teaching was a powerful agent for civilising this class of children, and that though catechisms and formularies should be excluded from new rate-built schools, it was not wise to fetter the discretion of the teacher, in explaining the Bible to the best of his judgment and ability. But as to the old denominational schools, it was generally admitted that Parliament could not do more than ask them to separate their sectarian, from their secular instruction by a "Time-table Conscience Clause." It would not have been just to insist that they should submit to be virtually secularised,* under pain of forfeiting their share in the school-rate or the Imperial Grant in Aid. Mr. Forster was willing to concede vote by ballot for the Boards, and the Time-table Conscience Clause. But he refused to give effect to the national feeling in favour of excluding from rate-built schools denominational creeds and formularies, and leaving religious teaching to the discretion and good taste of schoolmasters and school managers. Moreover, he failed to meet the reasonable demand that a School Board should by law be established in every parish, so as to provide a competent authority for keeping the education of the district up to the proper standard of efficiency. At length the Government bent before the tempest of agitation which the Secularists and Dissenters raised. Mr. Gladstone accepted an amendment of Mr. Cowper Temple's, excluding from all rate-built chools denominational catechisms and formularies. But instead of limiting the power of denominational managers to control religious teaching in cases where they did not supply a large moiety of the school funds, he entirely severed the connection between these schools and local authorities elected by the ratepayers. They were to depend on the Imperial Grant alone, but then this Grant to *all* schools was to be raised so as to cover not one third, but about one half of their expenses. Mr. Disraeli, with an eye to the Radical Secularist "Cave," scoffed at the compromise as a scheme for endowing "a new sacerdotal caste." Lord John Manners lamented that it would ruin denominational schools. The Dissenters averred it would encourage them by doubling their Grants in Aid. They seemed to argue that parents who preferred denominational education should themselves pay a special price for it, whereas, parents who desired secular education should get it at the expense of the State. Mr. Gladstone's compromise, however, was accepted, and the Bill was passed by both Houses. But it created a feud between the Dissenters and the Liberal Party, which irretrievably weakened the Government.

With the exception of a Bill to enable persons in Holy Orders to get rid of Clerical Disabilities when they desired to quit the ministry of the

* Mr. Winterbotham said that the Dissenters must insist on every rate-aided school giving no religious instruction except Bible-reading without note or comment, and that, too, only in terms of "The Time-table Conscience Clause," *i.e.*, at specified hours before or after those for secular instruction, so that parents might use the Conscience Clause without sacrificing the educational interests of their children.

Church, and a Coercion Bill for Ireland, the legislative results of the Session were not of much importance. Mr. Lowe's second Budget, introduced on the 11th of April, showed the amazing surplus of £7,870,000 on the accounts for 1869-70. He had spent out of this sum £4,300,000 for the Abyssinian War,* £1,000,000 in retiring Exchequer bills, and the remainder in swelling the Exchequer balances in hand at the Bank, which stood at £8,606,000—a sum which, he admitted, was excessive. He had sold £3,000,000 of new Consols privately to the public, and £4,000,000 of them to the National Debt Commissioners, which enabled him to pay the cost of buying up the telegraphs. To wipe out this fresh debt of £7,000,000, he had created terminable annuities which would cease in 1885. For the coming year he estimated a revenue of £71,450,000 and an expenditure of £67,113,000, so that, if taxes were not altered, he would have a surplus of £4,337,000. Of this he disposed by reducing the Income Tax to fourpence in the £, halving the sugar duties, and altering the tax of 5 per cent. on the passenger receipts of railway companies to 1 per cent. on their gross receipts. After these remissions, Mr. Lowe still kept in reserve a probable surplus of £311,000. He proposed, however, with the consent of the Committee, to increase the rigour of tax-collection, to substitute for game licences, licences to carry guns, and to abolish hawkers' licences and several other trade licences. The Budget was well received, but it was not one that strengthened the Government politically. With such a large surplus, Mr. Lowe might have conciliated the farmers by dealing with the Malt Tax, more especially as he admitted he owed much of his surplus to the fall in wheat. In three years it had dropped from 72s. to 42s. a quarter, and cheap food had produced an increased consumption of dutiable articles, *i.e.*, an "elastic revenue." Still he was credited with having influenced one decision of the Ministry which was extremely popular in the country—their decision to throw the whole Civil Service, with the exception of the Foreign Office, open to competition, like the Civil Service of India. This heavy blow at privilege was struck on the 4th of June, when the Queen signed the Order in Council which gave rich and poor alike the same passport to the service of the State, and relieved members of Parliament from the annoyance of being pestered for "nominations" by aggressive constituents.

The management of the defensive services of the country in 1870 further illustrated the susceptibility of the Ministry to democratic pressure. Mr. Cardwell, however, failed to get credit for that portion of his work which was good, mainly because he gave the House of Commons the impression that he strove to evade inconvenient questions by cloudy verbosity, that he was too much at the mercy of his official subordinates, and had not the knowledge or the vigour to check the accuracy of the soothing and roseate

* This left £500,000 still to pay.

arguments which they poured through his facile lips into the House of Commons. His estimates (£13,000,000) showed a reduction of £2,000,000, and, with Reserves and Auxiliaries, he asserted that he had a force of 322,000 men in the nine military districts of the United Kingdom. He proposed that recruits should serve for six years in the Line, and six in the Reserve, and he reduced the number of subaltern officers. These estimates

COWES, ISLE OF WIGHT

and figures were, however, vitiated by the suspicion that the strength of the Army was mainly on paper, that it lacked efficient transport and artillery, and that even when Mr. Cardwell said, as he did towards the end of the Session, when the Franco-Prussian War created a panic as to national defences, that he could detach for active service a perfectly-equipped force of 30,000 men, he had an inadequate conception of national wants. The Ministerial policy raised up two different classes of opponents. To conciliate the Radicals, the Government cut down the Estimates by reducing the fighting power of the Army. The militant Radicals, however, declared that they desired to increase, rather than reduce the strength of the Army, and complained that the money for this purpose was not obtained by checking waste at the War Office and Horse Guards. The Party of "the Colonels" in the House of Commons

were incensed against the Government for making reductions, that interfered with their professional interests. In midsummer, however, Mr. Cardwell effected one reform, by sanctioning which the Queen won great popularity at the time. Her Majesty, by signing an Order which made the Duke of Cambridge, Commanding-in-Chief, subordinate to the Secretary of State for War, ended a conflict which had been waged for years between the War Office and the Horse Guards. Every Sovereign of the House of Hanover had fought with stubbornness for the direct control of the Army, and Parliamentary influence over it was still indirect. To make it absolute, it would have been necessary to refuse supplies, and the Secretary of State, as the agent of Parliament, could only address requests, and not orders, to the Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Gladstone's ears were quick to hear the first murmurings of the democracy against exempting this Department of the State, from Parliamentary control and supervision. There was also a suspicion abroad that no reform could be forced on the Army, whilst the Queen's cousin held absolute power over it as the Queen's agent. Rather than give enemies of the Monarchy a pretext for a Republican agitation based on a popular cry, Mr. Gladstone advised the Queen to surrender to the Secretary of State that part of the Royal prerogative by which the internal discipline of the Army was entirely regulated by her direct action.

Mr. Childers, not being hampered by a rival authority like that which the Duke of Cambridge wielded over the army, was able to adopt a vigorous policy of Reform at the Admiralty. His estimates amounted to £9,000,000, and for that sum he promised to strengthen the fleet by fifty of the most powerful iron-clads in the world, and to build at the rate of 13,000 tons a year till twenty more first-class iron-clads were afloat. He reduced the clerical staff of his office, effected sweeping reductions in the dockyards, and instead of keeping vessels in dock, sent as many to sea as were fit for service. Mr. Baxter, the Secretary to the Admiralty, abolished the old system of making purchases by contract, and instead, bought stores in the open market after the manner of private firms. The outcry raised against both Ministers from the vested interests which they assailed was loud and deep. Their policy was unscrupulously misrepresented, and it created for the Government a host of active and irrepressible enemies. The fatigues of office and the harassments of the attacks which were made upon him in the House of Commons for saving the taxpayers' money, undermined Mr. Childers' health in June, and for a month he had to abandon all work. The loss of the turret-ship *Captain*, one of the most powerful iron-clads in the Navy, which was capsized off Cape Finisterre in a gale in September, with all her crew—including her designer, Captain Coles, and Mr. Childers' son, who was serving on board as a midshipman—clouded the naval administration of the Government. The ship went down because she was overmasted and overweighted, and had not enough freeboard. It was, moreover, unfortunate that naval experts who had in vain pointed out

these defects to the Admiralty had warned them that she was unsafe before she was sent to sea.

Lord Granville's Colonial policy, it has been stated, was directed to further the severance of the Colonies from the Mother Country. The controversy was chiefly fought out over New Zealand, which had been seriously grieved by the withdrawal of Imperial troops when she was engaged in Maori warfare. After much irritating discussion, Lord Granville attempted to conciliate the colonists by a niggardly offer of a guarantee for a loan of £500,000, which was rejected by the Colonial Commissioners. But in May he became alarmed when he found out that his policy was forcing separation on the colony, and that the idea of separation was hateful to the English people. He then offered to guarantee a loan of £1,200,000, and this was accepted as a token that the scheme he was supposed to favour—that of cutting the Colonies adrift—was, for a time, abandoned.* But the death of Lord Clarendon on the 27th of June enabled Mr. Gladstone to transfer Lord Granville to the Foreign Office, and Lord Kimberley reigned in his stead over the discontented Colonies.

Lord Clarendon's death happened at an evil time, for Europe was distracted by the war between France and Prussia which had at last broken out. It is a curious fact that at the beginning of the year none of the diplomatists —not even Von Bismarck himself—had the faintest suspicion that ere six months had passed, this war would be declared. The Emperor of the French was watching in July, 1869, with straining eyes the election of a new Legislature. This election, as we have seen, ended in the return of a strong Opposition, headed by M. Thiers, M. Jules Favre, and M. Emile Ollivier, whose criticism of personal Government drove Napoleon to make popular concessions. A Parliamentary Constitution was granted, and at the end of the year the Emperor had induced M. Ollivier and a few moderate Liberals to form a Cabinet charged with the mission of reconciling Parliamentary Government with Universal Suffrage and the claims of the Imperial dynasty The Emperor discarded the old friends who had been the servile instruments of his will, but shrewd Liberals still held aloof from the Imperial Court and Government, apparently distrusting his sincerity. And they were right. The Emperor considered that his new Liberal Constitution should be revised by the Senate, and the ever-subservient Senate accordingly inserted in it a provision authorising the Emperor to "go behind" his Parliamentary Ministry, and submit any question to a *plébiscite*. This of course meant that whenever Parliament thwarted the Emperor, he could set aside its decision and appeal

* Lord Granville had refused New Zealand military aid on the general principle that the sooner colonies took care of themselves and became independent the better. To save his dignity, he now said that the loan was to be advanced for public works, &c. But no device could conceal his change of front, for obviously advances to help a colony to build public works, set free its local resources to meet its military expenditure.

on a confused issue to a hasty vote of an ignorant democracy, whose verdict was pre-arranged by subservient Prefects. The new Constitution itself was submitted to such a vote, and though M. Ollivier remained in office, most of his abler colleagues resigned. By a majority of five and a quarter millions against a million and a half, the people cast their suffrages for the Emperor. The issue on which they voted was nominally whether they approved of the Constitution reforms which he and the Senate had effected. In reality, it was whether Napoleon III. should, in spite of Parliament, be allowed still to rule France from above. The first result of the vote was the appointment of a Ministry in which M. Ollivier was the sole representative of Liberal feeling, or Constitutional instincts. The Duc de Gramont became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Marshal Lebœuf, the Minister of War. But fifty thousand soldiers had voted against the Emperor in the *plebiscite*, and Napoleon III. was accordingly warned that to conciliate the army something must be done by France to eclipse the fame which Prussia had won at Sadowa. His envoys and agents in Germany assured him that the German States hated Prussia, and in their hearts looked to France for deliverance. As a matter of fact, it was German hatred of France and the German terror of a French occupation, that was binding them closer to Prussia. French intrigues might have delayed the union of Germany, but French aggression was certain to precipitate it, and yet Napoleon resolved to adopt an aggressive policy. As for the means, they were ready to his hand. Did not Marshal Lebœuf report that the re-organised army of France could go anywhere and do anything? There was not even a button wanting, and the new *chassepot* and *mitrailleuse* must annihilate any troops that faced their fire. The pretext for the quarrel was soon found. Spain had long been looking for a King. She offered her crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. On the 6th of July the Duc de Gramont angrily declared in the Legislature that if Prussia permitted a Prussian Prince to accept the Crown of Spain, France would consider his acceptance as a cause of war. In vain did the Opposition warn the Emperor and his Ministers that such a war would be unjustifiable and disastrous. Paris went into a frenzy of delight at the prospect of a march to Berlin. Ever anxious to promote the cause of peace, the Queen personally strove to avert hostilities, and so far as Prussia was concerned with some success. The English Court and the English Cabinet induced King William to advise Prince Leopold to refuse the Spanish Crown. King William's magnanimity and moderation in making this concession to the arrogant demands of France were ill-requited. M. Ollivier, it is true, announced to the Legislature that the dispute was at an end, and Europe breathed freely. But to the amazement of everybody it soon appeared that M. Ollivier had been duped, for instead of crossing the golden bridge of retreat which the King of Prussia generously built for him, Napoleon put forward a fresh demand. It was not enough, said he, that Prince Leopold's candidature should be withdrawn. King William,

the head of the Hohenzollerns, must give a pledge that he would never in time coming permit a Hohenzollern to aspire to the Crown of Spain. T insolent claim was rejected. A sensational and mendacious statement in French Ministerial Press, to the effect that King William had rudely refu even to grant an audience to the French Ambassador, lashed the Parisi into a warlike mood. This insult, the Duc de Gramont, amid a tempest

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cheering, told the French Chamber could only be avenged by a war—a wa into which M. Ollivier airily observed he went "with a light heart." On t 16th of July the French Declaration of War was delivered at Berlin, an French armies were moving towards the Rhine, with Parisian screams "*À Berlin!*" ringing in their ears.

Napoleon commanded in person, with Lebœuf as his lieutenant; Marsh Macmahon led the right wing, or Army of Strasbourg; Bazaine, with Fro sard, Douay, and De Failly, commanded the corps that held the line nort ward as far as Metz and Thionville. The aggressiveness of France had flun the German States into the arms of Prussia, and Napoleon delayed h march so long, that he lost his only chance of thrusting himself between th

hosts of Prussia and her South German allies. The administration of the French army was soon seen to be in confusion, and its strength only on paper. Its transport and commissariat broke down, and almost from the outset it acted on the defensive, while the Imperial Staff seemed ignorant of the geography of their own country. In the meanwhile Von Bismarck biassed the opinion of England against France by publishing, on the 25th of July, the

THE FRENCH TROOPS LEAVING METZ.

draft of a secret Treaty which our ally Napoleon III. had proposed to the King of Prussia, by which France was to consent to the union of Prussia, or North Germany, with the States of South Germany, in consideration of Germany helping France to seize Belgium. As England stood pledged to defend Belgium, such a proposal revealed a depth of perfidy which disgusted Europe with Bonapartism.* It was a plot to make war on England, concocted by Napoleon at the very time (August or September, 1866) when he was

* The publication of the Treaty might have damped German enthusiasm had Germany suspected she was asked to fight France in order to save Belgium. But Napoleon dissipated that suspicion by proclaim-ing that the object of the war was to "maintain Austria in her elevated position" in Germany, and [illegible] the South German States independent.

[illegible]ing to be her ally.* North and South Germany swiftly mobilised their armies under the supreme command of the King of Prussia, with Von Moltke as Chief of the Staff. The Crown Prince of Prussia, with Blumenthal as his Chief of Staff, led the South German troops. His cousin, Prince Frederick Charles, and General Steinmetz, commanded the corps that marched on the valley of the Moselle. When the Parisians were vaunting the success of the French troops in a slight skirmish at Saarbrück, the Crown Prince defeated the French at Weissenburg on the 4th of August, and on the 6th shattered Macmahon's army at Wörth, while Steinmetz—the "blood spendthrift," as Bismarck called him—crushed Frossard on Spicheren heights. A German corps was sent to invest Strasbourg, whither part of Macmahon's army had fled. The Crown Prince started after the rest of that ill-fated force, then retreating on Châlons. The relics of Frossard's army had fled to join Bazaine near Metz, whose design was to unite with Macmahon at Châlons. The Emperor of the French had appointed the Empress as Regent when he took command in person of the army near Metz. This command he now resigned to Bazaine. The Legislative Body, infuriated by the defeats on the frontier, turned the Ministry of Ollivier out of office, and General Montauban, Duke of Palikao,† was called to power. To secure the Emperor from the political consequences of retreat, Bazaine had delayed his departure from Metz to Châlons for a fortnight after the rout at Wörth. This obviously enabled the Germans to come up in time to prevent him from joining hands with Macmahon. On the 14th Steinmetz held him for a day at Courcelles. Then Prince Frederick Charles advanced and harassed Bazaine with impetuous cavalry charges till reinforcements arrived, which drove the French back on Gravelotte St. Privat. On the 18th the Germans fought and won the battle of Gravelotte, but at the cost of one-seventh of their effective strength,‡ and finally shut Bazaine up in Metz. Von Moltke immediately made arrangements to crush Macmahon's reorganised army at Châlons. It is due to Macmahon to say that he himself and the Emperor desired to fall back on Paris, but the Empress-Regent, fearing that the Emperor's appearance in Paris, with an army in retreat, might have bad political results, foolishly insisted on Macmahon hastening eastwards to Metz to relieve Bazaine. Macmahon obeyed these orders, and, as might have been expected, was intercepted and surrounded by the Germans at Sedan, where the Emperor and his army, after a disastrous fight, surrendered to the King of Prussia as prisoners of war on the 1st of September. The Second Empire was consumed in the circle of fire at Sedan.

* Von Bismarck, in his despatch of the 28th July, 1870, to Count Bernstoff, said the Draft Treaty ([illegible] also stipulated for the sale of Luxembourg to France) was communicated to him after the Luxem[illegible] Question was settled in 1867. But M. Benedetti, in whose handwriting it was, said it was dis[illegible] by [illegible]arck in 1866, just after Sadowa. The facts favour Benedetti's statement of the date. [illegible] Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 423 *et seq.*

† [illegible] "Duke of Pillage" after he looted the Summer Palace of the [illegible] Emperor.

‡ The French [illegible]-eighth.

On the 4th of September the Imperial dynasty was deposed, and a Republic proclaimed. The Empress and the Ministry fled for their lives, the Empress making good her retreat to England. A Provisional Government was formed under General Trochu, Commander of the garrison of Paris, M. Jules Favre, M. Gambetta, and M. de Rochefort, and M. Thiers undertook to roam over Europe in the futile attempt to get some of the European Powers to mediate between France and Prussia.* Germany now demanded the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, and on the 19th of September Paris was invested and practically cut off from all communication with the rest of France. M. Jules Favre opened up pacific negotiations with Von Bismarck, but, as he refused to admit that some transfer of strongholds and territory to Germany was necessary, they were broken off. "Not an inch of our territory nor a stone of our fortresses," was the reply of M. Favre to the Prussian Minister's proposals. Bazaine might have escaped from Metz and relieved Paris, but then the result of his skill and the valour of his army would have been to strengthen the new-born Republic. He delayed too long, and he also opened up negotiations with Von Bismarck through a secret envoy, General Boyer. Bismarck had only one object—to conclude peace with some kind of French Government which would be strong enough to keep its pledges. Hence he had been willing to consent to an armistice, so that the Government of the Republic might, by means of a General Election, obtain an authoritative mandate from the people. This project having failed, he was quite willing to conclude a peace with the Imperial Government covered by Bazaine's bayonets. He was willing to let Bazaine leave Metz and proceed with his troops to some place where they might form a rallying-point for the defeated dynasty.† The Empress-Regent in England was consulted, but she declined to consent to any proposals which made cession of territory a basis of peace. On the 25th of October the King of Prussia wrote to the Empress that negotiations were at an end, and on the 28th the great army of Metz—the last hope of the Bonapartes—surrendered unconditionally. Bismarck's policy was now to foster the Third Republic till it became authoritative enough to undertake and uphold Treaty obligations.

* According to Mr T. H. S. Escott's brilliant sketch of the late Mr Hayward in the *Fortnightly Review* for March, 1884, the first person M. Thiers sounded in England on the subject was Mr. Hayward. "My friend," said Hayward, when M. Thiers began to argue about the balance of power, "put all that stuff out of your head. We care for none of these things." Writing to his sister on the 17th of September, 1870, Mr. Hayward says:—"I passed yesterday evening with the Thiers party, and breakfasted with them this morning. They are himself, his wife, sister-in-law, and secretary. His mission seems to be to persuade England to interfere on behalf of France, which England won't do. I saw Gladstone yesterday, who told me he *could* not mediate, as he knew neither what Prussia meant to demand nor France to concede."—Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 217.

† This proposal he carried against Von Moltke, who sternly demanded the complete and unconditional surrender of the army of Metz.

[illegible] Paris was invested, a delegation of the Government of National Defence, headed by M. Gambetta, a brilliant and eloquent young advocate, who leapt into popularity by his attacks on the Emperor during a political trial, escaped to Tours in a balloon, and on the 9th of October he set up a civil and military administration for provincial France. M. Gambetta displayed astounding courage, irrepressible energy, and the highest practical administrative ability. Armies rose at his word as if by magic, and a force of from 150,000 to 200,000 men, with 506 guns, under D'Aurelle de Paladines, was concentrated on the Loire. Had Bazaine only held Metz for another month the siege of Paris must have been raised. But the fall of Metz liberated the investing army of Prince Frederick Charles, and Gambetta's legions were for the most part raw militiamen. Hence, when D'Aurelle de Paladines drove Von der Tann out of Orleans he could not follow up his victory. Prince Frederick Charles came up with the army of Metz, and Manteuffel stood between the besiegers of Paris and any relief from the south-west. In vain did D'Aurelle de Paladines and Trochu by concerted movements endeavour to break the ring of steel which encircled Paris. Their rough, raw peasants and improvised officers fought with the utmost gallantry, as if in contrast to the Imperial troops at Sedan and in the battles before Metz, where the rank and file in too many cases shrank from closing with the enemy. But they could not stand against the superb troops of the German States led by the ablest generals in Europe. After the recapture of Orleans by the Germans on the 4th of December, D'Aurelle de Paladines was superseded. His army was broken up into two corps, and under Bourbaki and Chanzy retreated to the south-east and south-west of the right bank of the Loire. The "Red Prince" (Frederick Charles) pursued Bourbaki, and the Duke of Mecklenburg, after a series of obstinate conflicts, pushed Chanzy slowly but surely from his positions near Marchenoir. The French Government had now to quit Tours and remove to Bordeaux, whereupon Chanzy retreated westwards In the north-west, Faidherbe, the only strategist of signal ability whom the war brought to the front on the French side, had many toughly contested engagements with Von Goeben and Manteuffel, in which the Germans usually had the advantage. But after Christmas the French leader fairly claimed to have beaten his German antagonists at Noyelles, where he held his main position in spite of the attacks of the enemy, though he voluntarily evacuated it next day, and fell back on his old line at Lille.* Werder was not fortunate in the east. He could not hold [illegible], and he had to let Dijon fall into the hands of Garibaldi, who, in a [illegible] of Republican enthusiasm, had given his sword to France after the Empire [illegible]. The net result of the war at the end of the year was this: Paris was

* It was difficult to say which side won this battle, but on the whole the balance of advantage [illegible]. The Germans appreciated his ability very highly, and their two best generals next to Von Moltke, were detached to crush him.

VERSAILLES, 1871: PROCLAIMING KING WILLIAM GERMAN EMPEROR.

[illegible] But, thanks to M. Gambetta's fiery [illegible] [illegible] power, France, after the surrender of the regular troops of the [illegible] Empire, with their trained officers at their head, had actually more [illegible] in the field than she possessed when Napoleon III. advanced to [illegible] These improvised armies of the infant Republic consisted of the [illegible] recruits. But they freed Normandy and Picardy, and all accounts showed that on the whole they fought with more pluck than the Imperial legions who surrendered at Metz and Sedan.

The effect of the war on English public opinion was curious. At the outset Englishmen of the better sort without distinction of class seemed to sympathise with Prussia. But the Roman Catholics both in Ireland and England became partisans of France. After Sedan a change took place. The enthusiasm of the Roman Catholic party rather cooled, whereas the working-classes and the advanced democrats in England transferred their moral support from Prussia to France. The Queen, though she felt the deepest personal sympathy for the fallen Emperor and his consort, was naturally drawn to the German cause. It was freighted with those high aspirations after German unity, which had been the central idea of her husband's foreign policy. The brilliant victories of the South German armies had been won under the leadership of her favourite son-in-law, in whom the romance and chivalry of mediæval Teutonic Knighthood seemed to live again. The husband of her favourite daughter and constant correspondent (the Princess Louis) was a Divisional commander in the great host, whose iron grasp held Bazaine in Metz. Writing in July to the Queen, the Princess says, "How much I [illegible] for you now, for I know how truly you must feel for Germany; and all know that every good thing England does for Germany, and every evil she wards off her, is owing to your wisdom and experience, and to your true and [illegible] feelings. You would, I am sure, be pleased to hear how universally this is recognised and appreciated. What would beloved papa have thought of this war? The unity of Germany, which it has brought about, would please him, but not the shocking means."* Unfortunately the personal relations of friendliness which often bind Courts have in these days but slight influence on the relations that subsist between Governments. The Prussian Government was not contented with English sympathy. England, said the Prussians, might by timely diplomatic action have prevented the outbreak of the war.† But she

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 243.

† Lord Granville has himself admitted that the weak point in the policy of neutrality adopted by the Government was its starting-point. The war was plainly and deliberately aggressive on the part of France. If England had offered to head a league of neutral Powers in joining Prussia to [illegible] French aggression, France would not have drawn her sword. A [illegible] precedent [illegible] created for the establishment of an international police of neutrals for keeping the [illegible] At the Lord Mayor's Banquet on the 9th of November, Lord Granville discussed [illegible] very candidly. His reply was that the peevish jealousy with which France

had a selfish motive in eliminating Imperial France from Europe as a disturbing force. Prussia, in crushing France, was incidentally doing the work of England in defending Belgium, and hence England made no effort to keep the peace. Then there had been some trivial exports of arms from England to France, and the Prussian Minister—forgetting how Prussia had supplied Russia during the Crimean War—pretended to consider these exports a breach of neutrality. Oddly enough, though the Americans had engaged much more extensively in this traffic, Prussia made no complaint against them. The German case, as argued by Count Bernstoff, was obviously weak. So long as a country carries on its trade with belligerents, not as a partisan but as a neutral, it is impossible for diplomacy to stop that trade. Count Bernstoff, however, argued that as Prussia did not need to buy arms from England, whereas France did, the English trade in arms with France must be necessarily one-sided or partisan. His despatches laying down his eccentric doctrine of "benevolent neutrality" simply amounted to the assertion of a new principle. The usage had been that the neutral was free, subject to the usual risks, to trade with either of two belligerents just as if there were no war at all. The new principle asserted by Count Bernstoff was that the neutral, before selling a belligerent anything, must consider carefully whether the transaction will confer a benefit on him which it is beyond anybody's power to confer on the other belligerent on the same terms. Neutral traffic must, according to the Prussian Foreign Office, cease whenever its results give one belligerent certain advantages direct and indirect over the other. Lord Granville had little difficulty in disposing of a chimerical doctrine which would have cast on a neutral the burden of weighing his lawful trade with belligerents to see that each got exactly the same fair share of it. But the absurd paradox was advanced merely to give Von Bismarck an excuse for conniving at an act of diplomatic hostility to England, on the part of Russia, his connivance being the price he had to pay the Czar, who held back Austria, for "benevolent neutrality" in 1870–71.

In the middle of November the Russian Government suddenly issued a Circular repudiating the clause in the Treaty of Paris which prevented Russia from keeping a fleet in the Black Sea. Lord Granville protested with high spirit against the claim of Russia to repudiate any clause in a Treaty she

regarded the growing power of Germany rendered the outbreak of war inevitable, and that the menace of the neutral Powers would at best have postponed the fray for a brief period. But these menaces might have failed, and then the area of war would have been widened, the combatants multiplied, and the struggle could not have been conducted, as it was, under the restraining neutral criticism which did much to temper the passions and mitigate the horrors of the strife. No doubt this was the national conviction, and after it had been decided not to join Germany in preventing France from perpetrating a crime, it was absurd to depart from neutrality, in order to help France to escape the logical and just punishment of her own turpitude. The organs of the Tory Opposition, however, rather unpatriotically tried to make political capital out of the policy of the Government by teaching the people that the neutrality of the Cabinet was due to Ministerial cowardice and [illegible]

...signed, save with the consent of the cosignatories. Austria, Turkey, Italy supported England, but Bismarck told Mr. Odo Russell, who was on a diplomatic mission to the King of Prussia at Versailles, that he had always thought the Treaty needlessly harsh to Russia, and that, German interests were not involved, he had no intention of taking any ...tice of the Russian Circular. "Resolved, as Bismarck therefore was," says ...Lowe, "to let the Russians have their own way, and even help them to ...tain it, his only care was how to do this in the manner least objectionable England. The Black Sea Clause had been knocked on the head, and was ...eady as dead as a door-nail; but there was no reason why it should be ...ng into a ditch like a dog, and not interred with the decent ceremony of ...dertakers' woe. . . . Thus too, doubtless, thought Bismarck when he ...posed that the Powers should meet and wail a doleful dirge over the ...nted body of their lifeless offspring. Ingenious idea! A coroner's ...uest in the shape of a diplomatic Conference to sit on the murdered body the Black Sea Clause!"* Lord Granville's position was an embarrassing ...e. It has already been pointed out that the Black Sea Clause was in ...ny respects indefensible, and it was not possible to offer the English ...ple any adequate return for the money and blood that must be spent in ...ging a futile war with Russia to maintain the Treaty. Yet the manner which Russia had "denounced" it was meant to be humiliating to ...gland, and it needed some adroit manœuvring to extricate the country ...m the situation which had been created for it by the foolish diplomacy 1856. When the Conference met on the 17th of January, 1871, the ...resentatives of the Powers kept their gravity when the President (Lord ...anville) said that it met without any foregone conclusions. To save the ...nour of England and put on record a formal avowal of theoretical ...ief in the sanctity of Treaties, the Conference unanimously agreed to ...lare that no State could recede from its engagements with other States, ...e with the consent of these States. Then Russia was released from the ...igations of the Black Sea Clause, which she had already declared she had ...intention of respecting.

For a time the revolutionary forces in Spain were stilled by the election the Prince Amadeus of Italy (the Duke of Aosta), second son of Victor ...manuel, to the throne of the Cortes. The collapse of the French Empire ...urally led to the annexation of Rome by Italy, and it was a strange ...ncidence that the year which saw the extinction of the temporal power of ...Pope, saw his spiritual power asserted more firmly and extensively than ... The Assembly of Roman Catholic prelates at Rome known as the ...menical Council, met at the beginning of the year to proclaim the dogma ...Infallibility. The opposition to this proclamation was organised by

* Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., p. 606.

the most eminent of the English, American, German, and [illegible] and at one time it was feared they would triumph. The [illegible] secured a majority of votes by the somewhat [illegible] method of [illegible] new bishops governing mythical sees. The doctrine of Infallibility [illegible] ingly proclaimed a few days after the declaration of war by France [illegible] Germany, a war which had been vigorously promoted by the secret agents of the Vatican, who had acquired a controlling spiritual influence over the French Empress. After the annexation of Rome by Victor Emmanuel on the 20th of September, the Pope refused to hold any intercourse with the Italian Government. Immuring himself in the Leonine City as a voluntary prisoner, he pathetically appealed for sympathy to the blunted sensibilities of a wicked world.

As the year wore on, and the German armies strengthened their hold on France, it became clear that German unity under Prussian leadership was an accomplished fact. The autumnal negotiations for the absorption of the South German States in the North German Confederation ended well, mainly because Bismarck made generous concessions, reserving the sovereign rights of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and abandoning on the part of Prussia an exclusive right to declare war. The King of Bavaria, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the other Sovereign Princes, then invited King William of Prussia to assume the Imperial Crown, and on the 18th of January, 1871, he was proclaimed German Emperor in the Hall of Kings at Versailles.*

During 1870 the Queen emerged from her seclusion on the 11th of May to open the splendid hall and offices of the University of London in Burlington Gardens. The ceremonial was conducted with a pomp and dignity worthy of the occasion. The senate and graduates wore their academic costume, Mr. Lowe being the only dignitary who appeared in any other garb. He, however, had donned for the occasion the official robes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a sumptuous garment for which it was whispered he had been so extravagant as to pay £130. The Queen was accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Princess Louise, and a brilliant train of distinguished persons. The Chancellor (Lord Granville) read an address to the Queen. Her Majesty handed him a reply, and having declared the building open the

* King William had doubts as to whether he should be called Emperor of Germany or German Emperor. At last he decided in favour of the latter, which is his legal and correct title, though the wrong one—"Emperor of Germany"—is actually used on passports issued through the British Embassy at Berlin. To have called him "Emperor of Germany" would have meant that the territories of the German Sovereign Princes were in a country which belonged to him, whereas no part of Germany belonged to him save Prussia. The title "German Emperor" was a concession to the sentiments of autonomy and independence cherished by the small States. Indeed, the Hohenzollerns, when they became kings, were in a somewhat similar difficulty. They ought to have been Kings of Brandenberg. But Brandenberg was part of the old Empire, in which there could be only one King of the Germans and Ho'y Roman Emperor. Hence they took their title from Prussia, a new German colony, but not an integral part of the German Empire.—For a [illegible] of this quaint point of punctilio, see Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I., pp. 613—[illegible]

... laughter blent a ... of joy. When the Queen retired, Lord Granville, ... the prince, referred felicitously to Queen Elizabeth's visits ... Oxford and Cambridge — those visits during which she is described ... "questioning and answering and scolding not only in Latin but also ... Greek."

In the autumn of the year the Queen in Council gave her consent to the marriage of the Princess Louise and the Marquess of Lorne, the eldest son of the Duke of Argyll. When it became known that the Queen had ... the exclusive traditions of the House of Brunswick, and reverted to old precedents set by the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts, who all contracted marriages with subjects, society was greatly excited. The marriage was regarded as a triumph of aristocratic and democratic ideas over the monarchical principle—that is to say, of the triumph of the two ideas that have ever been most popular in England. The Queen with great tact had consciously or unconsciously responded to the instinctive feeling that had silently grown among her people. They had always disliked, though they had never dared to repeal, the Royal Marriage Act. It was felt to be a sacrifice to expediency—and it was passed mainly because Englishmen did not desire to see Mrs. FitzHerbert crowned as Queen of England. The Act bound all the descendants of George III. who wished to marry to obtain the written consent of the Sovereign,* and it was felt that as Princes and Princesses were very apt to form *mésalliances*, it would be difficult to maintain the *prestige* of the monarchy, save under some such restrictions as the Act imposed.† But when the Royal Family increased and multiplied, so that the Princess Louise only stood twentieth in the line of succession to the Queen, it was time to relax the usage. No State interest could, in such a case, be practically endangered, by permitting a daughter of England to indulge her personal preferences in the selection of a husband.

The death of General Grey in the spring of the year was deeply felt by the Queen. The Princess Louis in one of her letters to her mother says, "Lady Car (Barrington) wrote to me how very grateful Mrs. Grey was to you

* But it was so clumsy in wording that it did not bind the Sovereign. This fact explains the anxiety of Melbourne to see the young Queen Victoria well married. So far as the law went, after her accession she might, if she had chosen, have married a lacquey. William IV., for example, could not have married Mrs. Jordan, who bore a large family to him, when he was Duke of Clarence. But he could have done so when he became King.

† The restrictions are not of course absolute, for a Prince may refuse to be bound by them. He may defy the Act and marry a subject without the consent of the Sovereign. The marriage is then ... valid for him as a private individual. He could not after it marry anybody else whilst his wife ... were at the risk of a prosecution for bigamy. But the marriage confers no Royal *status* on his ... and no Royal rights of inheritance on his children. The wife of the Duke of Sussex was simply ... Augusta Murray, and took merely her own rank as an earl's daughter. The wife of the Duke of ... is not Duchess of Cambridge, but merely Mrs. FitzGeorge, and the Duke's family take the ... and the rank of Commoners. Yet it would be impossible for the Duke to marry ... with the consent of the Queen.

for your great kindness and consideration. In trouble no one can have a [illegible] true and sympathising friend than my beloved mamma always is. How many hearts has she not gained by this, and how many a poor sufferer's burden has she not lightened!" General Grey's services as Private Secretary to the Sovereign, indeed, were such as to render his death a matter of serious political interest. At this time the Queen exercised a personal supervision over every department of State, more especially over the Foreign Office, War Office, Admiralty, and Poor Law Board. On all matters of importance connected with the administration of these offices it was her custom to send to the Government of the day her own views, and such notes of precedents and of the opinions of former Ministers, as her carefully-kept series of State commonplace books supplied. It was the duty of General Grey to take the rough drafts of memoranda as they came from the Queen's hand, and give them the form of State papers. In fact, he did the work which the Prince Consort had been in the habit of doing, and his position was really that of a supernumerary Minister in attendance at Court, but without a seat in the Cabinet, and without any responsibility to Parliament. After General Grey's death it was suggested that a new Cabinet office should be created, to be held by a Minister who should have no other duty than that of residing in personal attendance on the Queen, and acting as her Private Secretary. The suggestion was happily not pressed, because it would obviously have led to Constitutional difficulties. The new Minister must have become either the Queen's clerk, in which case he would have been an encumbrance to the Cabinet, or he must have become a real Minister of State confidentially representing the Sovereign, in which case he would have become its master. Colonel Ponsonby was therefore selected to succeed General Grey, and the revival of Government by favourites, which was the bane of the early years of George III.'s reign, was prevented.

The death of Charles Dickens on the 9th of June robbed England of a great humourist, whose genius was consecrated not only to the delight, but to the service of the English people. It was his mission to soften the harsh contrasts of society, and quicken the consciences, and touch the hearts of the governing classes, to whose apathy and ignorance of life among the poor he traced most "of the oppression that is done under the sun." Whether Dickens will survive as an English classic has been doubted. But no doubt exists as to the qualities which gave him an unique position among men of letters in the Victorian period. His sense of humour was singularly keen and delicate. His faculty of observation exceeded that ever given to mortal man; in fact, what he saw, he saw so vividly that by his descriptive method he could print it on his reader's mind with photographic fidelity. His power of characterisation, it is true, was limited, but that was because his characterisation was invariably idiosyncratic. It was always an isolated phase of a character that impressed him—a single trait to which he gave corporeal reality. On the [illegible]

readers in England, it may fairly be said, was a more consistent and devoted admirer of the genius of Dickens than the Queen. Next to Scott and George Eliot, Dickens was her favourite novelist. It had been her desire in the early days of her married life to make his acquaintance personally, but the touch of false pride which marred Dickens's character, and rendered him morbidly sensitive as to "patronage," prevented their meeting. In 1857, the Queen had been compelled to refuse her name for the dramatic performance of the *Frozen Deep*, given for the benefit of Douglas Jerrold,* but she offered to allow Dickens and his company of players to select a room in the Palace

GARDEN PARTY AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

and perform the play there before her and the Court. Dickens begged leave to decline the offer, as he could not feel easy about the social position of his daughters at a Court under such circumstances. He suggested that the Queen might come to the Gallery of Illustrations a week before the subscription night, with her own friends, and witness a private performance of the play. "This," writes Dickens, "with the good sense that seems to accompany her good nature on all occasions, she resolved within a few hours to do." So delighted was the Queen with the performance that she sent round a kind message to Dickens asking him to come and see her and receive her thanks personally. "I replied," says Dickens, in his account

* Being for the benefit of an individual, if the Queen had consented to "bespeak" then they would have been compelled to assent to an endless number of similar applications, or give [illegible] many people bitter offence by refusal.

...affair, "that I was in my farce dress, and must beg to be excused. ...upon she sent again, saying that the dress 'would not be so ridiculous ...that,' and repeating the request. I sent my duty in reply, but again ...oped her Majesty would have the kindness to excuse myself presenting ...yself in a costume and appearance that was not my own. I was mighty ...lad to think, when I awoke this morning, that I had carried the point." ...his incident occurred in 1857.

In 1858 the Queen made another attempt to bring the great novelist to ...ourt. "I was put into a state of much perplexity on Sunday" (30th ...arch, 1858), writes Dickens. "I don't know who had spoken to my infor...ant, but it seems that the Queen is bent upon hearing the 'Carol' read, ...nd has expressed her desire to bring it about without offence, and hesitating ...bout the manner of it, in consequence of my having begged to be excused ...om going to her when she sent for me after the *Frozen Deep.* I parried ...e thing as well as I could, but being asked to be prepared with a con...derate and obliging answer, as it was known the request would be preferred, ... said, 'Well, I supposed Colonel Phipps would speak to me about it, and, if ... were he who did so, I should assure him of my desire to meet any wish ... her Majesty, and should express my hope that she would indulge me by ...aking one of some audience or other, for I thought an audience necessary ... the effect.' Thus it stands, but it bothers me." This difficulty could not ... got over, though the Queen, by buying a copy of the "Carol," embellished ...ith the author's autograph, at the sale of Thackeray's library, testified to ...er interest in the two great humourists of the Victorian age.* Indeed, it ...as not till 1870, shortly before Dickens's death, that the novelist met the ...ueen. He had brought from his American tour a great many large photo...aphs of the battle-fields of the Civil War. Having taken a deep interest in ...at struggle, and having followed its details closely, her Majesty, who heard ... the photographs through Mr. Arthur Helps (Clerk of the Privy Council), ...pressed a desire to see them. Dickens, on hearing of this from Mr. ...elps, at once sent the photographs to Buckingham Palace, and then received ... message from the Queen inviting him to see her, that she might thank ...m in person. "The Queen's kindness," says Mr. Forster, "left a strong ...pression on Dickens. Upon her Majesty expressing regret not to have heard ... readings, Dickens intimated that they had become now a thing of the ...st, while he acknowledged gratefully her Majesty's compliment in regard ... them. She spoke to him of the impression made upon her by his acting ... the *Frozen Deep,* and, on his stating, in reply to her inquiry, that the little ... had not been very successful on the public stage, said this did not ... her, since it no longer had the advantage of his performance in it. ... some mention of some alleged discourtesy shown to Prince Arthur

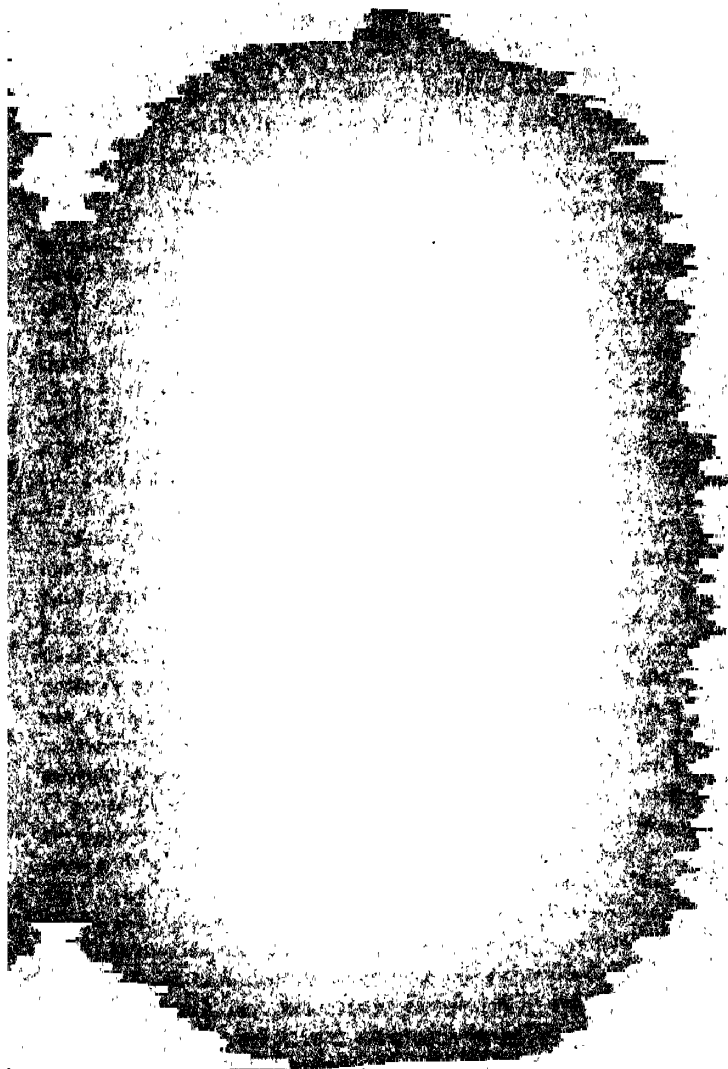
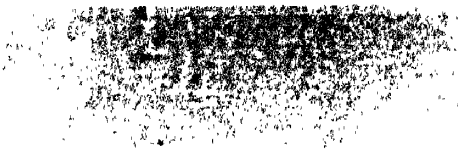
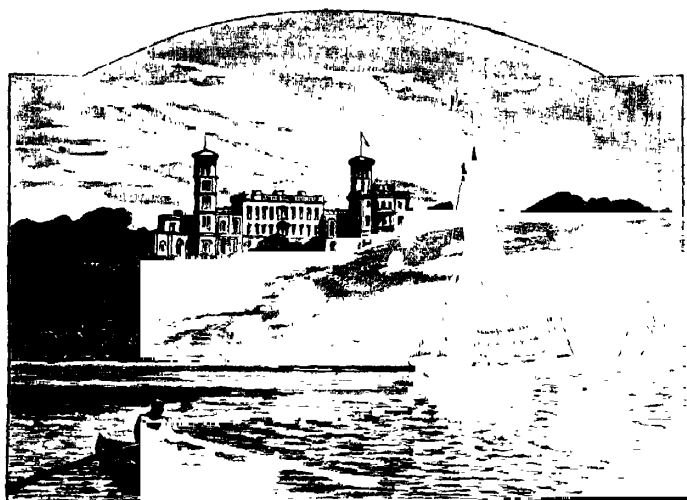
* ...'s attacks on the Queen's family and ancestors apparently had not rendered him a ... the ...

in New York, and he begged her Majesty not to confound the true Americans of that city with the Fenian portion of its Irish population, on which she made the quiet comment that she was sure the people about the Prince had made too much of the story. He related to her the story of President Lincoln's dream the night before his murder. She asked him to give her his writings, and could she have them that afternoon? but he begged to be allowed to send a bound copy. Her Majesty then took from a table her own book on the Highlands, with an autograph inscription to 'Charles Dickens,' and saying that the 'humblest of writers' would be ashamed to offer it to 'one of the greatest,' but that Mr. Helps, being asked to give it, had remarked that it would be valued most from herself, closed the interview by placing it in his hands." Though Dickens refused a baronetcy, which the Queen would have gladly conferred on him, he was persuaded to go to Court. In March, 1870, he writes to a friend:—"As my Sovereign desires that I should attend the next levee, don't faint with amazement if you see my name in that unwonted connection. I have scrupulously kept myself free for the 2nd of April, in case you should be accessible." His name is among those who attended the levee, and his daughter's name appears among those who were at the Drawing Room that followed. "I never saw Mr. Dickens more agreeable," says Lady Houghton in a letter to Mr. Forster, "than at a dinner at our house about a fortnight before his death, when he met the King of the Belgians and the Prince of Wales, at the special desire of the latter." *

The chief social function of the season of 1870 was the Garden Party at Windsor, which took place on the 25th of June. Great preparations were made for the event. A series of tastefully arranged tents had been erected on the lawn under the East Terrace, and in the grounds of the Home Park towards Frogmore, and the State Apartments of the Castle were also thrown open for the reception of guests, who were conveyed from the station by forty carriages. They began to arrive about four o'clock, and the Prince and Princess of Wales and other members of the Royal Family came on the scene later on. The street and road to the Castle were kept by a large body of the Metropolitan Police; a guard of honour of the Scots Fusilier Guards was posted in the quadrangle of the Castle, and the Yeomen of the Royal Body Guard were on duty inside. The Queen, who looked well and cheerful, received her visitors in a tent near the wall of the East Terrace, and was surrounded by members of her family, and attended by the Lord Chamberlain, the Duchess of Sutherland, and the Marchioness of Ely. The London Glee and Madrigal Union and her Majesty's private band supplied the music that delighted the gay and brilliant crowd of promenaders, who did not break up and return to town till about seven o'clock in the evening. It had been expected that the Queen would be able to attend and open the Thames

* See Forster's Life of Dickens.

mbankment early in July, and her appearance at the Garden Party at Windsor strengthened popular anticipations. Unfortunately, when the time came round, her Majesty felt herself unable to endure the strain of the public ceremony, and the consequence was that, when it was performed on her behalf by the Prince of Wales (13th July), at least a thousand seats were vacant for which tickets had been issued.

Ere the year ended the rebellion in the Red River Settlement, or the "Revolt of the Winnipegers," as the Americans called them, was quelled. The history of the rising was as follows:—The Hudson's Bay Company had enjoyed powers of proprietorship and exclusive trade in the vast region extending from the American frontier to the Frozen Ocean. Early in the century Lord Selkirk had established in the extreme south of this region, and close to the American line, a colony of mixed blood, descended from French, Canadian, English, and Scottish parents, servants of the Company. They squatted on a strip of fertile land on the Red River, which flows from Minnesota into Lake Winnipeg. These people increased to the number of 10,000, and they inhabited, perhaps, the most secluded spot ever reached by European colonists, in the centre of the North American Continent. They had been ruled by the Company under a "Governor of Assiniboia," and a Recorder. In 1869 the Company agreed to sell all their territorial and sovereign rights in Rupert's Land to Canada for £300,000. This cession included the Red River Settlement. The "Winnipegers," however, objected to be transferred to what they called a "foreign power," and they split into two parties—the Canadians, almost all half-breeds, speaking French and professing the Catholic religion, and who rose in rebellion, and a minority of English and Scots who remained loyal. The rebels refused to admit into the district Mr. Macdougal, who was sent by Canada as Governor. A leading agitator, Louis Riel, was proclaimed (in February) "President of the Republic of the North-West," and the insurgents appealed to the United States for protection. A contingent under command of Colonel Wolseley was despatched to suppress the insurrection. The expedition reached Fort Garry, the headquarters of Riel and his rebel followers, on the 23rd of August. They were welcomed by the loyal party, and found that Riel himself had disappeared, with a considerable amount of plunder, into the neighbouring American territory. The British force was admirably handled, and did not lose a single man, despite the enormous difficulties of its march over a rough and broken country. For from its point of disembarkation in Lake Superior, it had to travel through 600 miles of an unknown wilderness of water, rocks, and forests, where no supplies were obtainable. The whole expense was under £100,000, of which a quarter only was to be paid by England. Order was re-established on the Red River at the end of 1870, and, as the "province of Manitoba," it was added to Canada.

OSBORNE, FROM THE SOLENT.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

fect of Prussian Victories on English Opinion—Sudden Changes of Popular Impulse—Demand for Army Reform—Opposition to the Princess Louise's Dowry—Opening of Parliament—The Army Bill—Abolition of Purchase—Opposition of the Tory Party—Mr. Disraeli Throws Over his Followers—Obstructing the Purchase Bill—Mr. Cardwell's Threat—Obstruction in the House of Lords—A Bold Use of the Queen's Prerogative—The Wrath of the Peers—They Pass a Vote of Censure on the Government—The Ballot Bill—The Peers Reject the Ballot Bill—The University Tests Bill—The Trades Union Bill—Its Defects—The Case of Purchon *v.* Hartley—The Licensing Bill and its Effect on Parties—Local Government Reform—Mr. Lowe's Disastrous Budget—The Match Tax—*Ex luce lucellum*—Withdrawal of the Budget—The Washington Treaty and the Queen—Lord Granville's Feeble Foreign Policy—His Failure to Mediate Between France and Germany—Bismarck's Contemptuous Treatment of English Despatches—*Væ Victis!*—The German Terms of Peace—Asking too Much and Taking too Little—Mr. Gladstone's Embarrassments—Decaying Popularity of the Government—The Collier Affair—Effect of the Commune on English Opinion—Court Life in 1871—Marriage of the Princess Louise—The Queen Opens the Albert Hall—The Queen at St. Thomas's Hospital—Prince Arthur's Income—Public Protests and Irritating Discussions—The Queen's Illness—Sudden Illness of the Prince of Wales—Growing Anxiety of the People—Alarming Prospects of a Regency—Between Life and Death—Panic in the Money Market—Hopeful Bulletins—Convalescence of the Prince—Public Sympathy with the Queen—Her Majesty's Letter to the People.

HE closing weeks of 1870 and the early days of 1871 were full of anxiety) the Queen. Despite its services to the country, the Cabinet was obviously sing ground. The Franco-Prussian War had brought about a great change the minds of the people as to the kind of work they wanted their Governent to do, and it was certain that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues did ot respond quickly to the new impulse which the fall of Imperialism in France, ad the rise of the new German Empire had given to public opinion in

England. When the Cabinet took office, retrenchment and reform at home, and isolation abroad, were objects which the nation desired the Government to pursue. The victories of Prussia certainly strengthened the hands of the Ministry in carrying out their education policy. But in every other department of public life the people began to expect from the Cabinet what the Cabinet was not, by its temperament, likely to give. Ministers, in their handling of the Army and Navy, for example, made economy the leading idea of their policy. The country, on the other hand, alarmed at the collapse of France, put efficiency before economy. Non-intervention in Foreign Affairs, which was the policy of the Ministry, and which had been the policy of the Tory Opposition, was discredited when Russia repudiated the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris, and when it was discovered that somehow Lord Granville's management of Foreign Affairs had left England with enemies, and not with allies, in the councils of the world. Forgetful of the stormy sea of foreign troubles through which Palmerston was perpetually steering the labouring vessel of State, the nation began to long for a Minister who could make England play a great part in the drama of Continental politics. Lord Granville's "surrender" in the Black Sea Conference was admittedly dignified and adroit, but it did not on that account satisfy the country. Why had he not pressed for an equivalent right on the part of England and the Powers to pass the Dardanelles? That would, at all events, have made the Black Sea an European instead of a Russian lake, or rather a lake whose waters Russia shared with a weak and decaying Power like Turkey. Why did he not recast the Foreign Policy of England, and proceed to check Russia diplomatically by strengthening Austria in the Danube? If the irritation of the United States was paralysing England in Europe, why was no decided action taken to bring about an equitable settlement of the *Alabama* Claims? Why was the recognition of the new French Republic delayed, when it was known that even Von Bismarck deigned to treat with it for peace, and when its recognition would raise up for England a friendly feeling in France? All these and other questions were asked by men who were not partisans, and who were, on the whole, well disposed to Mr. Gladstone's administration.

The only reform movement, indeed, that excited any popular enthusiasm at the beginning of 1871, was that which Mr. Trevelyan had started after he resigned his Civil Lordship of the Admiralty, because Mr. Forster's Education Bill increased the grant to denominational schools. It was significant, too, that this movement was one for making the army more efficient by abolishing the system that permitted officers to buy their commissions and their promotion. It had been said that nothing could be done to render the army formidable, so long as the Commander-in-Chief was its absolute ruler. The result was that the Duke of Cambridge was made subordinate to the Secretary of State. Next it was said that

nothing could be done to improve the army so long as it was pawned to its officers, who had acquired by purchase something like a vested right in maintaining the existing military system. Abolition of Purchase, therefore, in 1871, seemed to be the only point of contact between the nation and the Cabinet, who were supposed to favour Mr. Trevelyan's agitation. The demand for increasing the army, when sanctioned by a Parliamentary vote, Mr. Cardwell evaded. When merely sanctioned by public opinion he either ignored it, or, as in the case of issuing breech-loading rifles to the Volunteers, yielded to it after resisting it for about eight months. The changes in the Cabinet due to Mr. Bright's resignation further lessened confidence in the Government. Mr. Chichester Fortescue, in spite of his half-hearted Fenian amnesty, was on the whole a popular and active Irish Secretary. He, however, was appointed to succeed Mr. Bright at the Board of Trade, where he had to guide a department charged with interests of which he was utterly ignorant. Lord Hartington, on the other hand, whose transference to the War Office would have been gratifying to the country, was sent to the Irish Office, to the consternation of those Liberals who had been dissatisfied with the reactionary tone of his speeches on Irish affairs. The general desire for new War and Foreign Ministers was ignored.*

But perhaps the most extraordinary change in public sentiment in 1871 was that which marked public opinion in relation to the marriage of the Princess Louise. When it was announced, popular feeling was clearly in favour of the alliance. But towards the end of January, 1871, there was hardly a large borough in England, the member for which on addressing his constituents, was not asked menacingly if he meant to vote for a national dowry to the Princess. Too often, when the member said he intended to give such a vote, he was hissed by the meeting. Mr. Forster escaped a hostile demonstration by humorously parrying the question. He said he could not consent to fine the Princess for marrying a Scotsman. At Halifax Mr. Stansfeld was seriously embarrassed by the question. At Chelsea both members nearly forfeited the usual vote of confidence passed in them by their constituents. Mr. White at Brighton had to promise to vote against the dowry; at Birmingham Messrs. Dixon and Muntz could hardly get a hearing from their constituents when they defended it. The annoyance which the Queen suffered when she saw her daughter's name rudely handled at angry mass

* Nothing did more to sap and undermine the popularity of the Government than an evasive statement of Mr. Cardwell's as to the arms in store. On the vote for increasing the army by 20,000 men on the 1st of August, 1870, Sir John Hay asked what was the use of voting the money when the Government "had not 20,000 breechloaders ready for service for the army, the militia, and volunteers." Mr. Cardwell, in reply, said he had 300,000 rifles "in store," and left the House of Commons when it rose, under the impression that the weapons were ready for use as surplus weapons on any emergency. Of these, however, it was subsequently admitted by Mr. Cardwell in an interview with Lord Elcho that 100,000 were needed to meet existing demands, and that a considerable number of the rest were in Canada.

eetings was unspeakable. This unexpected ebullition of public feeling was lue to a belief among the electors that when Royalty formed matrimonial alliances with subjects it ought to accept the rule which prevails among persons of private station, and frankly recognise that it is the duty of the husband

THE PRINCESS LOUISE.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

o support the wife. To demand a dowry of £40,000 and an income of £6,000 year for the Princess Louise, it was argued, was preposterous. The lady, was said, could not possibly need it, seeing that she was to marry a obleman who was able to maintain his wife, and who, had he not married princess, would have been expected to maintain her in the comfort befitting his inherited rank and social position. But common sense soon reasserted its sway over the nation. It was then speedily admitted that a reat country lowered its dignity when it chaffered with the Sovereign over

allowances which were necessary to sustain a becoming stateliness of life in the Royal Family.*

In the course of the discussions that were carried on as to the dowry of the Princess Louise many ill-natured allusions had been made to the Queen's

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

life of seclusion, and it had been broadly hinted that she was neglecting her public duties. It was unfortunate that steps were not taken by some person in authority to refute this calumny, for, if her Majesty shunned the nervous excitement of public ceremonials, it was for the purpose of husbanding her strength for the transaction of official business. Still, the people were kept

* There were also many whose objection to the grant to the Princess was based on the delusion that the Queen, by living in retirement, had accumulated savings out of which she could well afford to dower her daughter.

in ignorance of that fact, and the result was that when the Queen proceeded in person to open Parliament on the 9th of February, 1871, she was for the first time in her life rather coldly received on the route from the Palace to Westminster. The Speech from the Throne dealt chiefly with Foreign Affairs, and it represented fairly the national feeling in favour of a policy of neutrality, tempered, however, with a strong desire to preserve the existence of France as "a principal and indispensable member of the great Commonwealth of Europe." Two points in it were recognised as being in a special sense the expression of the Queen's own views. These were (1), the cordial congratulation of Germany on having attained a position of "solidity and independence," and (2), the carefully-guarded suggestion that Germany should be content with the cession of a mountain barrier beyond the Rhine on her new frontier, and not endanger the permanence of the peace, which must soon come by pressing for the cession of French fortresses, which, in German hands, must be a standing menace to France. Perhaps the most popular paragraph in the Speech was the one which indicated that the Governments of England and the United States, after much futile and bitter controversy, were at last agreed that the *Alabama* dispute should be settled by friendly arbitration before a mixed Commission. The instinct of the masses taught them that the "latent war," as Mr. Hamilton Fish called it, between the two kindred peoples, explained why England had suddenly lost her influence in the councils of Europe. By its reference to Home Affairs, the Royal Speech, for the time, strengthened the popularity of the Ministry. It promised a Ballot Bill, a Bill for abolishing University Tests, for readjusting Local Taxation, for restricting the grants of Licences to Publicans, for reorganising Scottish Education, and for reforming the Army. When the Debate on the Address was taken, the House of Commons was obviously in a state of high nervous tension. It was half angry with Mr. Gladstone because he had not pursued a more spirited Foreign Policy, and because, by submitting to the abolition of the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris, and assuming an isolated attitude towards France and Germany, he had made England the mere spectator of great events, the course of which she yearned to influence, if not to control. On the other hand, the House showed plainly that it was thankful that the country had been kept out of the embarrassments and entanglements of war. Indeed it was clear that, if Mr. Gladstone had pursued a more spirited policy at the risk of enforcing it by arms, he would have been hurled from power by the votes of the very men who now sneered at his policy because it was spiritless.

Mr. Disraeli's tone was less patriotic than usual. He was careful to say nothing that would commit him and his party to any other policy than that of neutrality; but he was equally careful to encourage a belief that this policy had been adopted, not from prudence, but from cowardice. To use one of his own phrases, he "threatened Russia with a clouded cane;" though, as

he knew well, the Black Sea dispute had by that time ended. He endangered the prospects of peaceful arbitration on the *Alabama* Claims, by his bitter allusions to the United States. He poured ridicule on the military feebleness of the country at a crisis when a patriotic statesman would have naturally preferred to remain silent on such a theme. But the effect of his attack was somewhat diminished by his attempt to show that military impotence was naturally associated with Liberal Governments. Everybody knew that all governments, Liberal or Tory, were equally responsible for the bad state of the army, and that they had all equally resisted the popular demand for reform, till it grew so loud that Mr. Cardwell was forced to yield to it.

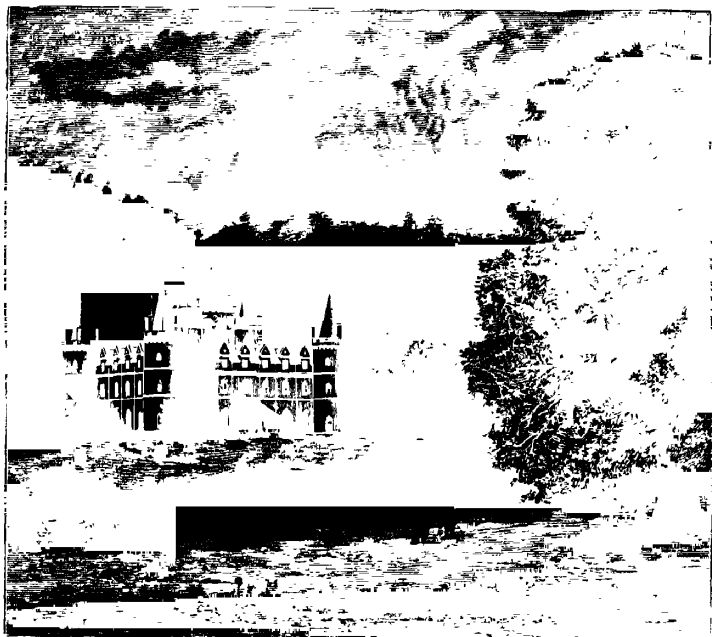
The great measure of the Session was of course the Army Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Cardwell, on the 16th of February. It abolished the system by which rich men obtained by purchase commissions and promotion in the army, and provided £8,000,000 to buy *all* commissions, as they fell in, at their regulation and over-regulation value.* In future, commissions were to be awarded either to those who won them by open competition, or who had served as subalterns in the Militia, or to deserving non-commissioned officers. Mr. Cardwell also proposed to deprive Lords-Lieutenant of Counties of the power of granting commissions in the militia. He laid down the lines of a great scheme of army reorganisation which bound the auxiliary forces closer to the regular army, gave the country 300,000 trained men, divided locally into nine *corps d'armee*, for home defence, kept in hand a force of 100,000 men always available for service abroad, and raised the strength of the artillery from 180 to 336 guns. This, however, he did at the cost of £15,000,000 a year—a somewhat extravagant sum, seeing that 170,000 of the army of defence consisted of unpaid volunteers. The debate that followed was a rambling one. The Tory Party defended the Purchase system because good officers had come to the front by its means. Even a Radical like Mr. Charles Buxton was not ashamed to argue that promotion by selection on account of fitness, would sour the officers who were passed over with discontent. Lord Elcho, though he made a "palpable hit" in detecting the inadequacy of Mr. Cardwell's scheme of National Defence, sedulously avoided justifying the sale of commissions in the army. He based his objection to the abolition of Purchase on the ground that it would involve "the most wicked, the most wanton, the most uncalled for waste of the public money." Here we have depicted a vivid contrast between the House of Commons of the Second, and the House of the Third Reform Bill. In these latter days Lord Wemyss—who in 1871 was Lord Elcho—would hardly venture to obstruct any measure of reform because there was tacked on to it a scheme for compensating "vested interests" too generously. The Representatives of the People would now meet such an objection by simply

* A Royal warrant fixed the legal price of commissions. But they were sold in defiance of the law at prices far above the legal ones, and these were called "over-regulation prices."

cutting down the compensation. And Mr. Cardwell had an excellent opportunity for doing this ready to his hands. The money paid for commissions was far above the regulation price, and yet it was a statutory offence punishable by two years' imprisonment to pay over-regulation prices. In fact, Parliament may be said to have betrayed the country in this transaction. Not only had it connived at the offence of paying over-regulation money, but it made its connivance a pretext for compensating the offenders for the loss of advantages they had gained by breaking the law.

Only two arguments worthy of the least attention were brought forward by the Opposition. The first was that abolition of Purchase would weaken the regimental system. For it was contended that promotion by selection for officers above the rank of captain—which was the substitute proposed for promotion by Purchase—involving, as it did, transfers from one regiment to another, must destroy the regimental home-life.* The second was, that it would tend to create a professional military caste, who might, as Mr. Bernal Osborne argued, prove dangerous to the liberties of the people. It was, however, felt that it was absurd to sacrifice the efficiency of the Army to its regimental home life, and that one of the strongest objections to the Purchase system was that it rendered the Army amateurish rather than professional. But in the long controversy that raged through the Session no argument told more effectively than Mr. Trevelyan's citation of Havelock's bitter complaint that "he was sick for years in waiting for promotion, that three sots and two fools had purchased over him, and that if he had not had a family to support he would not have served another hour." Mr. Cardwell, too, left nothing to be said when he told the House of Commons that Army reformers were paralysed by Purchase. Every proposal for change was met by the argument that it affected the position of officers who had paid for that position. In fact, the British Army was literally held in pawn by its officers, and the nation had virtually no control over it whilst it was in that ignominious position. The debate, which seemed interminable, ended in an anti-climax that astonished the Tory Opposition. Mr. Disraeli threw over the advocates of Purchase, evidently dreading an appeal to the country, which might have resulted in a refusal to compensate officers for the over-regulation prices they had paid for their commissions in defiance of the statute. The Army Regulation Bill thus passed the Second Reading without a division. In Committee the Opposition resorted to obstructive tactics, and attempted to talk out the Bill by moving a series of dilatory and frivolous amendments. The clique of "the Colonels," as they were called, in fact anticipated the Parnellites of a later date in inventing and developing

* It might be said that promotion could still be kept going on in the regiment itself. Officers need not have then been transferred for promotion. But in that case rich officers might have bribed their seniors to retire. Or, the subalterns might have made up a purse by subscription to induce one of their seniors to retire and let them each get a step upwards.

this form of factious and illegitimate opposition. Mr. Cardwell so far succumbed that after weary weeks of strife he withdrew his reorganisation scheme, merely insisting on the Purchase clauses, and on the transference of control over the auxiliary forces from Lords-Lieutenant of Counties to the Queen. But the Opposition still threatened to obstruct the Bill, and it was not till Mr. Cardwell warned them that he could stop the payment of over-regulation money for commissions by enforcing the law, that the measure was allowed to

INVERARY CASTLE

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

pass. In the House of Lords the Bill was again obstructed, in spite of Lord Northbrook's able argument that until Purchase was abolished the Government could not develop their scheme of Army reorganisation, which was to introduce into England the Prussian system without compulsory service. The Tory Peers did not actually venture to vote in favour of Purchase. But they passed a resolution declining to accept the responsibility of assenting to its abolition without further information. Mr. Gladstone met them with a bold stroke. By statute it was enacted that only such terms of Purchase could exist as her Majesty chose to permit by Royal Warrant. The Queen therefore, acting on Mr. Gladstone's advice, cancelled

her warrant permitting Purchase, and thus the opposition of the Peers was crushed by what Mr. Disraeli indignantly termed "the high-handed though not illegal" exercise of the Royal Prerogative.* The rage of the Tory Peers knew no bounds. And yet what could Mr. Gladstone have done? The Ministry might have resigned, but in that case the Tory Party, as mere advocates of Purchase, could not have commanded a majority of the House of Commons. New Peers might have been created, but to this obsolete and perilous method of coercing the Lords the Queen had a natural and justifiable antipathy. Parliament might have been dissolved, but then the appeal to the country would probably have raised the question whether it was desirable to continue the existence of an unreformed House of Lords side by side with a reformed House of Commons.† The only other course was to bow to the decision of the Peers, admitting that they must be permitted to quash a reform, which was passionately desired by the nation, and that they must be allowed to coerce the House of Commons, as in the days when they nominated a majority of its members. To have adopted either of these courses would have been fatal to the authority, perhaps even to the existence, of the Upper House. Thus the excuse of the Royal Prerogative, which removed the subject of contention between the two Houses, was really the means of saving the Lords from a disastrous conflict with the People. The Peers, however, carried a vote of censure on the Government, who ignored it, and then their Lordships passed the Army Regulation Bill without any alteration, nay even without dividing against the clauses transferring the patronage of the Militia from Lords-Lieutenant of Counties to the Crown.

The Session of 1871 was also made memorable by the struggle over the Ballot Bill, in the course of which nearly all the devices of factious obstruction were exhausted. The Ballot had become since 1832 the shibboleth of Radicalism.‡ Resistance to it had been accepted as the first duty of a Conservative. The arguments for the Ballot were (1), that by allowing men

* It may be mentioned that this course was suggested as a possible one in the debate by Lord Derby.

† The alternative courses of a creation of new Peers, and a dissolution, it should be noted, also involved an exercise of the Royal Prerogative—a fact forgotten by those who denounced Mr Gladstone as a "tyrant" for coercing the Peers by the use of Prerogative.

‡ According to Addison, the House of Commons as far back as 1708 began to discuss the Ballot. After 1832 it became a popular cry with the Radicals, and in the first Session of the Reformed Parliament Mr. Grote brought in a Ballot Bill which was rejected by a majority of 211 to 106. Year after year Mr Grote was beaten in his attempt to carry his measure. To him succeeded Mr. Henry Berkeley, who every year brought forward a resolution in favour of secret voting, and in 1851 even carried it by a majority of 37 against the opposition of Lord John Russell and the Whig Government. The odious corruption and scandalous scenes of violence which were associated with open voting at elections gradually made Lord John and Mr. Gladstone converts to Mr. Berkeley's views. In 1868 the revelations of Lord Hartington's Committee as to the manner of conducting elections convinced the country that the Ballot must be adopted. In 1869 another Committee on Electoral Practices reported in favour of it.

to vote in secret they were free from intimidation, and (2), that when votes were given in secret men were not likely to buy them, for they had no longer any means of knowing whether value was ever given for their money. On the other hand, the Tories argued (1), that to vote in secret was cowardly and unmanly; (2), that it was unconstitutional; and (3), that it weakened the sense of responsibility in the voter who had no longer the pressure of public opinion on him.* But though these arguments were elaborated at enormous length, they were felt by the average elector to be wiredrawn and academic. To him the practical object of any system of election was to get the voter to give effect to his own real opinion, and not the opinion of somebody else, in choosing a member. There could be nothing constitutional, or moral, or distinctively "English," in a man who desired to be represented by A voting for B, either because his landlord or his employer or some of his neighbours intimidated or bribed him into doing so. Nor could his sense of duty be strengthened under a system which enabled him to cast the responsibility for a false vote on those who had coerced or bribed him into giving it. No doubt the prospect of getting rid of violent scenes and of the demonstrations of turbulent mobs round the polling-booths where men voted in public, induced many independent politicians, who were not insensible to the weight of some of the Conservative arguments, to accept the Ballot. Strictly speaking, when the question was lifted out of the mire of mere party controversy it came to this—whether Englishmen, in giving their votes, preferred the protection of secrecy, to the protection of a strong law punishing those who attempted to interfere with their independence. To set the law in motion against a rich man in England is a costly, and sometimes a dangerous, process. Hence the majority of Englishmen preferred the protection of secrecy.

Mr. Forster's Ballot Bill was introduced on the 28th of February, and when the Second Reading had been passed after three nights' dull debate in June, the Conservatives attempted to talk it out by reviving, on various frivolous pretexts, a discussion on the principle of the Bill in Committee.† After these tactics had been exhausted, the Opposition endeavoured to smother the Bill with dilatory amendments. The supporters of the Government, on the other hand, attempted to defeat the factious obstruction of their opponents by remaining silent during the debates. The obstructive party, after

* Philosophical Radicals, like Mr Mill, disliked the Ballot because they feared that one influence would always operate on the ignorant elector's mind, even in the secrecy of the polling booth—that of the priest who had threatened him with "the pains of Hell" as a punishment for voting on the wrong side.

† Mr Disraeli, it is fair to say, had endeavoured to save the time of the House by suggesting that there should be no debate on the Second Reading—the discussion of the principle of the measure to be taken on the next stage—the motion that the Speaker leave the Chair This arrangement was agreed to by the Government, but it provoked a mutiny in the Conservative ranks, or rather in the section of the Party represented by Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Newdegate, and Mr. G. Bentinck, the first-named of whom jeered at Mr. Disraeli's late Administration as a "disorganised hypocrisy."

a long and tedious fight, were beaten, and the Bill passed through Committee, but shorn of the clauses which cast election expenses on the rates, and made all election expenses not included in the public returns, corrupt expenses.* When the Bill reached the House of Lords, the real motive which dictated

MR W. E. FORSTER

(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)

the apparently futile and stupid obstruction of the Conservative Opposition in the House of Commons, was quickly revealed. The Lords rejected the Bill on the 18th of August, not merely because they disliked and dreaded it, but because it had come to them too late for proper consideration.†

* Mr. Gladstone and the Government supported the first, but opposed the latter of these proposals, greatly to the annoyance of the Radicals, who saw in it the most effective check to bribery that could be devised.

† Large numbers of Liberal Peers did not even attend the debate or the division.

Ministers were more successful with some other measures. In spite of much Conservative opposition they passed a Bill abolishing religious tests in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and throwing open all academic distinctions and privileges except Divinity Degrees and Clerical Fellowships to students of all creeds and faiths. Mr. Bruce passed a Trades Union Bill, which gave all registered Unions the legal *status* and legal protection of ordinary corporations.* The vague language of the old Act touching intimidation was swept away, and only such forms of coercion as were not only in themselves obviously brutal, but could also be clearly defined, were made punishable. A decision of the law courts, however, deprived the Unions of many of the benefits they had expected to gain under the Act.† Mr. Bruce's Bill, regulating the licensing of public-houses, another large measure, was abandoned, but not till it had converted all the Radical and Liberal publicans and their *clientèle* into stern and uncompromising Tories. Mr. Goschen's scheme for reforming Local Government and Taxation was far-reaching and comprehensive, but it alarmed the landlords, for it divided rates between owners and occupiers, and levied rates on game rents.‡

But by far the most damaging failure of the Session was Mr. Lowe's Budget. It was known that the large outlay on the Army, due to the abolition of Purchase and other causes, would leave a deficit of about £2,000,000 to be met by Mr. Lowe in the coming year's accounts. How was he going to meet it? An elastic revenue and rigid economy in expenditure had left Mr. Lowe with a surplus of £396,681. But he had on the next year's account an estimated deficit of £2,713,000,§ which he proposed to meet by a tax on matches—"not on matrimonial engagements," as he remarked,

* Previous to this Act the Unions were so far without the law, that they could not even prosecute their office-bearers for stealing their funds.

† This was given by Sir James Hannen in the case of a man called Purchon, a member of the Glassbottlers' Union of Yorkshire. Three members of the Union, professing to believe certain disgraceful charges against Purchon, procured his expulsion from that body. Then his employers dismissed him because they were threatened with a strike if he remained in their service. Purchon sued the three Unionists who got him expelled from his Union for conspiring to deprive him of employment. Mr Justice Hannen ruled that there was an undue interference with the rights of labour, and £300 damages were awarded by the jury. The case of Purchon *v.* Hartley proved that though the Unions had got rid of a limited term of imprisonment for coercion, they were now punishable by unlimited damages.

‡ Mr. Goschen based his case on the fact that Local Government was a chaos of areas, rating and authorities. He proposed (1), that each parish should have an elected chairman who, aided but not controlled by it, should be the rating authority; (2), that county rates should be levied by a financial board, half being elected by justices and half by parish chairmen; (3), that a new department of State or Local Government Board should be created to supervise local finance and administration; (4), that rates should be split between occupier and owner, and levied on all exempted property, such as Crown property, charitable property, moneys, and game; (5), that the house duty (£1,200,000 a year) should be surrendered to the local ratepayers.

§ His estimated expenditure was £72,308,000, and his estimated revenue £69,595,000 on the existing basis of taxation, and without any new duties.

—by a readjustment of the Probate and Succession Duties, and by an increase of about one penny farthing in the £ of income-tax.* The Radicals attacked the Budget furiously, and Mr. Disraeli formed with them what Mr. Gladstone termed an "unprincipled coalition." But the Tories and the Radicals objected to the Budget on entirely different grounds. Mr. White, member for Brighton, quoting Mr. Bright's declaration that a Government which could not rule the country with £70,000,000 of revenue did not deserve public confidence, complained of the increase in the Army Estimates, and warned the House that if such enormous sums were spent on the protection of property, the people would elect a Parliament pledged to tax property to pay them. Mr. Disraeli, correctly gauging popular feeling, objected to the match tax, the proposal of which enraged the poor match-makers of the East End of London. He gave just expression to the feeling not only of his own Party, but of almost all the rich men on the Liberal benches, when he denounced any increase in the Succession Duties. The Government only escaped defeat by hinting that they would abandon the Match Tax. After some fencing, the whole Budget was reconstructed, the Succession Duties being also given up, and the additional supplies needed by the Government being met by a two-penny income-tax.† There could be no better illustration of the strength and weakness of the Gladstone Government than this Budget. Theoretically and logically, it was quite defensible. Purchase in the Army had existed for the convenience and advantage of the wealthy classes. It was, therefore, fair to increase the Succession Duties in order to pay the expense of abolishing it. The Match Tax again satisfied the ideal of public financiers, who all yearned for the discovery of an impost that should fall on an article which, though used by the masses, was yet not food, or one of those "luxuries" like tea, which can with difficulty be distinguished from necessaries. Moreover, as Professor Stanley Jevons proved, the Match Tax would have laid even on the very poor less than one-third of the burden which had been imposed by the shilling duty on corn, that Mr. Lowe had repealed in 1869.‡ Unfortunately, however, Mr. Lowe, in preparing his Budget, ignored the prejudices and foibles of the people. He imagined that if he could defend his proposals logically, they would be accepted with gratitude and unanimity.

In Foreign Affairs, the Government did not improve their position in 1871, and yet they achieved one success, for which they failed to obtain sufficient credit. In May, the Queen was gratified to learn that a basis for settling the outstanding

* There was to be a halfpenny stamp on boxes of wooden matches, and a penny stamp on boxes of wax matches or fusees. It was expected that these duties would yield £550,000 the first year Mr. Lowe invented a motto for the stamp—*ex luce lucellum* ("out of light a little profit")—a classical pun, which, however, did not reconcile the people to his proposals.

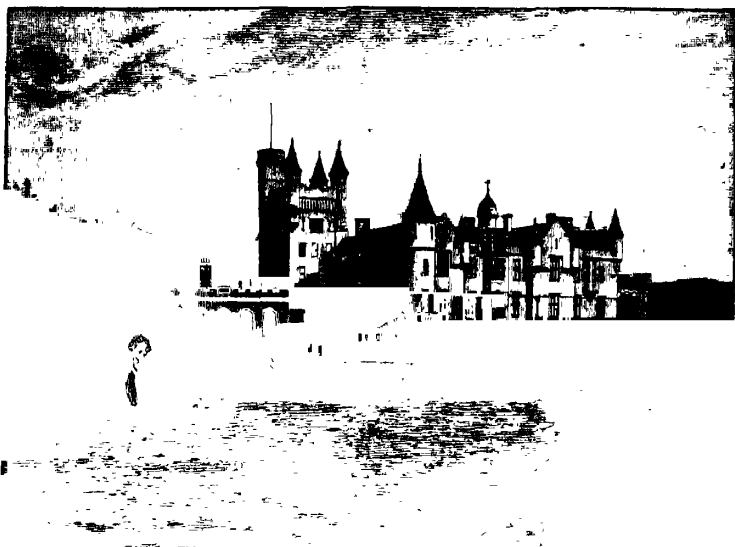
† Mr. Lowe desirous of not putting more than 1¼d. in the £ on the income-tax, proposed to calculate it at 10s. 8d. per cent. This novel method of calculating the tax, which was not necessary when the round sum of 2d. in the £ was adopted, was unpopular because it was puzzling.

‡ Letters and Journals of W. Stanley Jevons, p. 252.

dispute between the United States and Great Britain had been at last discovered. It had been her firm conviction that this quarrel had caused England to lose her traditional influence over the affairs of Europe. The first essential step towards regaining that influence, in her opinion, was taken when it was agreed to submit to a Joint Commission of eminent Englishmen and Americans in Washington the points at issue between the two nations.* The American Commissioners, when they met their English colleagues, refused to consider claims for damages due to the Fenian raids in Canada. Not ignoring the Confederate raids from Canada on Vermont, the English Commissioners, on their side, did not press this point. With great courage and frankness, the British Government, through their Commissioners, expressed their sincere regret that Confederate cruisers had escaped from British ports to prey on American commerce. But they did not admit that they were to blame for such an untoward occurrence, nor did they offer what Mr. Sumner had demanded, any apology for recognising the Southern States as belligerents. American claims against England, and English claims against America, "growing out of" the Civil War, it was agreed should be alike referred to a Commission of Arbitration,† and the English Commissioners admitting that some just rule for determining international liability in such cases should be laid down, accepted the principle that neutrals are to be held responsible for negligence in allowing warships to be equipped or built in their ports for use against a belligerent. The English Commissioners next agreed to let this principle be applied to the *Alabama* Claims, and though they were blamed for allowing these claims to be determined by an *ex post facto* rule, it was difficult for them to adopt any other course. The rule was one that was essential to the protection of British commerce from American privateers in the event of England being engaged in any Continental war. To adopt it as just and right for claims that might accrue in the future, rendered it hardly possible to reject it as unjust and wrong for outstanding claims that had accrued in the past. As to the Fishery dispute, citizens of the United States, it was agreed, were to have for ten years the right to fish on the Canadian coast, and Canadians were to have a similar right of fishing on the coasts of the United States down to the 39th parallel of latitude. As the British Commissioners insisted that the balance of advantage was here conceded to the United States, and that it therefore ought to be paid for by them, that point was by mutual agreement referred to another Commission for adjustment. The chronic controversy as to the San Juan boundary was to be referred to the Emperor of Germany. These

* The British Commissioners were Earl de Grey, whose services on the Commission were rewarded by his elevation to the Marquisate of Ripon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Montagu Bernard, and two distinguished Canadians

† One arbitrator was to be chosen by the Queen and one by the President of the United States. The three others were to be nominated by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Republic and the Emperor of Brazil.

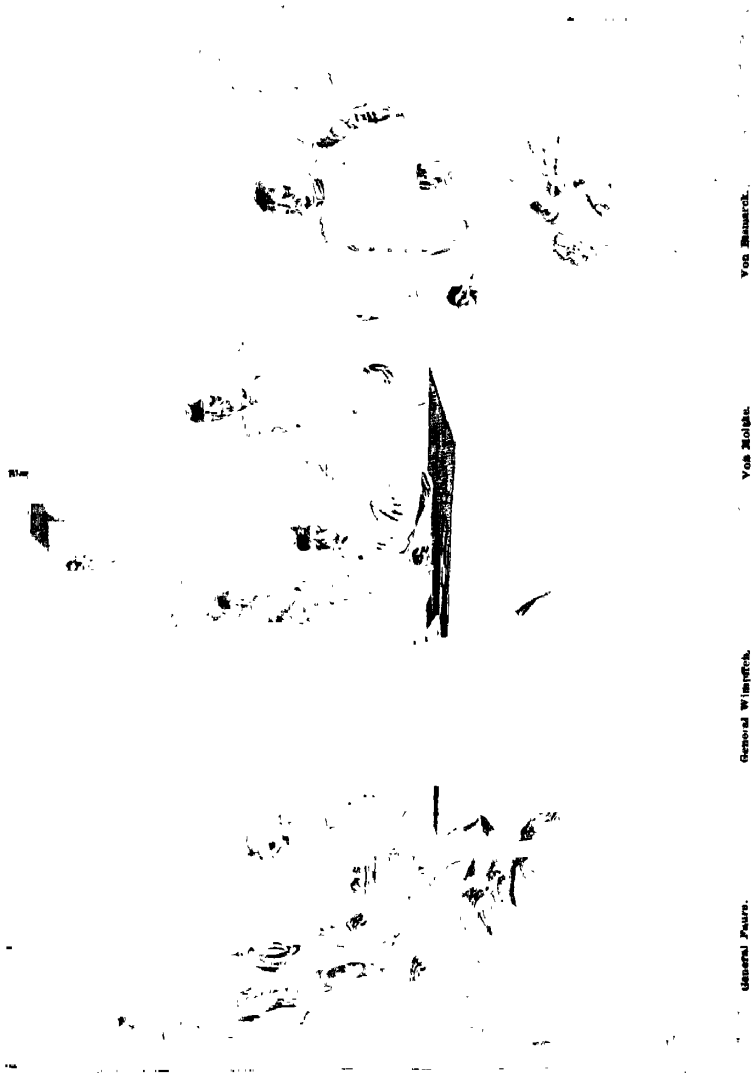
arrangements as embodied in the Washington Treaty were subjected to some carping criticism in England. Lord Russell moved, in the House of Lords, that the Queen should be asked to refuse to ratify the instrument, and Lord Salisbury taunted the Government with sacrificing the position of England as a neutral power. But the tone of the debate showed that in their hearts the Conservatives and the old Whigs were thankful that the country had been so honourably extricated from an embarrassing diplomatic conflict, and their attack on the Treaty was like that made by Mr. Sumner and General Butler

BALMORAL CASTLE, FROM THE NORTH-WEST

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co., Aberdeen.)

on the other side of the Atlantic, merely a Party sortie.* In a few weeks it was universally admitted that the object which the Government had in view had been attained. As if by magic, the feeling of the United States towards England changed from one of menacing exasperation, to one of growing sympathy and friendliness. For the first time in the course of eighty years the average American stump orator found he could not evoke a round of applause, by hotly-spiced denunciations of England and Englishmen.

But, speaking generally, the Foreign Policy of the Government discredited it. In the struggle between France and Germany the Cabinet preserved a cold

* Lord Russell, however, took a personal rather than a Party view of the question. He could not forget that he was individually responsible for the occurrences and acrimonious despatches that had embittered Americans against England

neutrality, at a time when popular feeling would have supported it in protesting against the cession of Alsace and Lorraine to the conquering power. For this

AFTER SEDAN: DISCUSSING THE CAPITULATION. (*From the Picture by Georg Bleibtreu.*)

attitude, however, Lord Granville had a plausible excuse. Though the nation was sulky because an effective protest had not been made, it would not have tolerated any policy that might have led the country into war. Moreover, the

Army had yet to be reorganised, and till that was done the voice of England was naturally of little account in the affairs of Europe. At the same time the meek and spiritless expression which Ministers habitually gave to their neutrality, irritated a proud and sensitive democracy who were every day taunted by Tory orators and writers with permitting themselves to be governed by a cowardly Cabinet. It seems just to say, even when one makes every allowance for the difficulties of their position, that in their handling of the diplomacy of the Franco-German War, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville missed a great opportunity. After the collapse of France at Sedan had been followed by that long series of German victories which ended in the capitulation of Paris, and the Armistice Convention between M. Jules Favre and Count von Bismarck (28th January, 1871), Englishmen were all agreed on one point. To cede Alsace and Lorraine to Germany was, in their opinion, to create a French Poland, or Venetia on the Rhine, whose chronic discontent must permanently imperil the peace of the world. But when the English Government in February attempted to dissuade Germany from exacting terms that inevitably rendered revenge the first duty of every French patriot, England found herself isolated. None of the Powers were prepared to join her in reviewing the conditions of peace which Germany might impose, and the German Chancellor never even deigned to answer the English remonstrance. England, in fact, had moved in the matter too late.

As far back as the 17th of October, 1870, Sir Andrew Buchanan told Lord Granville that the Czar, in his private letters to King William of Prussia, had expressed a hope that no French territory would be annexed. On the 4th of November the Italian Minister informed Lord Granville that whilst Italy admitted that French fortresses must be surrendered to the Germans, yet she held that there should be no cession of territory. Sir A. Paget, writing from Florence, also conveyed to Lord Granville about the same time the views of Signor Visconti to the effect that "the Italian Government had several times expressed the opinion that a peace in which Germany would seek her guarantees by the dismantling of fortresses, &c., would afford better securities for its duration than one which would be likely to create a new question of nationalities." Here there was a basis for a joint representation on the part of the European Powers—for Austria all through had only been held back through fear of Russia—both to France and Germany. France might have been warned that, in spite of M. Jules Favre's formula,* she, as the defeated aggressor, had no right to object to her menacing strongholds being razed. Germany might have been reminded that, in the interests not of France but of Europe, it was her duty as a great and civilising Power not to demand a cession of territory, the recovery of which must be to France an object of ceaseless striving.

* "Not an inch of our territory, and not a stone of our fortresses."

The Queen would gladly have used her personal influence with the German Emperor in urging on the Court of Berlin the policy and justice of this representation. Lord Granville's subordinates had assured him that France, despite M. Favre's heroics, would agree to anything if spared the surrender of territory. It is now known that even Bismarck himself was not desirous of the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine against the will of their inhabitants.* The German generals had, however, claimed what they deemed a safe, military frontier, and though Von Bismarck induced them not to insist on the cession of Belfort, he could not repel their demand for Alsace, a third part of Lorraine, and Metz and Strasburg. The German Crown Prince was, moreover, understood to be opposed to any irritating and unnecessary annexation. Hence all the chances were in favour of success, if Lord Granville, acting with Russia and Italy, had approached Germany with a cordial and courteous appeal, to reject the advice of her military party, and moderate their demands in the interests of Europe.† But the golden opportunity of strengthening Von Bismarck's hands was lost. Lord Granville not only refused to abandon his attitude of rigid neutrality, but he couched his policy in phrases so ostentatiously deferential to Germany, that they almost justified the half-contemptuous replies which Von Bismarck at this time sent to all despatches from the English Foreign Office, which he did not entirely ignore. In February, 1871, when Lord Granville at last plucked up heart to remonstrate with Germany, her victorious armies had made sacrifices that rendered his tardy protests impertinent. Italy and Russia had sense enough to recognise this fact. They therefore refused to join England when Lord Granville sent his remonstrance to Von Bismarck, who tossed it into his diplomatic waste-paper basket.‡

It may be readily conceived, then, that, despite its public services, its invincible majority, and the failure of the Tory leaders to put before the country any policy of their own, signs of decay were already visible in the

* Bismarck's personal opinion of the terms of peace was that Germany asked too much or took too little. She should have either left France her territory, thereby depriving her of an incitement to revenge, or she should have broken and crushed her so utterly, that she must have been paralysed for a century. As it was, in spite of the heavy war-indemnity which Germany exacted, France in fifteen years recovered herself sufficiently to render her antagonism formidable, and as a standing inducement to a war of revenge, she had ever before her eyes the hope of recovering Alsace, Lorraine, and her lost fortresses.

† Bismarck would have let the French keep Metz for a milliard more of war-indemnity. Then with this money he would have built a fortress to mask it somewhere about Falkenberg, or towards Saarbrücken. "I do not like," he said one day at dinner during the peace negotiations, "so many Frenchmen being in our house against their will"—Lowe's Life of Bismarck, Vol. I, p. 631.

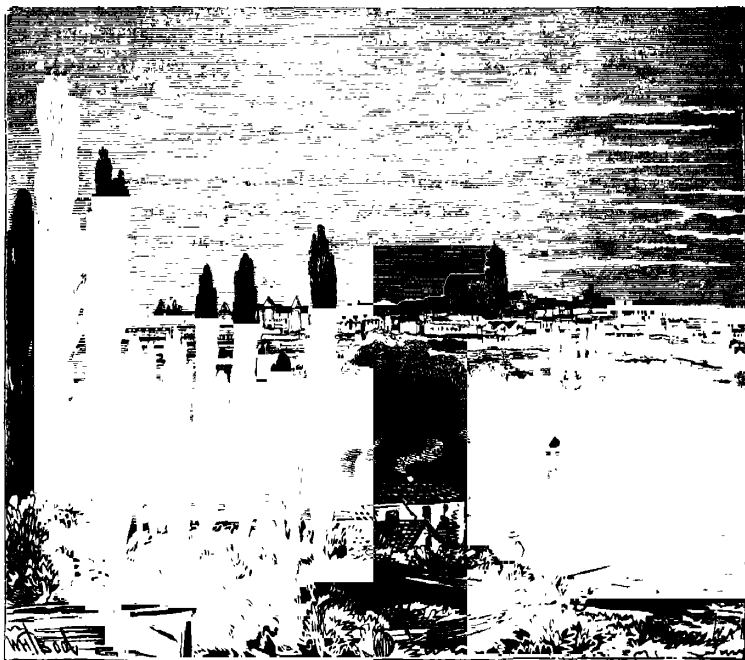
‡ The terms of peace proposed by Germany to France were an indemnity of six milliards of francs (£240,000,000), the cession of all Alsace, including Strasburg and Belfort, a third of Lorraine including Metz. The German Emperor, however, reduced the fine to five milliards. Von Bismarck induced the German generals to let France keep Belfort, in consideration of the French submitting to the triumphal march of the German troops through Paris as far as the Arc de Triomphe.

Government. Mr. Bruce had converted every publican into an enemy. The Dissenters had vowed vengeance against the Ministry, because Mr. Forster had increased the grant to denominational schools. The officers of the Army and the upper and upper-middle classes of society had resolved to punish Mr. Gladstone because he had allowed Mr. Cardwell to abolish Purchase. A few Radicals and many Whigs were also alarmed, because it had been abolished by Royal Prerogative, the use of which to coerce the Peers was resented by the aristocracy as an insult. The abolition of Purchase was to have been followed by an effective reorganisation of the Army. Hence the nation was profoundly disappointed to find the question of Army organisation made light of by Ministers during the recess. Mr. Cardwell's project for autumn manœuvres on a large scale on the Berkshire Downs had to be abandoned, because his Control Department could not feed or supply his troops. When he substituted for this scheme a sham campaign in the neighbourhood of Aldershot, the Transport Service was found to be so bad that the Artillery had to be drawn upon to supply it with horses, carts, and drivers. The disaster to the *Agincourt* and the wreck of the *Megæra*, also gave colour to slanders against the Government which had issued from the Admiralty from the day that Mr. Childers began to reform its wasteful administration, and Mr. Goschen had continued his work.*

The Duke of Somerset, after the failure of the Berkshire campaign, had scoffed at the Government because they gave the nation "armies that could not march and ships that could not swim," and the epigram was soon everywhere repeated. Mr. Gladstone's appointment of Sir Robert Collier, the Attorney-General, to a seat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was denounced far and wide as a job perpetrated by a tricky evasion of the law.† The Prime Minister's management of the House of Commons had also cost him many friends. As Mr. Disraeli once said, it was like that of a

* The *Agincourt*, an ironclad of 6,000 tons, was run aground on the Pearl Rock, off Gibraltar, on the 2nd of July. The accident occurred in broad daylight. The court-martial blamed the captain, staff commander, and one of the lieutenants, but public opinion condemned Vice-Admiral Wellesley, whose signals had, it was said, caused the disaster. Mr Goschen and the Lords of the Admiralty decided that the Admiral was to blame for ordering an unsafe course to be steered, and compelled him to strike his flag. The *Megæra* was a transport ship which had been sent to sea with her bottom honeycombed with rotten plates. On the 19th of June the captain had to beach her to save her crew. Yet the Admiralty officials had reported her quite seaworthy when her bottom was, as one of her officers said, "as full of holes as an old tea-kettle."

† The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had been reorganised so as to constitute a competent Court of Appellate Jurisdiction for India and the Colonies. A certain number of judges was appointed to it, but the Act laid it down that it was necessary for a man to be a judge before he got one of these appointments. In November, 1871, Mr Gladstone was desirous of promoting Sir Robert Collier, then Attorney-General. The Lord Chancellor accordingly made Sir Robert a Puisne Judge so as to give him a technical qualification, and then immediately appointed him to the Judicial Committee. It is only right to say that personally and professionally Sir Robert Collier was well qualified for the post.

schoolmaster who was a little too fond of exhibiting the rod. Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Lowe during the Session even enhanced their reputation for irritating those who transacted business with them. But at every turn Mr. Gladstone was embarrassed by his Parliamentary majority. It had been elected to carry reforms which most of them individually dreaded. Their desire was therefore to discover, not pretexts for pushing the Ministry onward,

METZ.

but excuses which they could plausibly justify to their constituents for holding Ministers back. As for the working classes, they had imagined when Mr. Gladstone came to office "something would be done for them." But nothing except the Trades Union Bill had been conceded to their demands, and even that measure was defaced by irritating provisions, inserted to please their masters. Mr. Disraeli's strategy in these circumstances was artful, if not altogether admirable. He gently fomented every rising discontent. Without committing his Party to redress the wrongs of the discontented, he left on the country the impression that under his administration there would be less social friction than then existed, whilst there could not be much less social reform.

Other circumstances tended to strengthen Conservative feeling in England. Just as the triumph of democracy in the United States at the end of the Civil War gave a great impetus to English Liberalism, so did the march of events in France after the conclusion of peace produce a reaction in England against democracy. The French elections resulted in the return of the Assembly which met at Bordeaux on the 12th of February. Its majority consisted of Legitimists and Orleanists, and, since the Convocation of the Estates General in 1789, no French Parliament had ever met which contained so many men of high rank and good estate. It had no special mandate, but it very sensibly took in hand the task of making peace with Germany, and, having superseded the Government of National Defence, it elected M. Thiers as Chief of the Executive. He formed a Ministry which represented the best men of all parties. The new Government were confronted at the outset with an unexpected difficulty. The National Guard of Paris had been allowed to retain their arms, and they not only broke into revolt, but seized the capital and established in Paris the revolutionary Government of the Commune, General Cluseret, a revolutionary "soldier of fortune," being appointed Minister of War. The idea of the revolt seems to have been to convert the ten great cities of France into autonomous States in federal alliance with the rest of the country, and the insurgents began by giving Paris a separate Government, Executive, Army, and Legislature. The Red Republicans imagined that by this device they could emancipate the artisans from the control of the peasants, who, under universal suffrage, were masters of France. The Commune was founded by honest fanatics, but it let loose the suppressed blackguardism of Paris, and before it was stamped out by the Army and the Government of Versailles, terrible atrocities not unworthy of the worst days of the "Terror" had been committed by the rabble whom it had armed, and was powerless to restrain. In England the excesses of the Commune were pointed to by Conservative writers and speakers as an apt illustration of the natural and logical tendencies of Radicalism.

The Queen's domestic life during 1871 was not much disturbed by the petty demonstrations of Republican feeling which were in vogue at the beginning of the year. They did not influence either the Ministry or Parliament; and when, on the 13th of February, Mr. Gladstone proposed the vote for the Princess Louise's dowry in the House of Commons, only three Members voted against it.* Mr. Disraeli, though he supported the proposal,

* These were Mr. Peter Taylor, Professor Fawcett, and Sir Charles Dilke. The vote for it was 352, but half of the House was absent from the division which Mr. Taylor challenged. Mr. Taylor declared that the people were getting tired of the Monarchy. Sir Robert Peel suggested that if more money were granted to the Royal Family, it ought to go to the Prince of Wales, who was doing most of the Queen's ceremonial duties. He had also the bad taste to sneer at the Queen's alleged parsimony, and insinuated that she saved for her private purse the money voted to defray her State expenses.

gently tickled the sympathies of its opponents by suggesting that the system of voting Royal grants should be changed. His idea was to maintain the Crown by an estate of its own, ample enough to cover all its personal and family expenses, and that Parliament should not be called on to grant money to the Queen save for expenditure on public pageantry.

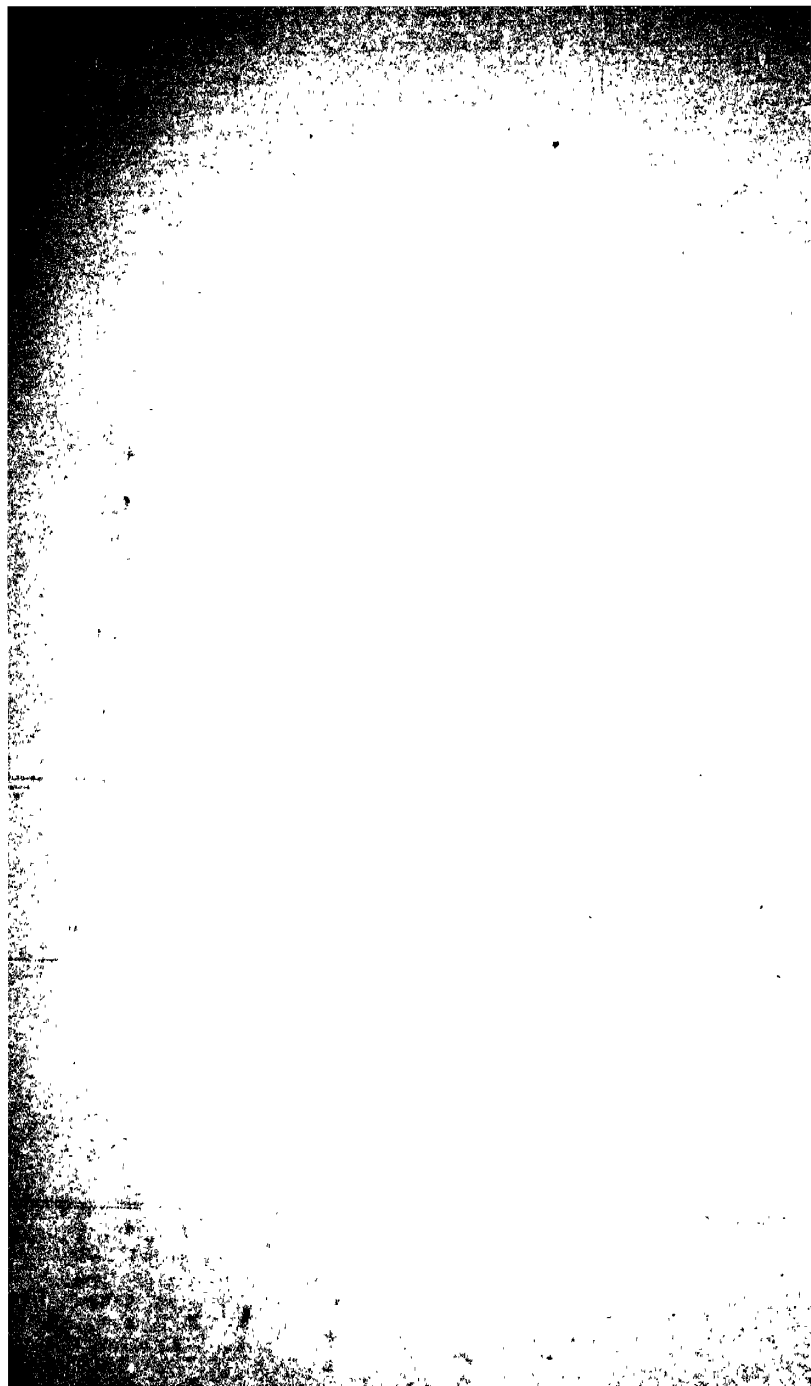
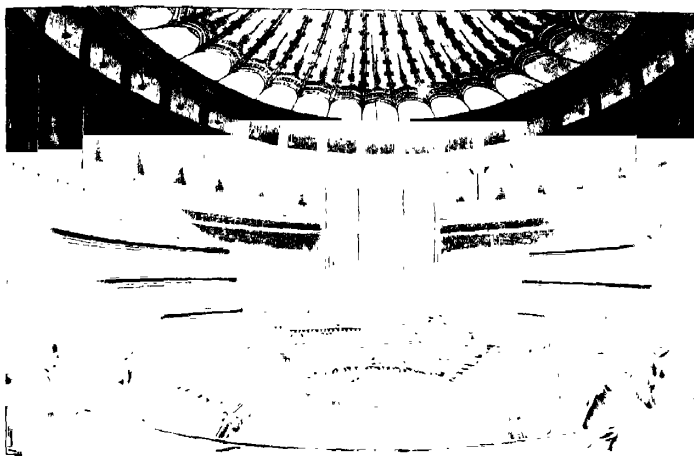
When it was announced that the Queen had fixed the 21st of March for the Princess Louise's marriage, the High Church Party were indignant that the ceremony was to be performed in Lent. They argued that when Royalty set an example contrary to the teachings of the Church, the influence of the clergy was weakened over, what the *Guardian* newspaper called, "the large area of society which lies between the inner circle of the devout and the multitude of the unattached outside the consecrated ground." No heed, however, was paid to these remonstrances, and the Royal wedding, when it took place at Windsor, completely diverted popular attention from the Communist Reign of Terror in Paris. The enthusiasm of the capital, it is true, was rather qualified. The West End tradesmen were sulky because of the withdrawal of the Queen from the gaieties of the London season; and the populace was annoyed because the marriage did not take place in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's. But the provinces were unusually lavish in their demonstrations of sympathy with the Sovereign, and with the wedded pair who had broken down the barrier of caste which had been so long maintained between the Royal Family and the nation.*

The town of Windsor was *en fête* for the occasion, the people crowding the Castle Green, and the Eton boys occupying the Castle Hill. The police and soldiery kept a passage open for the guests who came from London by special train, and who were conveyed in Royal carriages to St George's Chapel amid general cheering and joyous ringing of bells. The Ministers of State, Foreign Princes and Ambassadors, and other prominent persons, were gay in rich and glittering uniforms. Of the bridal party, the first to arrive was the Duke of Argyll, with his family. He wore the dress of a Highland chieftain, with philabeg, sporran, claymore, and jewelled dirk. A plaid of Campbell tartan was thrown across his shoulders, over which was also hung the Order of the Thistle. He was accompanied by the Duchess of Argyll, who shone in silver and white satin. The Lord Chancellor, in wig and gown, and Lord Halifax, in Ministerial uniform of blue and gold, walked up the central aisle and took their

* Some of the comments of the Press on the wedding were instructive. The *Times* said: "To-day a ray of sunshine will gladden every habitation in this island, and force its way even where uninvited. A daughter of the people, in the truest sense of that word, is to be married to one of ourselves. The mother is ours, the daughter is ours." *Vanity Fair*, a "Society" journal, considered that it was "an additional claim of the dynasty on our loyalty that means should have been found to enable us to keep so charming a Princess in the country." The *Daily Telegraph*, in describing the history of the marriage, said: "The old dragon Tradition was routed by a young sorcerer called Love, who laughs at precedents as heartily as at locksmiths, and has an equal contempt for etiquette and armour cap-à-pie."

seats, along with members of the Cabinet and the Privy Council, in the stalls to the left of the altar. Then came the Princess Christian, in pink satin, trimmed with white lace, and some Indian potentates, radiant in auriferous scarlet. Lord Lorne, the bridegroom, next entered, arrayed in the uniform of the Argyllshire Regiment of Volunteer Artillery, of which he was Colonel, looking pale and nervous. He was supported by his groomsmen, Lord Percy and Lord Ronald Leveson-Gower. The Princess Beatrice arrived evidently in high spirits, and wearing a pink satin dress, her sunny hair flowing freely down her back. The Princess of Wales, who received an almost affectionate greeting, was the last of the Royal party to come. All the members of the Royal Family were then present, with the exception of Prince Alfred. As the procession advanced up the nave, the bride was supported on the right by the Queen, and on the left by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. The Princess, in her dress of white satin and veil of Honiton lace, was voted one of the most charming brides on whom the sun had shone. Eight bridesmaids followed, all daughters of dukes and earls, clad in white satin, decorated with red camellias. The Queen appeared in black satin, relieved by the broad blue ribbon of the Garter, and by a fall of white lace, which nearly reached to the ground. The service was read by the Bishop of London, the Queen giving away her daughter * After the ceremony, the Queen took the bride in her arms, and kissed her heartily, while the Marquis of Lorne knelt and kissed the Queen's hand. The Royal wedding breakfast was served in the magnificent oak-room of Windsor Castle, the company including the Prince and Princess of Wales, Prince Arthur, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, Prince and Princess Teck, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, Prince and Princess Christian. Another breakfast for the general company was served in the Waterloo Gallery. When the newly-married pair left the Castle for Claremont, it was noticed that the bride wore a charming travelling costume of Campbell tartan. As they departed, their numerous relatives showered over them a quantity of white satin slippers, and, following an ancient Highland usage, a new broom was also thrown after them as they got into the carriage. The Oriental custom of flinging rice after a wedded couple, introduced into England by the family of Musurus Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, had not then become the *mode* in the highest circles of Society.†

* "When the time came for putting on the ring, the bride took off her glove, which, with the bouquet, the Queen offered to take. The Princess however, evidently did not observe the gracious attention, and handed them to Lady Florence Lennox, who let them drop May this be an omen that flowers may strew the ground wherever the Princess's future life may lead her!"—(*Standard*, 22nd March, 1871.)

† It may be worth while to note the precedents for marriage between English Princesses and subjects:—Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I., and widow of the King of Bohemia, was supposed to have privately married Lord Craven. Princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII., married Charles Brandon, who was sent to escort her from France, when her husband Louis XII. died.

On the 29th of March, in the presence of a brilliant and fashionable c[r]
of upwards of 10,000 persons, the Queen opened the Royal Albert Ha[ll]
Kensington. The Members of the Provisional Committee met the Prin[c]
Wales, their President, and, on the arrival of the Queen at half-past tw
o'clock, the Heir Apparent read the address to her Majesty, which c
hardly be heard, because a provoking echo mimicked the tones of his
whilst he described the completion of the Hall. The Queen having ha[nded]
to the Prince a written answer, said, "I wish to express my great admir[ation]
of this beautiful Hall, and my earnest wishes for its complete success." A

OPENING OF THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL.

a prayer from the Bishop of London, the Prince exclaimed, "The Queen dec[lares]
this Hall to be now opened!" an announcement which was followed b[y a]
burst of cheering, the National Anthem, and the discharge of the Park g[uns].
Then a concert was given, which included the performance of a cantata wri[tten]
expressly for the occasion by Sir Michael Costa.

Three of the daughters of Edward IV. married the heads of the families of Howard, Cour[tenay]
and Welles; but though Henry VI recognised these alliances, he did not quite recognise the ti[tle of]
Edward IV. Of the House of Hanover, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, in 1766 married the [widow]
of Earl Waldegrave, who was the illegitimate daughter of Sir Robert Walpole, a match which infu[riated]
King George III Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, in 1771 married Lady Anne Luttrell, dau[ghter]
of Earl Carhampton, and widow of Mr Charles Horton, of Catton Hall, Derbyshire. The Royal Ma[rriage]
Act was passed in 1772, after which time there have been some Royal marriages with subjects in [defiance]
of the law (1), The Duke of Sussex married first Lady Augusta Murray, daughter of the E[arl of]
Dunmore. After she died, his Royal Highness married his second wife, Lady Cecilia Letitia B[uggin],
daughter of Arthur, Earl of Arran, and afterwards Duchess of Inverness. (2), George IV., [when]
Prince of Wales, married Mrs. FitzHerbert (3), The present Duke of Cambridge married some [years]
ago Mrs. FitzGeorge

On the 21st of June the Queen again appeared in London to open the new buildings of St. Thomas's Hospital on the Albert Embankment, and her neatly-worded reply to the address which was presented to her on that occasion attracted considerable attention, because it was rumoured that it had been carefully written out by herself. It ran as follows:—

"I thank you for your loyal Address. I congratulate you on the completion of a work of so much importance to the suffering poor of the Metropolis The necessity for abandoning the ancient site of your Hospital has been wisely turned to account by the erection of more spacious and commodious buildings in this central situation, and I rejoice that a position of appropriate beauty and dignity has been found for them on the noble roadway which now follows the course of this part of the Thames, of which they will henceforth be among the most conspicuous ornaments. It gives me pleasure to recognise in the plan of your buildings, so carefully adapted to check the growth of disease, ample and satisfactory evidence of your resolution to take advantage of the best suggestions of Science for the alleviation of suffering, and the complete and speedy cure of the sick and disabled These great purposes are not least effectually promoted by an adequate supply of careful and well-trained nurses, and I do not forget that in this respect your Hospital is especially fortunate through the connection with it of the staff trained under the direction of the lady whose name will always remain associated with the care of the wounded and the sick. I thank you for the kind expressions you have used in regard to the marriage of my dear daughter"

Early in summer it was bruited about that an application would be made to the House of Commons for a settlement on Prince Arthur. At first it was whispered that he was to be created Duke of Ulster, and that he was to live in Ireland, an eccentric tribute to the loyalty of the Orangemen, who when the Irish Church was disestablished threatened to "kick the Queen's Crown into the Boyne." The idea, however, was abandoned, and the agitation against the Princess Louise's dowry now broke out anew, especially in Birmingham, in the form of a protest against the usual portion being voted to the Prince on the attainment of his majority. But Mr. Gladstone was not to be intimidated by the Republicans. On the 27th of July he brought down to the House of Commons a Royal Message requesting the customary allowance for a Prince of the Blood to be voted.* A few days afterwards the Royal Message was debated, Mr. Peter Taylor moving the rejection of the resolution voting £15,000 a year to the Prince, and Mr. Dixon moving its reduction from £15,000 to £10,000. Eleven members voted for Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Dixon found fifty-one supporters. The grant was easily carried, Mr. Gladstone basing his case on the implied contract made by Parliament to support the Royal Family when the Crown Lands were taken over by the State, and Mr. Disraeli arguing that the English workmen could easily afford to pay for their Monarchy because they were the richest class in the world. But Mr. Gladstone seemed a little nervous

* This gave rise to a curious incident A clerk by mistake had given the Minister the message meant for the Lords. When Mr. Gladstone read out the words "Her Majesty relies on the attachment of the House of Peers to concur," the House buzzed with excitement, and the Tories wrathfully whispered to each other that some new insult had been devised by Mr. Gladstone for the Hereditary Chamber. Mr. Gladstone had to explain how the mistake had been made, before tranquillity could be restored.

when Mr. Dixon indicated that he was forced to demand a reduction of the vote by his constituents, among whom Republicanism, he said, was spreading, because they considered it cheap. The Prime Minister accordingly took occasion to hint that it might be well to establish an arrangement which would render similar applications to Parliament unnecessary, and Mr. Disraeli, not to be outdone, made his bid for popularity by suggesting that the Crown should be allowed to charge Crown Lands for the Queen's children, just as English nobles charged their estates with portions for their younger sons. Perhaps some of the acerbity of the Radical or Republican members was due to the meddlesomeness of the Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce, who prohibited a public meeting in Trafalgar Square which was fixed for the same evening on which the Royal Message was debated, in order to protest against the grant.* The Prince took the title of Duke of Connaught, and settled down to follow a useful career in the Army.

In September the country was greatly grieved to learn that the Queen had fallen seriously ill. Those who had been reproaching her for retiring from active life now began to suspect what was the truth, namely, that the Queen's labours were not materially lessened by her withdrawal from the exciting functions of each London season. Her illness took the form of a sore throat, accompanied by glandular swellings under the arm, and the sympathetic sentiment of London was expressed by the *Times*, which mournfully regretted that the Sovereign had ever been pressed to overwork herself.

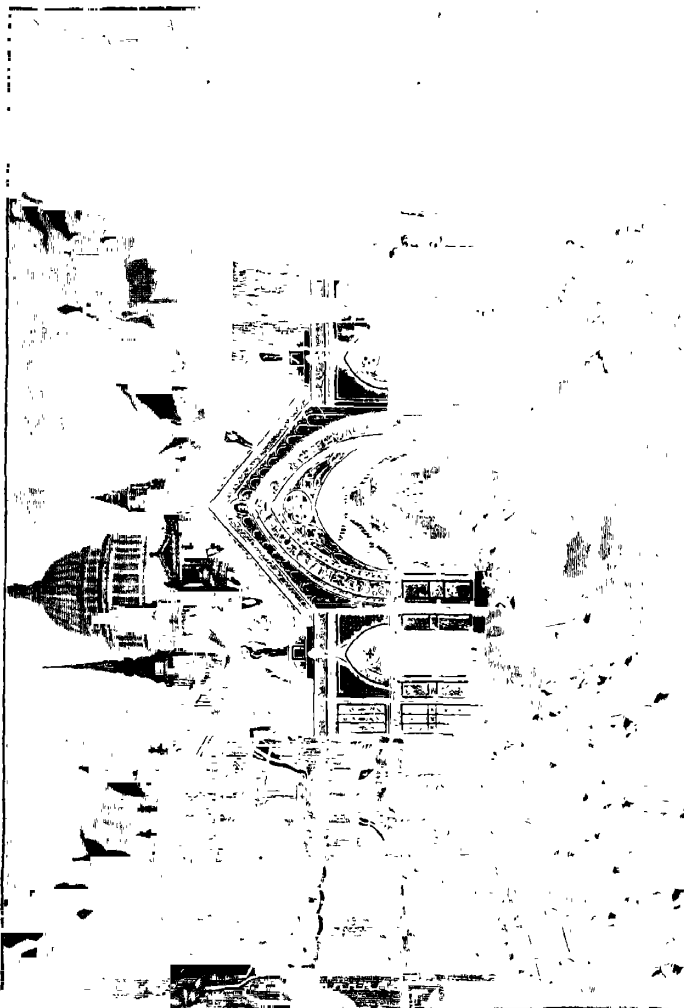
Gradually the prostration which this illness had caused passed away; but, unhappily, no sooner had her own health ceased to give the Queen cause for anxiety, than that of her eldest son broke down. Nothing could exceed the alarm of the country when it was announced on the 20th of November that the Heir to the Throne was smitten at Sandringham with typhoid fever—the very malady which had cut off his father in his prime. The disease, it was said, had probably been contracted when the Prince was visiting Lord Londesborough at Scarborough, and it was a significant coincidence, not only that Lord Chesterfield, who was staying there at the same time, had been attacked by and had quickly succumbed to the fever, but that six other guests of Lord Londesborough's had complained of being unwell. On the other hand, it was pointed out that a groom at Sandringham, who had not quitted the place, was smitten at the same time as the Prince, and that it was therefore to bad sanitation at Sandringham that the mishap must be traced. Day by day the nation read the reassuring bulletins with growing anxiety,

* Mr. Bruce's management of this affair did much to bring the Government into contempt. When the promoters of the meeting defied him he withdrew his prohibition. On being questioned in the House of Commons on the subject, he explained that when he issued it he thought that the meeting was called to petition Parliament, and no meeting can legally be held within a mile of Parliament for that purpose. But, he added, having found that the meeting was merely going to discuss the grant he considered it to be a legal one, and therefore withdrew his prohibition

relieved only by the knowledge, not only that the Queen herself had taken her place at the sufferer's sick bed, and that the ever self-sacrificing Princess Louis of Hesse—a nurse of high technical skill—had installed herself in charge of the sick room. The Princess of Wales was herself suffering, doubtless from the same poison which had attacked her husband. Day by day the bulletins were eagerly scanned, not only in the newspapers, but by excited crowds at public places like the Mansion House and Marlborough House, where

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S ILLNESS CROWD AT THE MANSION HOUSE READING THE BULLETINS.

they were exhibited. After twenty-five days of suffering the Prince, who had shown signs of recovery, had a relapse, and then the worst was feared. The Prince it was thought must die, and the shock of the bereavement might be fatal to the Queen, whose health was already sadly impaired. Englishmen remembered for the first time that only two precarious lives—one of which was flickering between life and death—stood between the country and a Regency. But what might a Regency portend? It had been fatal to the Monarchy in France; within the memory of living men it had nearly proved fatal to the Monarchy in England. When it was announced on the 9th of December that all the members of the Royal Family had suddenly been summoned to Sandringham, securities in the Money Market, with the exception of Consols, fell from one to

two per cent. Twice the physicians warned the Queen that the end was at hand, but at last, on the 14th of December—strangely enough the tenth anniversary of his father's death—the Prince made a rally, and the bulletins again became more

THANKSGIVING DAY: THE PROCESSION AT LUDGATE HILL. (*From the Picture by N. Chevalier.*)

hopeful. Prayers had been offered up for his recovery in every church in the empire, and even the Republican societies had sent addresses of sympathy to the Sovereign. The heart of the people had gone forth to her and to the Princess

of Wales in sincere and unrestrained sympathy, and as the year closed an official announcement was made which dispelled the gloom that had settled on all classes. It stated that, though Sir James Paget had not left Sandringham, the Prince was then (29th December) progressing favourably. This was followed by a letter from the Queen to the Home Secretary, in which she said :—"The Queen is very anxious to express her deep sense of the touching sympathy of the whole nation on the occasion of the alarming illness of her dear son the Prince of Wales. The universal feeling shown by her people during these painful, terrible days, and the sympathy evinced by them with herself and her beloved daughter the Princess of Wales, as well as the general joy at the improvement in the Prince of Wales's state, have made a deep and lasting impression on her heart which can never be effaced. It was, indeed, nothing new to her, for the Queen had met with the same sympathy when, just ten years ago, a similar illness removed from her side the mainstay of her life - the best, wisest, and kindest of husbands. The Queen wishes to express at the same time, on the part of the Princess of Wales, her feelings of heartfelt gratitude, for she has been as deeply touched as the Queen by the great and universal manifestation of loyalty and sympathy. The Queen cannot conclude without expressing her hope that her faithful subjects will continue their prayers to God for the complete recovery of her dear son to health and strength."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE "ALABAMA" CLAIMS.

Thanksgiving Day The Procession—Behaviour of the Crowd Scene in St Paul's **Decorations and Illuminations—Letter from Her Majesty** - Attack on the Queen - John Brown The Queen's Speech—The *Alabama* **Claims**—The "Consequential Damages" Living in a Blaze of Apology Story of the "Indirect Claims"—The Arbitrators' Award Sir Alexander Cockburn's Judgment Passing of the Ballot Act The Scottish Education Act—The Licensing Bill - Public Health Bill Coal Mines Regulation Bill The Army Bill Admiralty Reforms—Ministerial Defeat on Local Taxation Starting of the Home Government Association in Dublin - Assassination of Lord Mayo Stanley's Discovery of Livingstone Dr. Livingstone's Interview with the Queen—Her Majesty's Gift to Mr Stanley Death of Dr. Norman Macleod- The Japanese Embassy—The Burmese Mission—Her Majesty at Holyrood Palace—Death of Her Half-Sister.

During the first weeks of 1872 the convalescence of the Heir Apparent seemed to obscure all other topics of political interest. The anti-monarchical agitation, which Sir Charles Dilke had fomented, not only by his votes in Parliament, but by his speeches in the country, suddenly subsided, showing that the sentiment of affectionate regard which had linked the Crown and the nation together in the past, was not to be destroyed by political factions who were trading on the temporary and local estrangement of the Queen from her subjects in

the capital. Faction, indeed, was for the time silenced throughout the land, and the Queen soon saw that it was the universal desire of the nation that the recovery of the Prince, which had saved the country from much anxiety as to its future under a Regency, should be celebrated by a solemn public function. It was therefore announced in the middle of January that the Queen would proceed in State to St. Paul's Cathedral on as early a day as could be fixed after the 20th of February, to return thanks for the recovery of her son. Ultimately Tuesday, the 27th of February, was fixed for the ceremony.

The day was clear and bright, though cold, and a wintry sun shone on the splendid pageant, for which elaborate preparations had been made many days before. The demand for tickets to view the spectacle was unprecedented. Carriages were hired at fabulous prices, and writing on the morning of the ceremony to his daughter-in-law, Lord Shaftesbury tells her that when he had ordered a brougham on the previous day at his job-master's he was told "that every vehicle had been pre-engaged for weeks. Thoroughfares like St. James's Street were impassable, because for two days before the event they were blocked by crowds who had come to see the preparations."* In fact, as Bishop Wilberforce says in a passage in his Diary, London was "quite wild on Thanksgiving Day."† By general desire the day was celebrated as a national holiday. As for the crowds in the streets along the line of *route*, they were said to number from a million to a million and a quarter of spectators, and the decorations far surpassed any similar display ever seen in London. The procession started from Buckingham Palace at five minutes past twelve o'clock, led by the carriages of the Speaker, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Cambridge, and was composed of nine royal carriages, in the last of which the Queen was seen accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Wales. Her Majesty seemed to be in good health, and she looked supremely happy. The Prince was pale and rather haggard, but his bright and happy nature shone through a countenance radiant with gratitude, and he kept bowing all along the way to the multitudes who cheered him. The hearty reciprocal feeling between the Queen, the Prince, and the populace, which the shouts of such a vast crowd expressed, rendered the scene a magnificent demonstration of national loyalty to a popular Sovereign. At Temple Bar the Queen was met by the Lord Mayor and municipal dignitaries of the City of London, arrayed in their robes, and mounted on white horses. Having alighted, the Lord Mayor delivered to and received back from the Queen the City sword, according to the usual custom. But, contrary to precedent and to general expectation, the gates of Temple Bar were not closed against the Queen, so that it was unnecessary to present her with the

* Hodder's Life of Lord Shaftesbury, Vol. III., p. 303.

† Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 394.

keys. The Lord Mayor and his colleagues having re-mounted their steeds, preceded the Royal procession to St. Paul's. Precisely at one o'clock the Queen entered the Cathedral through the pavilion erected upon the steps. Its approach was covered with crimson cloth, and it was ornamented with the royal arms and with the escutcheon of the Prince of Wales. On it there was

THANKSGIVING DAY: ST. PAUL'S ILLUMINATED.

the inscription "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord." Within the Cathedral the scene was imposing and impressive, for all that was exalted in station, high in official position, or eminent by reason of genius, talent, and public services was represented in the congregation of 13,000 persons. Representatives of the Court, the Princes of India, the Colonies, the Houses of Parliament, the Episcopate, the Judges, the Lords-Lieutenant, and the municipal authorities of the provincial towns, were especially prominent. The Queen was received at the Cathedral by the Bishop of

London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and by the officers of her household, who were already waiting for her. With the Prince of Wales on her right hand and the Princess of Wales on her left, the Queen, leaning on the Prince's arm, walked up the nave in a procession which was marshalled by the Lancaster and Somerset Heralds. The special service began at one o'clock with the *Te Deum*, which was arranged by Mr. Goss for the occasion, and sung by a choir of two hundred and fifty voices. The voice of the Archbishop of Canterbury was inaudible, but the choral part of the ritual was listened to reverently. The words of special thanksgiving were:—"O Father of Mercies and God of all Comfort, we thank Thee that Thou hast heard the prayers of this nation in the day of our trial. We praise and magnify Thy glorious name for that Thou hast raised Thy servant, Albert Edward Prince of Wales, from the bed of sickness. Thou castest down and Thou liftest up, and health and strength are Thy gifts; we pray Thee to perfect the recovery of Thy servant, and to crown him day by day with more abundant blessings, both for body and soul, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." Here there was a long pause, during which the dead silence of that vast hushed congregation was described by those present as being almost painful to the ear. Archbishop Tait having pronounced the benediction delivered a sermon which was striking for its brevity and its simple unadorned eloquence. He took for his text the words "Every one members one of another," and illustrated in a few apt sentences the Divine origin of family life and of the State and of the Church, which, he said, was but the family and the State in relation to God. The illness of the Prince had given a fresh meaning to this conception. Hence "such a day," observed the Archbishop in his concluding sentence, "makes us feel truly that we are all members one of another." The religious ceremony ended at two o'clock, and the Royal procession returned to Buckingham Palace amid thunders of artillery from the guns of the Tower and the Park.

With one exception the decorations were successful. That exception—which was noted as curious at the time by the Queen—was at Ludgate Circus, where the triumphal arch, which ought to have been one of the grandest in the metropolis was, by reason of backward preparation, almost a failure. It was not till the procession was nearly within sight that the scaffoldings were taken down, and the scene of confusion as the distracted workmen removed the poles, delighted the mob amazingly.* Unfortunately in the hurry, so much damage was done to the gorgeous gold mouldings of the arch, that it presented the appearance of an ancient but freshly gilded ruin. As for the illuminations at night, they were not general—probably because many people did not regard a religious thanksgiving day as a fit occasion for illuminating. The centres of attraction were the dome and

* *Daily Telegraph*, 28th February, 1872.

west front of St. Paul's, the dome being picked out by a treble row of coloured ship's lanterns. The cathedral itself stood out in lurid splendour when transient shafts of lime-light, and the fitful glow of the red light on the gilded ball fell on the building. Two days after the ceremony the following letter was published in the *London Gazette*.—

"Buckingham Palace, February 29, 1872.

"The Queen is anxious, as on a previous occasion, to express publicly her *own* personal *very deep* sense of the reception she and her dear children met with on Tuesday, February 27th, from millions of her subjects, on her way to and from St. Paul's.

"Words are too weak for the Queen to say how very deeply touched and gratified she has been by the immense enthusiasm and affection exhibited towards her dear son and herself, from the highest down to the lowest, on the long progress through the Capital, and she would earnestly wish to convey her warmest and most heartfelt thanks to the whole nation for this great demonstration of loyalty

"The Queen, as well as her son and her dear daughter-in-law, felt that the whole nation joined with them in thanking God for sparing the beloved Prince of Wales's life

"The remembrance of this day and of the remarkable order maintained throughout, will for ever be affectionately remembered by the Queen and her family."

On the very day on which this letter was dated a strange attack was made on the Queen. When she returned from her afternoon drive in the Park, she passed along by Buckingham Palace wall, and drove to the gate at which she usually alighted. The carriage had hardly halted when a lad rushed to its left side, and bending forward presented a pistol at the Queen, while he flourished a petition in his hand. He then rushed round the carriage and threw himself into a similar attitude on the other side. The Queen remained calm and unmoved, and the boy's pistol was taken from him, when it was discovered that it was unloaded. The petition was a poor scrawl, demanding the release of the Fenian prisoners, and the lad gave the name of Arthur O'Connor, and stated his age to be seventeen.*

When Parliament assembled in 1872 Mr. Gladstone found himself confronted by an Opposition which had been rendered almost insolently aggressive by their triumphs at the bye-elections. He found himself supported by a majority, each section of which had its special grievance against him. And

* The boy was said to be a nephew of Feargus O'Connor, and was a clerk in an oil-shop in the Borough He had tried to reach the Queen's carriage on Thanksgiving Day, but the density of the crowd prevented him. O'Connor, curiously enough, was not a Fenian or a Catholic, but a Protestant youth who had turned crazy by reading "penny dreadfuls." In April he was tried and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and twenty strokes with the birch The Queen, who had long been desirous of bestowing medals for long and faithful domestic service in her employment, found in the attack by O'Connor an opportunity for carrying out her idea. Her personal attendants were Highland gillies from her Aberdeenshire estates. They had been most active in protecting her when she was menaced by O'Connor, and on John Brown, who had been more prominent than the others, her Majesty conferred this gold medal and an annuity of £25. Brown had been the Prince Consort's favourite gillie, and, though his rough Northern manners were somewhat unprepossessing, his personal courage, stolid fidelity, shrewd judgment, and blunt honesty of speech, had rendered him a great favourite in the Queen's family.

if he looked beyond Parliament for support he might have seen that a subtle popular suspicion was growing up round his name which was fast neutralising the magic of his personality. It was said, alike by friends and foes, that an overweening love for personal power, and a passion for exercising personal authority over others, had become the guiding motives of his life, and the inspiring ideas of his policy. Had this been true, it is hardly likely that the Prime Minister would have identified himself with legislation which had set the vested interests, and the fanatical sectaries up in arms against him. But the important point was that, whether true or false, the calumny was believed, and the Queen, like many other careful observers, saw the Ministry growing weaker and weaker every day, whilst Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were themselves under the delusion that every day increased their popularity. And yet, as if to justify the maxim that in politics it is the unexpected that happens, the year was not fruitful in crises or in sensational scenes. Mr. Disraeli held his followers in check, and the Session was a business-like one, which, when it ended, left the Government stronger than could have been anticipated.

The Parliamentary year was opened on the 6th of February, the Queen's Speech being read by Commission. It promised a Ballot Bill, and Bills for organising Education in Scotland, for regulating Mines, and for improving the Licensing System. The passage in the Speech to which, however, all eyes turned was the one dealing with the *Alabama* Claims. On this subject the country had suddenly become profoundly agitated, and from an observation in Bishop Wilberforce's Diary we gather that the Queen shared the popular feeling of the hour.* After the nation had congratulated itself on discovering a diplomatic solution of its difficulties with the American Republic, it was amazed to find that the Americans were endeavouring to seize by chicane what they had failed to gain by diplomacy. When they forwarded the case which they meant to submit to Arbitration, it was discovered that they had included in it not only a claim for the actual damage done to American commerce by the Confederate cruisers, but also the claims for the indirect or "consequential damages" which Mr. Sumner had put forward, and which the British Commissioners understood were abandoned. The sum asked under this head would have covered half the cost of the whole Civil War. It was therefore the clear opinion of the Queen that England could not consent to go into Arbitration till this preposterous demand was withdrawn. Lord Granville, on the other hand, though he inclined to this opinion, was slow to reply to a demand which he was in honour bound to promptly repel. He was chiefly concerned about saving the Washington Treaty, and he therefore sent to the American Government a mild letter requesting the withdrawal of the "indirect claims" in terms so deferentially conciliatory, that had he been dealing with a less pacific Power his despatch would probably have been answered with the cynical

* Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. III., p. 393.

brusquerie that marked Von Bismarck's dealings with him. But the country was not as meek as the Minister. There was an outburst of popular anger against the Americans for the "sharp practice" which sullied their statement of claim, and Mr. Gladstone soon saw that to go into Arbitration before the

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demand for "consequential damages" was withdrawn would lead to his expulsion from office. His declarations in Parliament on the subject thenceforth showed that he meant to repudiate the American interpretation of the Treaty under which the "indirect claims" had been dragged into the American case, and he spoke with the high spirit of a statesman rejecting a humiliating demand for tribute greater than conquest itself could extort. The Opposition in both Houses, on the whole, gave the Government generous support in this emergency, though Mr. Disraeli—referring to the torrent of Ministerial

oratory which had deluged the recess—could not refrain in his comment on the Queen's Speech from deriding the Cabinet for having lately lived "in a blaze of apology."

The story of the controversy on the "indirect claims" may here be told. The United States, in extremely conciliatory despatches, insisted on including these claims in their case. They argued that it was for the arbitrators at Geneva to say whether they were or were not admissible under the Treaty. They rested their contention on an ambiguous phrase which Lord Ripon and Sir Stafford Northcote had unfortunately permitted to pass uncorrected into the Treaty. The first Article of that instrument described its object to be that of removing and adjusting "all complaints and claims," &c., "*growing out* of acts committed by the said vessels, and *generically known as the 'Alabama' Claims.*" This certainly gave the Americans a plausible excuse for demanding "consequential" as well as direct damages. On the other side, the English Government argued that all the concessions made by the British Commissioners at Washington were made on the understanding that the "indirect claims" were not included in the Treaty; that in all their correspondence with the Washington Department of State no claims save direct claims were ever "generically" known as the *Alabama* Claims; and, lastly, that their interpretation was publicly expressed and well known to the United States Government, people, and Minister at the Court of St. James's, and was never objected to by either of them. It would, however, have been easy to put the point beyond dispute when the Treaty was drawn up by specifically barring all indirect claims When Lord Ripon and Sir Stafford Northcote failed to do that they were guilty of negligence which, if brought home to the diplomatists of either Russia or Germany, would have procured for them, not rewards and honours, but punishment and degradation. Fortunately the dispute ended happily. Lord Granville for once acted with the firmness becoming the representative of a great nation. When the arbitrators met at Geneva, the representatives of England persistently refused to take part in the proceedings till the "indirect claims" were withdrawn. The arbitrators then adroitly extricated the agents of the Washington Government from a false position. They met and declared that, without reference to the scope of the Treaty or to the merits of the dispute as to its interpretation, which England refused to discuss before them, they were agreed that "indirect claims" could never, on general principles of international law, be a tenable ground for an award of damages in international disputes.

The Americans then withdrew the obnoxious part of their "case," and the arbitrators awarded to the United States £3,229,000 damages against England for the depredations committed by three out of the ten Confederate cruisers which, it was alleged, the British Government had negligently permitted to escape from British ports. The American claim for naval expenses incurred in chasing these cruisers was, however, rejected, because the

arbitrators held that it could not be practically distinguished from the general cost of the war. The Lord Chief Justice of England—one of the members of the Tribunal—concurred in the judgment as regards the *Alabama*. He differed from all his colleagues in regard to the *Florida*, and he and the Brazilian arbitrator differed from the majority as to the case of the *Shenandoah*.* The failure of the English Government to seize the *Florida* and *Alabama*, when they put into British ports after they had made their escape, was evidently the fact which bore most strongly against England in the opinion of the Geneva Tribunal. The American claims for damages in respect of the *Georgia*, *Chickamauga*, *Nashville*, *Retribution*, *Sumter*, and *Tallahassee*, were rejected. On the whole, public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic, though not quite satisfied with the verdict, allowed that there had been a fair fight and a fair trial. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn's dissenting judgment, however, expressed the feeling of the English people, which was this. "Let us admit," they said, "the *ex post facto* rule making neutrals liable for damages if they do not exercise 'due diligence'—the 'dueness of diligence' to be always proportionate to the mischief the vessels might do—in preventing the escape of cruisers, and in re-capturing them when they get the chance. English officials were, however, not aware that, when these cruisers escaped and when on re-entering British ports they were not detained, international law demanded from them more 'dueness' of diligence than they had exercised or been taught to exercise. Hence it surely was wrong to give damages for their unconscious negligence, just as if their negligence had been conscious." This argument, indeed, Sir Alexander Cockburn pressed to the point of cutting down to zero the claim for damages in respect of the *Shenandoah* and *Florida*.

One of the most important Government measures of the year was the Ballot Act. But the opposition to it was marked by no novelty of argument, and it need only be said about it here that it was passed, the Lords not venturing to reject it a second time.† The Scottish Education Bill, which also passed, established a School Board system of public instruction all over Scotland far in advance of that which England had been able to obtain. A Licensing Bill of a mildly regulative character was carried, the publicans grudgingly accepting it as a compromise, while the Temperance Party attacked it as miserably ineffective.‡ Mr. Stansfeld's Public Health Bill, defining the

* England was admittedly not responsible for the escape of this vessel But the Tribunal held that because a British Colony reinforced her crew at Melbourne after she carried the Confederate flag, responsibility accrued

† The first Election under the Ballot was at Pontefract, when Mr Childers was returned against Lord Pollington by a vote of 658 to 578—the registered Electors being 1,960. The Election was conducted with unusual order, and there was no bribery or intimidation, and less violence and drunkenness than usual.

‡ This Bill was, of course, much less drastic than the one which Mr Bruce withdrew in 1871. It reduced the hours of sale, strengthened the hands of the authorities as regards supervision and the granting of new licences, but as a sop to the Liquor Trade it gave the well-conducted publican a kind of tenant-right by practically securing to him a renewal of his licence.

authority which must in future be responsible for local sanitation, and embodying the principle that rates should be divided between the State and the locality was so adroitly managed by Mr. Stansfeld, that at last Mr. Disraeli supported the Government in carrying it. Another useful measure regulating the working of Coal Mines was carried in spite of many protests against interfering with private contracts between masters and servants, and many attempts on the part of the vested interests who were supported by the bulk of the Tory Party, to render the Bill inoperative. Among other things it prohibited the employment of women underground, and it made mine-owners responsible for the results of preventible mining accidents.

Mr. Cardwell's Army Bill was received with unlooked for favour. It attempted to adapt the territorial system of Prussia to the exigencies of military service in England. The nine existing military divisions were subdivided into sixty-six military districts. In each of these a small army or brigade was formed, consisting of two battalions of Regulars, to which were linked the local Militia and Volunteers. One of the regular battalions was to be told off for foreign service, and its "waste" supplied by drafts from the territorial *depôt*. The main objection to the scheme urged by Conservative officers was that it destroyed the family life of the old regiments—that it even destroyed their identity by substituting local titles for the numbers which their prowess in war had in many cases made historic. According to this scheme the country would have an Army of 446,000 men, of whom 146,000 were available for service abroad. The evidence given before the Commission which reported on the wreck of the *Megara*, concentrated attention on Admiralty Reform. On the whole, the country gave Mr. Childers credit for having brought order into that chaotic department. Before he came to power the various branches of the Admiralty had little or no connection with each other, and when a blunder was made by conflicting authority or contradictory orders, nobody could be made responsible. Mr. Childers set responsible officers at the head of each department, and made excellent arrangements for their mutual co-operation. But the weak point of his scheme was that he as First Lord was the real *nexus* which bound the whole organisation together. The system accordingly broke down when his health gave way, for Mr. Lushington, who was in a sense the Grand Vizier of the First Lord, was a civilian comparatively new to the department, and unable to act as an efficient substitute for Mr. Childers.* Mr. Goschen met the difficulty, not by appointing a naval expert as his second in command, but by casting responsibility for all orders on three officials—a Naval Secretary who was to be responsible for orders concerning the *personnel*, a Controller who was to be responsible for those relating to the *matériel*, and a Permanent Secretary who was to be responsible for those

* Had an Admiral with good administrative ability been appointed Permanent Secretary to the department instead of Mr Lushington, the collapse of Mr Childers' scheme, when he was invalided, might have been averted.

affecting finance and civil business. To secure unity of work the Board of Admiralty was to meet daily for consultation, and in the First Lord's absence the supreme authority was to pass to the First Naval Lord of the Admiralty.

In spite of a serious defeat on Sir Massey Lopes' motion on the question

DR. NORMAN MACLEOD.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

of Local Taxation,* a narrow escape from defeat on the Collier scandal, and a clever mocking attack by Mr. Disraeli at Manchester in the spring on their

* Sir Massey Lopes desired that the cost of administering justice, and the Lunacy and Police Acts – then charged on the rates—should be thrown on the Consolidated Fund, i.e., transferred from the rate-payer to the tax-payer. The county members on both sides objected to the whole system of rating which fell not on personal, but real property, and which threw on rates the cost of doing work which was done not merely for the locality, but for the community at large. The Ministry maintained that it was impossible to give effect to Sir Massey Lopes' ideas till the whole question of Local Government and Rating was taken up and settled on a sound basis

sensational policy and their ambiguous utterances on the proposals of their extreme supporters, the Ministers were stronger in Parliament when the Session ended than when it began. Mr. Lowe's Budget further helped the credit of the Government, for such was the elasticity of the revenue that it foreshadowed a surplus of £3,000,000, and enabled him to remit the twopenny Income Tax which he had imposed in 1871.* Ireland, however, was as usual a source of anxiety to the Cabinet. The Tories and Orangemen, indignant at the Disestablishment of the Church, had coalesced with the more moderate Repealers, and set on foot the Home Government Association,† from which the Home Rule Party under the leadership of Mr. Isaac Butt sprang. Whenever the Ballot Act was passed, Home Rule candidates began to carry the Irish bye-elections against the Ministerialists—in fact, it was apparent to shrewd observers that the destruction of the Liberal Party in Ireland was now only a matter of time. Earl Russell was probably of this opinion when, in August, he startled the town by publishing a letter in the *Times* virtually conceding the principle of Home Rule in order to lighten the burden of Imperial legislation with which Parliament was overweighted.‡

As for the Opposition, their councils were divided. Lord Salisbury was averse from promising any programme. Mr. Disraeli seemed afraid to suggest one that went beyond sanitary reform. Yet the Tories had completely broken the absolute power of Mr. Gladstone in the country, and were still, as the Municipal Elections in November showed, a growing party. The causes which contributed to a reaction in their favour in 1871 were still at work. Mr. Gladstone's opposition to Sir Massey Lopes' motion on rating, and the sudden appearance of Trades Unionism among the agricultural labourers gave Conservatism hosts of fresh recruits, for the squires and the farmers naturally rallied to the Party whose leaders stood forth as champions of the threatened interests.

The attempt of O'Connor on the Queen's life was not the only crime

* The limit of abatement was also raised from incomes of £200 to £300, and the abatement itself from £60 to £80. The duty on coffee and chicory was reduced, and shops and warehouses were exempted from house-tax.

† This was founded on the 19th of May, 1870, in the Bilton Hotel, Sackville Street, Dublin. The chief Conservatives present were Mr. Purdon (Lord Mayor of Dublin), Mr. Kinahan (Ex-High Sheriff of Dublin), Major Knox (proprietor of the *Irish Times*), and Captain (afterwards Colonel) King-Harman. Mr. Butt moved the chief resolution, which was unanimously carried, affirming that "The true remedy for the evils of Ireland is the establishment of an Irish Parliament with full control over our domestic affairs."

‡ Lord Russell in this letter, says:—"It appears to me that if Ireland were to be allowed to elect a Representative Assembly for each of its four Provinces of Leinster, Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, and if Scotland in a similar manner were to be divided into Lowlands and Highlands having for each Province a Representative Assembly, the local wants of Ireland and Scotland might be better provided for than they are at present." There was reason to suppose that the Birmingham School of Radicals in 1886 had almost summoned up courage to adopt the Home Rule scheme which the veteran Whig statesman propounded in 1872.

of the kind that darkened the year. On the 8th of February Lord Mayo, the Viceroy of India, was stabbed to death by a Mahommedan convict at Port Blair, the port of the penal settlement on the Andaman Islands, to which Lord Mayo was paying a visit of inspection. The assassin was a sullen, brooding fanatic who had been transported for killing a relative with whom he had a "blood feud." The Queen was as much shocked as the country by the event, for by this time it was universally recognised that Lord Mayo was one of the most competent Viceroys who had ever ruled India. His intuitive insight into difficulties, his shrewd perception of character, his frank resoluteness of action, his clearness and decision of purpose, and his dignified and stately bearing rendered Lord Mayo an ideal viceroy. His great work consisted in cementing an alliance with the Afghan Ameer, in imposing an income-tax to rehabilitate the finances of India, and suppressing a rebellious movement among the Wahabee fanatics.

Early in May telegrams were received in London announcing that Dr. Livingstone, the African explorer, as to whose safety much anxiety had been felt, had been discovered by Mr. Stanley, a special correspondent on the staff of the *New York Herald*, who had been despatched by Mr. J. Gordon Bennett, the proprietor of that journal, to look for the missing traveller. The Queen received these tidings with the deepest gratification, not unmingled with regret that the honour of the discovery should pass to an American expedition. Her interest in Livingstone, and in his last efforts to discover the sources of the Nile, was well known—indeed, when in England the explorer had a private interview with her Majesty, of which an account is given in Mr. Blaikie's "Personal Life of Dr. Livingstone." "She [the Queen] sent for Livingstone," writes Mr. Blaikie, "who attended her Majesty at the Palace without ceremony, in his black coat and blue trousers and his cap surrounded with a stripe of gold lace. This was his usual attire, and the cap had now become the appropriate distinction of one of her Majesty's Consuls—an official position to which the traveller attaches great importance as giving him consequence in the eyes of natives and authority over the members of the expedition. The Queen conversed with him affably for half-an-hour on the subject of his travels. Dr. Livingstone told her Majesty that he would now be able to say to the natives that he had seen his chief, his not having done so before having been a constant subject of surprise to the children of the African wilderness. He mentioned to her Majesty also that the people were in the habit of inquiring whether his chief were wealthy, and when he answered them that she was very wealthy they would ask how many cows she had got, a question at which the Queen laughed very heartily." Mr. Stanley had found Livingstone at Ujiji near Lake Tanganyika, and on his way back to Zanzibar he met the English Expedition, which had been despatched by the Royal Geographical Society, carrying succour to the explorer. As Livingstone's orders were to

refuse this tardy aid, the chiefs of the British Expedition had to return. Some people were at first sceptical as to the story told by Mr. Stanley, but all doubts were set at rest on the 27th of August, when Lord Granville

THE QUEEN RECEIVING THE BURMESE EMBASSY.

sent to Mr. Stanley a gold snuff-box set with diamonds as a gift from the Queen. Accompanying the present was the following letter:—

"I have great satisfaction in conveying to you, by command of the Queen, her Majesty's high appreciation of the prudence and zeal which you have displayed in opening a communication with Dr. Livingstone, and relieving her Majesty from the anxiety which, in common with her subjects, she had felt in regard to the fate of that distinguished traveller. The Queen desires me to express her thanks for the service you have thus rendered, together with her Majesty's congratulations on your having so successfully carried out the mission which you so fearlessly undertook Her Majesty also desires me to request your acceptance of the memorial which accompanies this letter."

In June the Queen had to mourn the loss of a highly trusted old family friend, Dr. Norman Macleod of Glasgow. He had been long ailing, and when at Balmoral, in May, the Queen at her last interview with him was so struck with his physical weakness that she insisted on his being seated whilst he was in her presence. Macleod's influence as a courtier was built up partly on his ability as an eloquent pulpit orator, and his tact as a kindly, genial,

shrewd, tolerant man of the world. He had genuine goodness of heart, and he had not only the supple diplomatic skill of the Celt, but the Celt's inborn and honest love and reverence for rank and dignities. It was quite a mistake to suppose that his "flunkeyism" made him a *persona grata* at Court. On the contrary, he was in the unique position of being a Royal Chaplain on whom the Queen could not confer any favour or dignity. She could not give him a richer living in the Church than the one he had obtained without her patronage, and as a Presbyterian clergyman he could never be suspected of intriguing for hierarchical rank when he approached the Sovereign. His disinterestedness, too, was well known, for it was to Macleod's credit that during his long connection with the Court, though he was frequently entrusted with missions concerning matters of delicate family business, he never even asked for a favour either for himself or any of his relatives. When the vague rumour of his death reached the Queen she addressed the following letter to Dr. Macleod's brother:—

"BALMORAL, *June* 17, 1872

"The Queen hardly knows how to begin a letter to Mr Donald Macleod, so deep and strong are her feelings on this most sad and most painful occasion, for words are all too weak to say what she feels, and what all must feel who ever knew his beloved, excellent, and highly-gifted brother, Dr Norman Macleod

"First of all to his family—his venerable, loved, and honoured mother, his wife and large family of children—the loss of the good man is irreparable and overwhelming! But it is an irreparable public loss, and the Queen feels this deeply To herself, personally, the loss of dear Dr Macleod is a very great one, he was so kind, and on all occasions showed her such warm sympathy, and in the early days of her great sorrow gave the Queen so much comfort whenever she saw him, that she always looked forward eagerly to those occasions when she saw him here, and she cannot realise the idea that in this world she is never to see his kind face and listen to those admirable discourses which did every one good, and to his charming conversation again

"The Queen is gratified that she was able to see him this last time, and to have had some lengthened conversation with him when he dwelt much on that future world to which he now belongs. He was sadly depressed and suffering, but still so near a termination of his career of intense usefulness and loving-kindness never struck her or any of us as likely, and the Queen was terribly shocked on learning the sad news All her children, present and absent, deeply mourn his loss. The Queen would be very grateful for all the details which Mr. D. Macleod can give her of the last moments and illness of her dear friend

"Pray say everything kind and sympathising to their venerable mother, to Mrs N. Macleod and all the family, and she asks him to accept himself of her true heartfelt sympathy"

The letter—one of the most remarkable ever written by a sovereign to and of a subject—is worth quoting, not only on account of its biographical interest, but as a model of sincerity, tenderness, and good taste exhibited in an order of composition usually disfigured by artificiality both of sentiment and style.

The lions of the London season of 1872 were two foreign embassies—one from Japan and one from Burma. The Japanese were Envoys from a great Asiatic monarch, and were nobles of the first rank specially chosen to represent their Sovereign. Their refined manner, shrewd observations, quick intelligence, and mastery over the English tongue, rendered them general favourites. The

so-called "Ambassadors" from Burma came to England on a different footing, and some authorities on Eastern affairs complained that they received an amount of attention and hospitality far beyond their deserts or their importance. It was said that they were officials chosen because of their low rank for the purpose of publicly slighting England; that they were sent to this country in order to establish a precedent for ignoring the Indian Viceroy, and enabling the King of Burma to treat with the Queen of England as a Peer. The Indian Viceroys had certainly been averse from permitting the Burmese Court to form direct diplomatic relations with European Courts; but in the East, Missions of Compliment are sometimes sent from Sovereigns to each other, and such Missions do not necessarily engage in diplomatic business. In this case the Burmese King Mindohn, by far the ablest ruler of the Alompra dynasty, had accepted the arrangement by which the diplomatic relations of Burma and the British Empire were carried on through an agent of the Indian Viceroy at Mandalay.* Indeed, one of the chief diplomatic difficulties between the two Governments—the great "Shoe Question," as it was called—was not one capable of direct discussion between the Courts of St. James's and Mandalay.† As to the rank of the Burmese Envoy, misconceptions on that point arose because Englishmen failed to understand that in Burma there was no such thing as hereditary rank outside the royal family of Alompra, the hunter king. Rank was conferred solely by official position, and the head of the Burmese Mission was a high official of the first grade, who was really President of the *Hloht* or Council of State. Under King Theebaw, who succeeded Mindohn, he became better known as the Kin-Woon Mingyee, and represented the party of peace and order at Mandalay with great ability and honesty of purpose. The Queen was rather better informed as to the antecedents of these distinguished visitors, and accordingly on Friday, the 21st of June, she received them at Windsor Castle. They brought with them many costly presents to her Majesty, of which an exceptionally magnificent bracelet, made of seven pounds of solid gold, was much talked about at the time. They also delivered a letter from the King, which began, "From His Great, Glorious, and Most Excellent Majesty, King of the Rising Sun, who reigns over Burma, to Her Most Glorious and Excellent Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland." After her Majesty had received the presents, and made her acknowledgments through Major MacMahon, late Political Agent at Mandalay, the Embassy withdrew, and returned to London.

On the 1st of July the Queen, accompanied by the Duke of Edinburgh, Princess Louise, Princess Beatrice, and Prince Leopold visited the National

* Burma, As it Was, As it Is, and As it Will Be. By J. George Scott ("Shway Yoe"). London: Redway, 1886-7. P. 34.

† The British representative at Mandalay, besides complaining of perpetual encroachments on the Arakan frontier, declared that he was not allowed to see the King of Burma unless he took off his shoes and sat before him on the floor in his stockings.

Memorial erected in Hyde Park to the memory of the late Prince Consort. This was a strictly private visit, the monument being at the time incomplete.

Between the 15th and 20th of August the Queen broke her journey to Balmoral, and resided at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, for a few days. Though her visit was private, she was so gratified with the reception she everywhere received that she caused Viscount Halifax to address the following letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh:—

"DEAR LORD PROVOST,—It is not the practice unless the Queen has visited any city or town in a public manner, to address any official communication to the chief magistrate or authority of the place. I am commanded, however, by her Majesty to convey to you in a less formal manner the expression of her Majesty's gratification at the manner in which she was received by the people of Edinburgh in whatever part of this city and neighbourhood her Majesty appeared. Her Majesty has felt this the more because, as her Majesty's visit was so strictly private, it was so evidently the expression of their national feeling of loyalty. Her Majesty was also very much pleased with the striking effect produced by lighting up the park and the old chapel"

The death of the amiable and accomplished Princess Feodore of Hohenlohe-Langenburg on the 23rd of September plunged the Queen into deep despondency. The Princess was half-sister to her Majesty, and the tie that bound them together through life had been close and affectionate. "All sympathise with you," wrote the Princess Louis to the Queen when she heard of her mother's bereavement, "and feel what a loss to you darling aunt must be, how great the gap in your life, how painful the absence of that sympathy and love which united her life and yours so closely."

CHAPTER XVIII.

GOVERNMENT UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

A Lull Before the Storm—Dissent in the Dumps—Disastrous Bye-Elections—The Queen's Speech—The Irish University Bill—Defeat of the Government—Resignation of the Ministry—Mr. Disraeli's Failure to Form a Cabinet—The Queen and the Crisis—Lord Derby as a Possible Premier—Mr. Gladstone Returns to Office—Power Passes to the House of Lords—Grave Administration Scandals—The Zanzibar Mail Contract—Misappropriation of the Post Office Savings Banks' Balances—Mr. Gladstone Reconstructs his Ministry—The Financial Achievements of his Administration—The Queen and the Prince of Wales—Debts of the Heir Apparent—The Queen's Scheme for Meeting the Prince's Expenditure on her Behalf—The Queen and Foreign Decorations—Death of Napoleon III.—The Queen at the East End—The Blue-Coat Boys at Buckingham Palace—The Coming of the Shah—Astounding Rumours of his Progress through Europe—The Queen's Reception of the Persian Monarch—How the Shah was Entertained—His Departure from England—Marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh—Public Entry of the Duchess into London.

WHEN the Session of 1873 opened, it is a curious fact that in London the universal complaint was that politics had become depressingly dull. But the lull really presaged a storm, in which the Government was wrecked. It was known that Mr. Gladstone intended to make the question of Irish University

education the chief business of the Session, and it was admitted that next to this question the one of most consequence to the Government was that which was raised by the Dissenters, who demanded the extension of School Boards, and the establishment of compulsory education all over England, together with the repeal of the 25th clause of Mr. Forster's Education Act. The bye-elections, which had been disastrous to the Ministry, showed that the Dissenters were in revolt, and that they "sulked in their tents," instead of

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK

(From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

supporting Ministerial candidates. The Irish University Bill could not possibly be carried without Nonconformist support, and that could obviously not be hoped for if anything like "concurrent endowment" for the Roman Catholics defaced it. On the other hand, if the revenues of Trinity College were shared with Catholic scholars, Liberals like Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Vernon Harcourt would support Mr. Disraeli in opposing the measure. The Cabinet resolved to neutralise the expected secession of the small Fawcett-Harcourt group, by rendering their Bill acceptable to their powerful Nonconformist contingent, and Liberal tacticians were full of joyful anticipations when it leaked out that this plan was contemplated. As will be seen, one important contingency was never taken into consideration—the possible desertion of Mr. Gladstone's Roman Catholic followers; and yet it was their desertion which wrecked the Bill and destroyed the Government.

The Queen's speech was read to Parliament by Commission on the 6th of February, and it promised an Irish Education Bill, a Judicature Bill, a Land Transfer Bill, an Education Amendment Act, a Local Taxation Bill, and a Railway Regulation Bill. In the debate on the Address the Opposition leaders dwelt mainly on foreign questions, pressing the Government to say whether they were prepared to recommend the rules under which the *Alabama* case had been decided to the European Powers; and if so, whether they would recommend them as interpreted by the legal advisers of the Crown, or as interpreted by the majority of the arbitrators. Mr. Gladstone

PROFESSOR FAWCETT.

(*From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*)

first said that the rules had been recommended for adoption by the Powers, but without any special construction being put on them. Then he had to correct himself before the debate closed, by explaining that he had made a mistake, for the rules had not yet been brought under the notice of Foreign Governments. This confession naturally forced the public to conclude that the Tories could not be far wrong when they declared that foreign affairs were neglected because Lord Granville was indolent and Mr. Gladstone neither knew nor cared anything about them.

On the 13th of February Mr. Gladstone introduced the Irish University Education Bill. It affiliated several other educational institutions besides Trinity College to the University of Dublin. Two of the Queen's Colleges, established by Sir Robert Peel, were to be associated with the University, and the Queen's University itself was to be abolished. Queen's College at Galway was to be suppressed, because it had failed to attract students to its class-

rooms. The so-called Catholic University and several other Roman Catholic seminaries were also, in the same manner, to be attached to the Dublin University. The new University was to have an income of £50,000 a year, a fourth of which was taken from Trinity College, a fourth from the endowment for Queen's University, three-eighths from the Irish Church surplus, whilst fees, it was expected, would make up the balance. It was to have professors for teaching in Dublin all academical subjects excepting history and mental philosophy, which were tabooed as too controversial for Ireland. Bursaries, Scholarships, and Fellowships were liberally endowed. Tests were to be abolished, the Theological Faculty of Trinity College was to be transferred —with an endowment—to the Disestablished Church, and the prohibited subjects, History and Philosophy, were not to be compulsory in examinations for degrees. The constituency of the University was to consist of all graduates of the affiliated colleges. The governing council of twenty-five was to be nominated in the Bill, after which, vacancies were to be filled up alternately by co-optation and Crown nomination. After ten years, however, equal numbers of the council were to be chosen, by the Crown, by co-optation, by the professors, and by the graduates. The Bill, according to the Bishop of Peterborough—by far the ablest Protestant ecclesiastic Ireland has produced in the Victorian period—"was as good as could be under the circumstances," and "ought to have pleased all parties." * Unfortunately it pleased nobody, and its weak point was obvious. It attempted to provide for separate denominational education in the affiliated colleges, and for mixed secular education in Trinity College and the University of Dublin, to which they were affiliated—the one system being as incompatible with the other as an acid with an alkali. As Mr. Gathorne-Hardy said, the exclusion of History and Philosophy rendered the new University a monster *cui lumen ademptum*. The proposal to make the Irish Viceroy its Chancellor recalled, he declared, the lines of Milton,

> "Its shape,
> If shape it can be called, which shape had none
> Distinguishable in feature, joint, or limb—"

all the more that

> "What seemed its head,
> The likeness of a kingly crown had on"

At first the Bill was very well received, and there was a general disposition to admit that, in view of the limiting conditions of the problem, it was impossible to find a solution less offensive to the Protestants, and more generous to the Catholics of Ireland. But in a few days it became apparent that the measure was doomed. Ministers had been led to believe by their colleague, Mr. Monsell, who was the spokesman of the Catholic clergy, that the compromise would be accepted by them. But the Catholic Bishops met in secret,

* See a letter written by Mr. Hayward to Mr Gladstone, in the correspondence of Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p 252

and decided to oppose the Bill.* As the Catholics opposed it for giving them too little, the Protestants opposed it because it gave the Catholics too much. The apostles of culture opposed it because it cut History and Philosophy out of the University curriculum, and in doing so they furnished all discontented Liberals with a good non-political excuse for voting against the Government. The Bill was defeated on the 12th of March by a vote of 287 to 284, the votes of 36 Catholic Members and 9 Liberals † having turned the scale. To the very last moment the issue was uncertain, because it was known that if Mr. Gladstone had offered to abandon the teaching clauses of the Bill, he would have won over a sufficient number of Catholic votes to carry it.‡

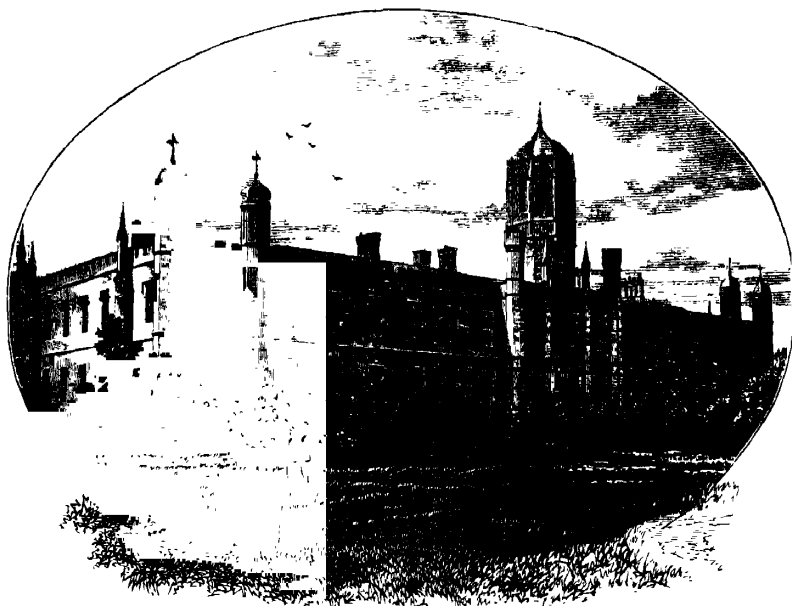
Mr. Gladstone's defeat was followed by the resignation of his Ministry, and the crisis was a most embarrassing one for the Queen. Mr. Disraeli, when sent for by the Sovereign, attempted to form a Cabinet, but did not succeed, mainly because Mr. Gathorne-Hardy objected to the party holding office on sufferance. When Mr. Disraeli reported his failure to the Queen, she again consulted Mr. Gladstone, who, however, suggested that some other Conservative leader—obviously hinting at Lord Derby—might succeed where Mr. Disraeli had failed. But Lord Derby was at Nice when the crisis became acute; and though the Tory Party felt that he was in a special sense their natural leader at such a juncture,§ they knew that it was decidedly inconvenient for the Prime Minister to be a member of the Upper House, and that he would refuse to enter into anything like rivalry with Mr. Disraeli. Yet a restful Ministry, competent in administration, under a cool-headed, sensible Conservative aristocrat, was what the majority of the

* What their motive was for this act has not yet been clearly stated. It was said at the time that they thought by opposing it to induce the Protestants to let it pass Their opposition, however, as explained by themselves, was (1), The Bill did not endow a Catholic University. The Tories had promised to do so in 1866, and therefore the Catholics might profitably wait till Mr. Disraeli returned to power (2), The Bill, by endowing Professorships of academical subjects — not including History and Philosophy — was really one for founding a new "Godless college." (3), Other students than those trained in affiliated colleges—scholars educated by private study, in fact—were admitted to degrees (4), As the constitution of the new University stood, the Catholics would have to wait for many years ere they could command even a large minority in the new University constituency

† They were Mr Fawcett, Mr Horsman, who had approved of the Bill at first, Mr Bouverie, Mr McCullagh Torrens, Mr Aytoun, Mr Akroyd, Mr Foster, Mr Auberon Herbert, and Mr Whalley

‡ These clauses do not seem to have been essential to the main object in view, which was to give the Catholics a chance of getting University degrees of high status, and a fair share of the University endowments of the nation. The new "Godless" chairs were not needed if the Catholics did not want them, for the Protestants could always get their instruction in Trinity College.

§ Sir William Stirling Maxwell was a representative of the most popular phase of Toryism, and in a special sense reflected the mind of his party in hankering after Lord Derby as a leader. Writing to Mr. Hayward in September, 1872, he says of Lord Derby —"I know no man whose daily talk reflects more constantly the good sense and fairness of his speeches It is some consolation to those who still believe that Conservatism may have some backbone left to have a prospective leader with so much ballast in his character." The Conservatives did not trust Mr Disraeli's Conservatism even in 1873, just because they suspected it lacked backbone and ballast.

people, alarmed by harassed "vested interests," desired at the time. Be that as it may, Mr. Disraeli, when appealed to a second time by the Queen, refused to assist her out of the difficulty, and Mr. Gladstone was again summoned to the rescue. He returned to power with his Cabinet unchanged and disavowed any intention to dissolve Parliament. Mr. Disraeli's refusal to take office had given the Queen infinite anxiety, and his defence of his conduct was lame and halting. He was, he said, in a minority; he had not

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY

a policy, and could not get one ready till he had been for some time in office, so that he might see what was to be done. He did not desire to experience the humiliation of governing the country under a *regime* of hostile resolutions. The Queen and the country were alike conscious of the flimsiness of these excuses. Mr. Disraeli never met the question—which, to the Queen, seemed unanswerable—Why did he paralyse the existing Administration, if he was not prepared to put another in its place?

Mr Disraeli in refusing to govern England himself whilst he prevented Mr. Gladstone from governing it, was pursuing a policy which was as unconstitutional as it was unpatriotic. When he said he could not take office because he must dissolve in May in any case, and that he could not dissolve because he had not a policy to go to the country with, and when he

explained that till he had time to study the archives of the Foreign Office he could not tell what ought to be done with questions such as the Russian advance on Khiva, and the Three Rules of the Washington Treaty, men smiled cynically. They asked each other if Lord Palmerston in 1869 was afraid to take the place of the Tory Government because he wanted time to form an opinion on Lord Malmesbury's policy towards the Italian war of Liberation. Yet Mr. Disraeli gave a truthful account of his motives. He had no policy. Hence when he dissolved Parliament, as he was bound to do after winding up the business of the Session, he must have gone to the country on a purely personal issue between himself and Mr. Gladstone. Doubtless at a time when the nation was getting wearied of restless statesmen, a contest of the sort would have been disastrous to Mr. Gladstone, but not when raised by Mr. Disraeli, who was notoriously even flightier than his antagonist. To have won a General Election on such an issue the Tories must have fought under Lord Derby's banner. Mr. Disraeli, however, had no intention of giving way to Lord Derby, and his followers did not dare to put him aside, more especially as he had in view a clever scheme of strategy. His idea was to force Mr. Gladstone to dissolve on a positive programme, and then to defeat him by a running fire of destructive criticism. These tactics might bring the Tories back to office under his own leadership, absolutely uncommitted to any definite policy whatever.

When Mr. Gladstone resumed office it was soon seen that he had not only wrecked his party, but compromised the *prestige* of the House of Commons. His was admittedly a weakened and discredited Ministry. It had been one of Mr. Disraeli's favourite theories that whenever a feeble Ministry attempted to govern England, power passed from Parliament to the Crown. At one time, no doubt, the theory seemed plausible enough, but the Session of 1873 completely upset it. No sooner had Mr. Gladstone returned to office than power passed from the Crown and the House of Commons to the House of Lords. The will of the Peers was supreme over all. They said or did what they pleased, and quashed Bill after Bill without the least regard to the sentiments of the Queen, the desire of the Commons, or the interests of the country. The Peers rejected the Bill improving Church organisation contemptuously, though it had passed the Commons without a division. By asserting obsolete privileges of appellate jurisdiction over Scotland and Ireland, they disfigured the Judicature Bill, which consolidated the law courts and constituted a high court of appeal. They destroyed Mr. Stansfeld's useful Rating Bill almost without debate. They opened a way for the reintroduction of purchase in the army, rejected the Landlord and Tenant Bill without even seeing it, and quashed a Bill, promoted by Mr. Vernon Harcourt and supported by the Government, to protect working men against being imprisoned under the law of conspiracy for non-statutable offences committed in the course of a strike. And the curious thing was that from the day Mr.

Gladstone returned to office to lead a moribund Ministry and a disorganised House of Commons, the people submitted without a murmur to the resolute and decisive despotism of the Peers. Thus it came to pass that when the Session ended the Ministry seemed to have sunk into a dismal swamp of humiliation—a humiliation which was intensified by administrative scandals and internal feuds. It was shown that Mr. Lowe, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, prepared plans of his own for public works, without consulting the Public Works Office. Mr. Ayrton, as head of that Department, in his place in the House of Commons, repudiated all responsibility for the votes of money for his department which were altered without his knowledge and consent by Mr. Lowe. There was a painful "scene" in the House of Commons at the end of July when these disclosures were made, and when Mr. Ward Hunt formally asked the Government if its Chancellor of the Exchequer and Chief Commissioner of Works were on speaking terms. Mr. Baxter created another scandal by suddenly resigning office as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, because Mr. Lowe had ignored him in the matter of the Zanzibar mail contract. Mr. Lowe was proved to have given the contract for carrying letters from the Cape to Zanzibar to the Union Steam Company for £26,000, whereas the British India Steam Company had offered to do the work for £16,000. Mr. Lowe declared he had never heard of the offer; yet Lord Kimberley, the Secretary for the Colonies, knew of it, and the tender was transmitted by the Indian Postmaster-General to Mr. Monsell, the British Postmaster-General, who passed it on to the Treasury. At the Treasury Mr. Lowe concealed the papers relating to the contract from Mr. Baxter, avowedly because he was known to be hostile to it. A Committee of the House investigated the scandal, and disallowed the contract. This affair was also accompanied by the final revelation of the truth as to what was known as the telegraph scandal.

In spring the working classes were profoundly disturbed by a rumour that the Government had seized the Savings Banks balances, and were building great extensions of telegraph lines with the money without consulting Parliament on the subject. The foundation for the story was a discovery made by the Auditor-General of Public Accounts. He reported that the Telegraph Department of the Post Office had for some time evaded the control of the House of Commons over its expenditure. Instead of submitting to the House estimates for proposed works, and asking for a vote on account, Mr. Scudamore, the Chief of the Department, a brilliant but too zealous official, took whatever money he wanted from the Post Office receipts, and spent it as he pleased on works of extension and improvement. He submitted no estimates in detail, but always asked the House of Commons for a sum for new works, which enabled him to replace the Post Office receipts which he had used. A large portion of the money thus spent was taken from the Savings Banks balances which everybody understood were always paid in for safety to the Commissioners of National Debt,

who invested them in Consols. Though no money was missing, it shook public confidence in the Government to find its administrative power so feeble that it could not prevent its own servants from tampering with the Savings Banks Deposits, and further investigation aggravated the scandal. It was shown that Lord Hartington when Postmaster-General had, like Mr. Monsell, allowed Mr. Scudamore to manage the Telegraph Department without any supervision, and that the Treasury had so far condoned this gross and culpable negligence that when it did business with Mr. Scudamore it communicated with him directly, and not through either Lord Hartington or Mr. Monsell, who had meekly submitted to be treated as official "dummies." It was shown that the Treasury knew of Mr. Scudamore's irregularities in 1871, and condoned them; that in 1872 it knew of them again, and acted so feebly that even Mr. Lowe admitted he regretted his lack of firmness. It was utterly impossible to defend the conduct of Mr. Lowe, Lord Hartington, Mr. Monsell, and the Chief Commissioner of National Debt, for countenancing these grave irregularities, and the scandal was simply disastrous to the administrative *prestige* of the Ministry.

The Queen was alarmed at the dismal prospect of ruling England by means of a Cabinet so hopelessly discredited, and Mr. Gladstone was equally conscious of the gravity of the situation. Whenever Parliament was prorogued he tried to parry attacks on the administrative incapacity of his Cabinet by reconstructing it. To the great relief of the Queen, he himself took the Chancellorship of the Exchequer into his own hands, so that the public might have a guarantee that the era of chaos at the Treasury was closed.* Mr. Bruce was elevated to the Peerage as Lord Aberdare, and became President of the Council, Lord Ripon having retired for private reasons. Mr. Childers (also for private reasons) vacated the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Mr. Bright took his place and re-entered the Cabinet. Mr. Lowe was removed to the Home Office, and ere the year closed Mr. Adam became Chief Commissioner of Works, Mr. Ayrton taking the office of Judge-Advocate-General. Mr. Monsell also retired from the Postmaster-Generalship, and was succeeded by Dr. Lyon Playfair. The death of Sir William Bovill, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in November, elevated Sir J. D. Coleridge to the Bench. Mr. Henry James accordingly became Attorney-General, and, to the amazement of the Bar, he was succeeded as Solicitor-General by Mr. Vernon Harcourt, whose attacks on the Ministry had thus met with their reward.

Mr. Gladstone's hope was to reinvigorate the Government with a little new blood, and rehabilitate it by means of his influence and reputation as a financial administrator and Mr. Bright's personal popularity among the Nonconformists. Yet the financial work of the Government alone, when administrative

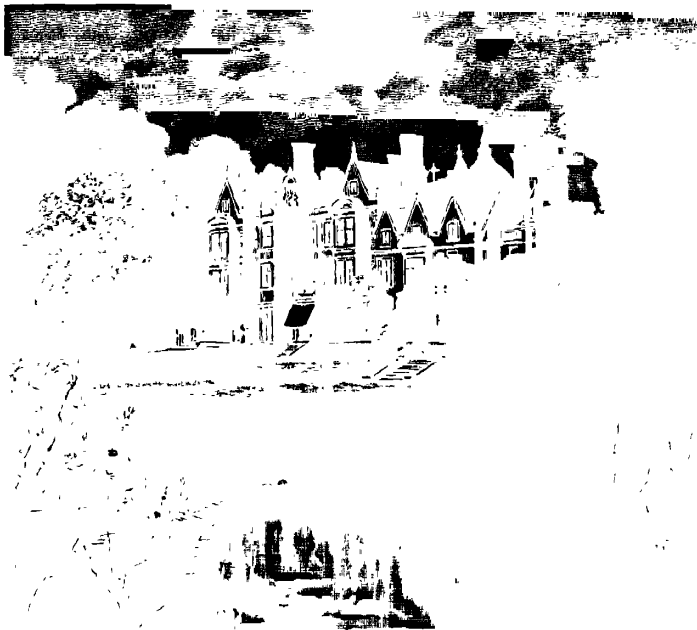
* Mr Gladstone combined this office with that of the Premiership. Sir Robert Walpole, Lord North, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning, and Sir Robert Peel had each held the two offices simultaneously.

blunders were detached from it, and relegated to their true place in political perspective, ought to have won for them the gratitude of the nation. Mr. Vernon Harcourt, who perpetually harassed the Ministry because of its

VIEWS IN WINDSOR. OLD MARKET STREET, AND THE TOWN HALL, FROM HIGH STREET.

growing expenditure—like many financial critics with an imperfect knowledge of book-keeping—failed to see that the apparent growth was not real because much of it was a mere matter of accounting.*

* For example, in 1873 the Public Accounts showed a Postal expenditure of £5,000,000, but then, on the other side of the ledger, the nation was credited with £5,000,000 of receipts earned by the Post-

During their five years of power the Government had remitted £9,000,000 of taxation. They had reduced a chaotic Naval Administration to something resembling order, and not far removed from efficiency; and yet at the Admiralty there had been a saving of £1,500,000 on the Estimates of their predecessors. They had taken the Army out of pawn to its officers by

SANDRINGHAM HOUSE

abolishing Purchase, and had laid the basis for a compact military organisation; yet they had saved £2,300,000 a year at the War Office. The Army and Navy, though by no means efficient, were much more efficient than they had been when Mr. Gladstone's Ministry came to power; and yet they were costing the country £4,000,000 less a year.* In spite of the great increase in

office. The Tory financial critics could not be got to see that the only right way of comparing the real expenditure of a Government at any two selected dates is to deduct from the gross sum moneys which come in aid of outlay, and which are yet not taxes, and then compare the results.

* Mr Disraeli's Government need not be blamed too harshly for letting the Army alone. Till the fall of the Second Empire Parliament would probably not have voted the money or passed the measures necessary to put an end to the chaotic confusion and Crimean inefficiency of the military system under which orators used to declare "British troops had ever marched to victory." But Mr. Corry, Mr. Disraeli's First Lord of the Admiralty, had no such excuse for his neglect to build first-class ironclads. Even the Manchester Radicals would have voted him the money

Civil Service expenditure—much of which, like the Education Vote, being morally rather than financially reproductive, showed no "results" in figures on the credit side of the public ledger—there had been since 1857 a decrease in the drain on the taxes of about £1,500,000.* Mr. Lowe's last Budget in 1873 did not discredit the Ministry. In spite of his reductions of taxation in the previous year, he had obtained £2,000,000 more than his estimated income. For the coming year (1873-4) he estimated a surplus of £4,746,000; but he could promise no great remission of taxation, for he had to pay the damages (£3,000,000) which had been awarded at Geneva to the United States Government. Still, he halved the sugar duties and took another penny off the Income Tax. With all his faults, he was accordingly entitled to claim credit for reducing the Income Tax to the lowest point it had ever touched (threepence in the £) since it had been imposed by Peel in 1842. And yet Mr. Lowe could not, even with such a Budget, refrain from expressing his thankfulness in an acrid gibe against the populace. Referring to the marvellous increase in the receipts from Customs and Excise, he said he had been able to produce a good Budget because the nation had drunk itself out of debt.

Apart from the political strife and Ministerial embarrassments which so severely taxed the nerves of the Queen, life at Court was not very eventful. Indeed, it centred chiefly round the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were discharging vicariously and with great popular acceptance most of the social duties of the Crown. This fact was recognised by the Queen herself in a curious indirect kind of way. The Prince of Wales, though very far from being a spendthrift, has never shrunk from incurring expenditure which, in his judgment, was necessary to maintain the dignity and *prestige* of the Crown in a manner worthy of the great nation whose Sovereignty is his heritage. But he has always refrained from appealing to Parliament for subsidies and subventions, either for himself or his family, other than those to which he is equitably and legally entitled by his official position in the State. This was all the more creditable to him, for two reasons. He was surrounded by companions, some of whom did not scruple to take advantage of his generosity. A considerable section of the public during the controversy that raged over the Princess Louise's dowry had expressed a strong opinion in favour of limiting future Royal grants to an additional allowance to the Heir Apparent, for the purpose of meeting the unanticipated expenditure which

for that purpose had he been courageous enough to confess what was the truth, namely, that when he took office the British Navy was behind the age, and as a fighting force pitiably weak and obsolete. Another costly blunder was committed by Mr Corry. He had not firmness enough to silence clamorous claims for commissions. Hence he over-officered the Navy, till it almost seemed at one time as if he meant to man his line-of-battle ships with his redundant admirals and his superfluous captains.

* This was due, however, not so much to the action of the Government as to the falling-in of terminable annuities, which reduced the charges for the National Debt.

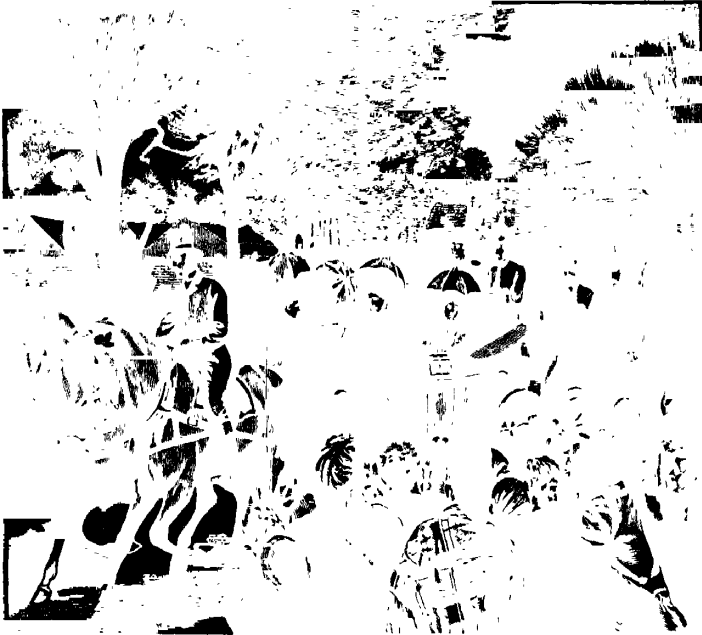
he had incurred by taking the Queen's place as the head of English Society. Sandringham, moreover, had not turned out a remunerative property, and the Prince was therefore under strong temptations to give a favouring ear to unwise counsels on this delicate subject. These, however, he put aside with manly common sense, and his affairs were arranged on a business-like basis, which would have met with the approval of his father, who was always of opinion that matters of the sort were best managed inside the family circle. The only public indication that was given of arrangements which must necessarily be spoken of with great reserve was afforded by Mr. Gladstone when, on the 21st of July, he introduced a Bill enabling the Queen to bequeath real property to the Prince of Wales, so that he could alienate it at will. The obvious advantage of such a measure was that it imparted a fresh elasticity to the financial resources of the Heir Apparent. For he had discovered a fact hitherto unrevealed in the history of his dynasty in England, namely, that though the Sovereign could bequeath to the Heir Apparent alienable personality, such as hard cash, land or real property so bequeathed, became, when vested in his person on ascending the Throne, the property of the State, and therefore inalienable. In fact, supposing the Queen had left Balmoral, an estate which she and her husband bought out of their private purse, to her eldest son, then, though it had been her own private property, it must become public property whenever the Prince of Wales became King. The state of the law on the subject was inequitable and inconvenient. For if the Queen wished to aid her eldest son in meeting expenses which he was every day incurring on her behalf, she had either to sell her private estates, endeared to her by a thousand tender family associations, or appeal to Parliament for a grant, a course which was as objectionable to her as to the Prince. On the other hand, if these private estates, when inherited by the Prince at her death, could be treated as private property, the Heir Apparent could easily obtain any additional subsidies he might need, by mortgaging his expectations. And yet the generous intentions of the Queen, and the honest purposes of the Prince which formed the motives for the Bill, were snappishly and churlishly misrepresented by several Radicals, and by at least one aristocratic Whig. Mr. George Anderson opposed the Bill because Sovereigns kept their wills secret. Sir Charles Dilke objected to it because he said it allowed the indefinite accumulation of private property in the hands of the Sovereign. His argument, in fact, came to this, that profligacy in the Monarch, should be encouraged by the posthumous confiscation of his private estates. As for Mr. Bouverie, he asked what business the Sovereign had to possess large private means? The Bill, however, passed, and an incident which at one time threatened to be unpleasant for the Queen and her children was discreetly closed.

In March, the Queen's refusal to permit the persons who represented England at the French Exhibition of 1867 to accept decorations, was made the subject of debate by Lord Houghton in the House of Lords. Her

Majesty's prejudice against introducing Foreign Orders and titles into England had often given offence to naturalised stockjobbers and pushing *parvenus*. She never even took kindly to the use of the title of "Baron" by the Rothschilds, though she tolerated it for reasons of an entirely exceptional nature. But if the Orders were admitted the titles must soon follow, and society might be inundated some day with Russian "Counts," who, as the French say, had "a career behind them," or with Austrian "Barons," who had bought their honours out of the profits of financial gambling. The English Court, for this reason, has such strong opinions on the point that even English nobles, inheriting foreign titles, conceal them so successfully that few people ever suspect that the Duke of Wellington is a Portuguese prince, the head of the House of Hamilton a French duke, or Lord Denbigh a Prince of an uncrowned branch of the Imperial House of Hapsburg. It need not be said that Lord Houghton's complaints were generally admitted to be frivolous, and that the Queen's feeling that she must be the sole fountain of honour in England, was shared by the nation. If the services which an individual has rendered abroad have benefited England or mankind, or if it is possible to form a correct estimate of their value in England, the Queen held she must either reward them herself, or retain the right to permit the individual to receive a foreign decoration for them. There never has been any practical difficulty in dealing with such cases, and no self-respecting person has ever felt aggrieved because he was debarred from accepting Foreign Orders.*

On the 4th of January the Queen was grieved to hear of the death of the ex-Emperor of the French, at Chislehurst. Her tender sympathy was freely bestowed on the ex-Empress, who was prostrated by her misfortunes and her sorrow. Five years before, the death of this strange man, whose Imperial life seemed ever shadowed by the great crime of the *coup d'état*, would have convulsed Europe. Now the world seemed quite indifferent to it, and when politicians spoke of it, all they said was that by disorganising the Imperialist party in France, it lessened the labours of M. Thiers in founding the Third Republic. The English people, whom Napoleon III. had kept in feverish dread for two decades, and whose support and friendship he had rewarded with the perfidy of the Benedetti Treaty, did not pretend to mourn over his grave. They spoke of his character, which was a moral paradox, and his career, which was a political crime, without prejudice or ill-feeling. But as they thought

* Of course the Queen cannot prevent a man from receiving a Foreign decoration, and he can wear it in Society without incurring prosecution, just as he might, if vulgar enough, wear a masonic star of the cheeseplate order of architecture on his breast. But he cannot wear it at Court, and the grievance of the British snob is that the Queen's objection to his accepting a Foreign Order prevents Foreign Governments—except semi-barbarous ones—from bestowing it on him. Queen Elizabeth said that "she did not like her dogs to wear any collar but her own." It is not so generally known that the Queen's grandfather, George III, whose metaphors were usually of a more pastoral character than those of the great Tudor Princess, expressed the same feeling when he said that he "liked his sheep to wear his own mark."

of the horrors of the Crimean War, the wasted millions which Palmerston spent in fortifying the South Coast, and the final act of treachery which the German Government had revealed in July, 1870, there were some who considered that the Queen might have been less demonstrative in her manifestations of sorrow. But Her Majesty has never been free from the defects of her qualities. Quick to resent betrayal, her anger passes away as swiftly, when the betrayer broken by an avenging Destiny, and prostrate amid the wreck of his fortunes

THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO VICTORIA PARK.

and his reputation, appeals to her sympathies. When Louis Philippe stood before her as a hunted fugitive, the Queen forgot the Spanish marriages. When Charles Louis Bonaparte fled for refuge to Chislehurst, she was too generous to remember his scheme for stealing Belgium.

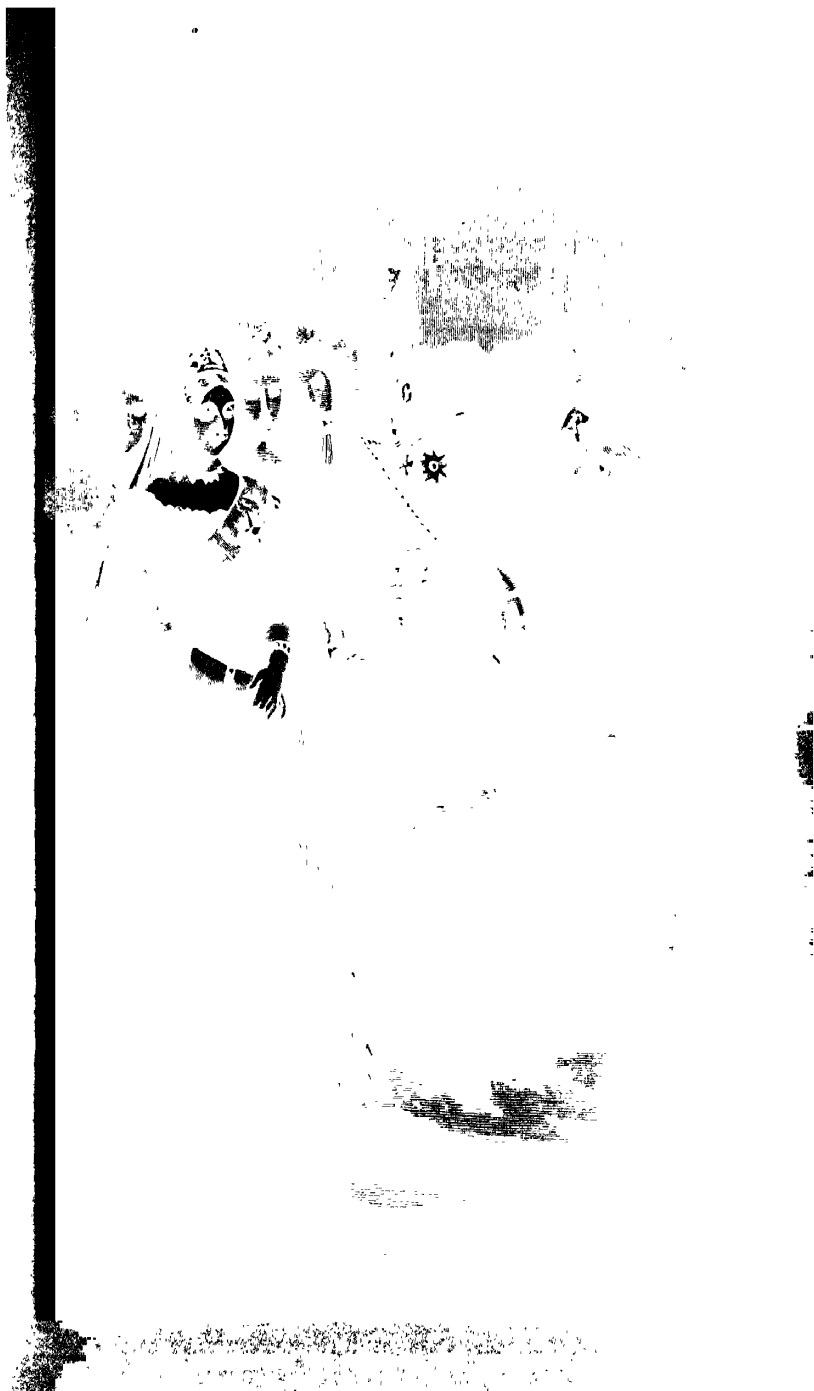
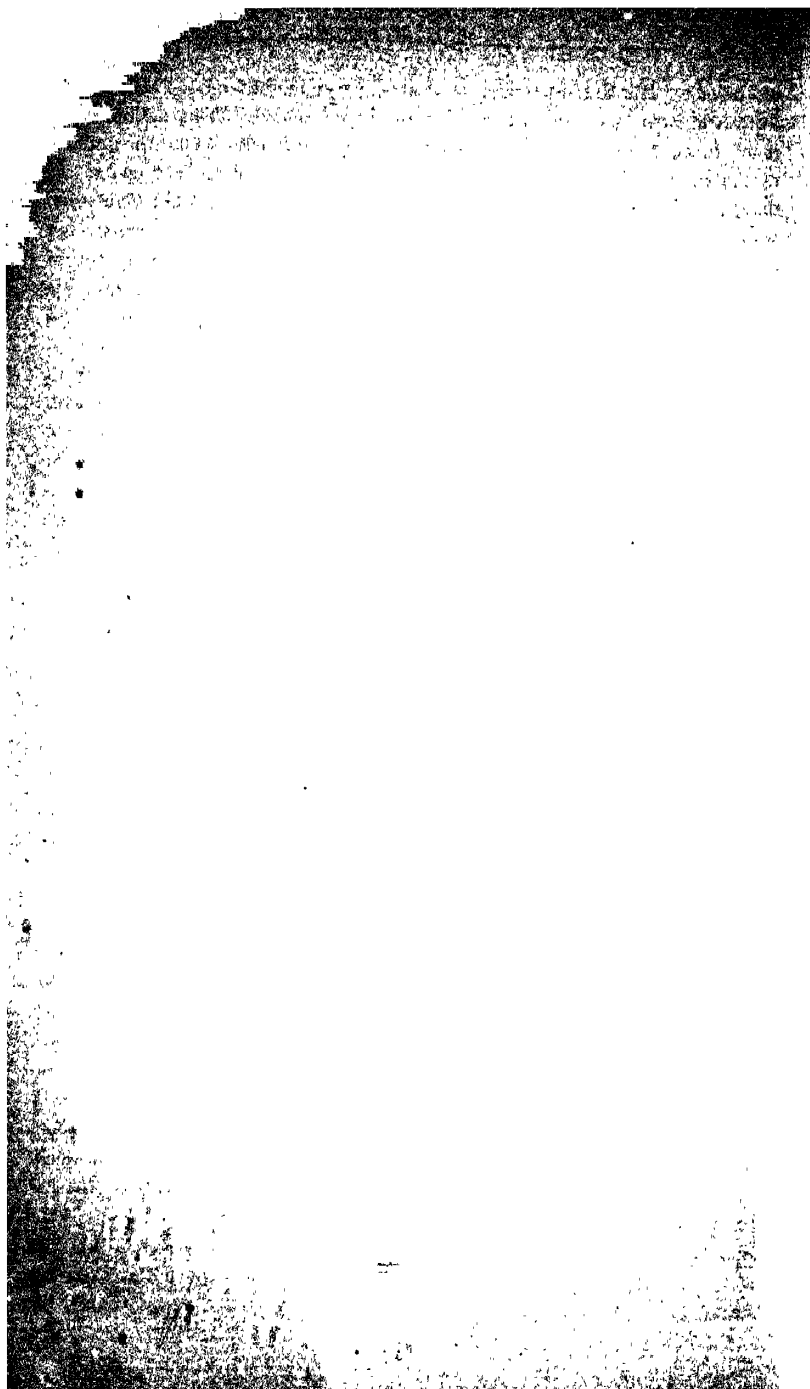
When spring came round, "the great joyless city," as Mr. Walter Besant calls the East End of London, was gladdened by a Royal visit, for on the 2nd of April the Queen went there to open the new Victoria Park. She was accompanied by the Princess Beatrice, and drove from Buckingham Palace to the park in an open carriage. Her route was along Pall Mall, Regent Street, Portland Place, Marylebone Road, and Euston Road to King's Cross, up Pentonville Hill to the "Angel" at Islington, beyond which point along Upper

Street, Essex Road, Ball's Pond Road, through Dalston and Hackney, surging crowds of people lined both sides of the entire way. Streamers of gaudy bunting floated overhead from house to house across Islington Green. The Dalston and Hackney stations of the North London Railway, the Town Hall, and shops of Hackney were conspicuously decorated, and it was noticed that the Queen went among the poor of the East End without any military escort, a feat that few European Sovereigns would have dared to emulate. At the Town Hall she halted and received a bouquet, while the people sang the National Anthem. At the temporary entrance to Victoria Park a triple arch of triumph had been erected, deep enough to resemble a long *marquee* in three compartments, open at both ends. It was handsomely fitted up in scarlet and gold, and here was stationed a guard of honour of the Fusiliers, while an escort of Life Guards was in waiting to conduct her Majesty round the park. Even the slums in this dismal quarter exhibited meagre decorations, eloquent alike of loyalty and indigence. A poor shoemaker, having nothing better to show, hung out his leather apron, on which the Queen saw with a thrill of interest that he had chalked up in flaming red letters, "Welcome as flowers in May. The Queen, God bless her." The enthusiasm of the populace on this occasion was due to a curious idea that prevailed all over the East End. This visit, they said, was no ordinary one, because the Queen had come of her own free will to see the East End—a very different thing from the East End going westwards to see her. Hence a hurricane of cheers greeted the Queen wherever she went, and was more gladsome to her ears than the ornate language of the loyal addresses which she received. Her Majesty returned by Cambridge Heath Road, and when she came to Shoreditch the way was rendered almost impassable by an eager crowd. From Bishopsgate Street to the Bank she was hailed with passionate loyalty, which seemed to lose all restraint when on passing the Mansion House she rose in her carriage and smilingly bowed to the Lord Mayor, who stood in his State robes under the portico and saluted her. She then drove along the Embankment to the Palace, having charmed the sadder quarters of London with a visit which the people took to mean that they were not forgotten or ignored by their Queen.

On the 3rd of April, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Duke of Cambridge, as President of Christ's Hospital—the famous Blue-coat School—visited the Queen at Buckingham Palace to present the boys of the Mathematical School, who had come to exhibit their drawings and charts to her Majesty. A number of gentlemen connected with the Hospital had the honour of being presented by the Duke to the Queen when she entered the Drawing-room. Her Majesty then inspected, apparently with great interest, the maps and charts which were held before her by each boy separately.

The foreign curiosity of the London season in 1873 was the Shah of Persia. Soon after the Queen's visit to the East End ceased to be discussed, the coming of the Shah was the favourite topic of talk. At the end of April his

departure from Teheran amidst the blessings of an overawed crowd of 80,000 subjects was chronicled. On the 12th of May he was heard of, painfully navigating the waters of the Caspian in a Russian steamer, and wonderful tales of his progress were told. He had three wives, and nobody knew how many other ladies in his train holding brevet-matrimonial rank. Was he going to bring them to England? If so, could more than one of them be received, and in that case how were the rest to be disposed of? A cloud of despondency began to settle over the subordinates in the Lord Chamberlain's department. Would it be possible, it was asked, to persuade the Queen to invite each of the Shah's wives separately—one to Buckingham Palace, one to Windsor, and one to Osborne? Later on it was reported that not only was the Shah bringing his harem, but his Cabinet Ministers also. Was his visit likely to be free from danger? Might not people begin to cherish strange fancies, if the Shah thus gave them ocular proof that an ancient country could get on wonderfully well without a sovereign and without a government? Gradually astounding rumours of his wealth were sent round. He had brought only half a million sterling for pocket-money, because there had just been a famine in Persia; still the sum would meet the modest wants of his exalted position. Indeed, through a telegraphic blunder, the sum was first stated as £5,000,000. He was said to be covered with jewels and precious stones, and he wore a dagger which blazed with diamonds, so that one could only view it comfortably through ground glass. In June the officials of the Court were relieved from a supreme anxiety. Ere he got half-way over Europe the Shah had sent his harem back to Persia. As he approached England he was described as looking terribly bored, and his black velvet doublet, covered with diamonds, and ornamented with emerald epaulettes, was said by one irreverent journalist to give him the appearance of "a dark shrub under the early morning dew." To the good English people he was a mighty Asiatic potentate, representing an ancient dynasty, and the popular cry was that he must be impressed with the power of England. Had they understood that his great grandfather was a petty chief, who at a time of revolution established a dynasty, and promptly began, with the aid of his relatives, to ruin Persia, and that their visitor himself ruled over a country with the population of Ireland and twice the area of Germany, they might have made themselves less ridiculous. Mr. Gladstone was even pestered on the subject, and had to turn the matter off with a smiling suggestion that it would be well to let the Shah fix his own programme, and not put him in chains when he landed on our shores. But in Court circles it was whispered with dread that it might be well to fetter the bedizened barbarian, for he had odd notions of etiquette, and had even rudely poked the august arm of the German Empress, when he wanted to call her attention at the theatre to something on the stage. On the 18th of June, however, the long-expected guest landed at Dover from Ostend. The cannon of the Channel fleet thundered forth a salute, and the Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Arthur welcomed him as he stepped

BLUE-COAT BOYS AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

on the pier. His Majesty arrived at Charing Cross in the evening, and London forthwith went mad about him. It talked and thought about nothing else, much to the disgust of the Tory wirepullers, who saw with sorrow the scandal of the Zanzibar mail contract absolutely wasted on a frivolous metropolis. It may be recorded that when he appeared the Shah disappointed sightseers, who were looking out for the black velvet tunic powdered with diamonds, and ornamented with epaulettes of emeralds. His Majesty, in fact, was clad in a blue military frock-coat, faced with rows of brilliants and large rubies; his belt and the scabbard of his scimitar were likewise bright with jewels, and so was his cap.

The *suite* of apartments placed at the disposal of his Imperial Majesty in Buckingham Palace had been put in direct telegraphic communication with Teheran, and though it was expected he would be impressed by being able to talk to anybody in his capital without leaving his room, the arrangement seemed rather to bore him than otherwise. An infinite variety of entertainments was prepared for him, and the programme he had to work through seemed too extensive for human endurance during the last ten days of his visit. On the 20th of June the Queen, who was at Balmoral when he arrived, came to Windsor to receive the Persian monarch in State.

The preparations for the Shah's public welcome were worthy of the Royal borough. As the train steamed into Windsor Station, the Princes and others in waiting to receive him welcomed him as he stepped out, arrayed in a State uniform flashing with gems. The Mayor and Recorder then read an Address, to which the Shah briefly replied, both the Address and reply being translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson. Accompanied by Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold he was driven to the Castle, where the Queen received him. The reception was held in the White Drawing Room, and the Shah conferred upon the Queen the Persian Order, and also the new Order which he had then, with a gallantry hardly to be expected of an Asiatic, just instituted for ladies. Luncheon was served in the Oak Room, after which the Queen accompanied her guest to the foot of the staircase on his leaving the Castle.

In the evening a splendid entertainment was given to his Majesty by the Lord Mayor at Guildhall, to which 3,000 persons were invited. At this banquet the Shah was placed on a daïs with the Princess of Wales, the Lord Mayor on his left hand, and the Czarevna, wife of the Czarewitch, on his right. The Shah wore a blue uniform with a belt of diamonds, and the ribbon and Star of the Garter, which had been conferred on him at Windsor in the afternoon. The scene at the ball which followed was unusually brilliant and picturesque. When the Shah had taken his seat the first quadrille was formed. He did not dance, but when the company had gone through four dances he joined the supper-party. About midnight his Majesty and the Royal Family left the scene. This magnificent entertainment was the first of many. The Shah was hurried in rapid succession to a Review of Artillery at Woolwich, and another of

the Fleet at Spithead, to a State performance at the Italian Opera, to the International Exhibition, to a concert in the Royal Albert Hall, and to a Review in Windsor Park of 8,000 troops. At this Review what impressed him most were the batteries of Light Artillery, the physique and drill of the Highlanders, and the brilliant skirmishing of the Rifles. When the spectacle was over he presented his scimitar to the Duke of Cambridge. An odd sight was witnessed when the Shah visited the West India Dock and Greenwich on the 25th of June. He went in an open carriage from Buckingham Palace to the Tower Wharf, and embarked amidst a salvo of artillery. The river was filled with an extraordinary collection of ships, barges, boats, and vessels of every description. Crowds, cheering and shouting like crazy beings, swarmed on decks, rigging, wharves, roadways, and even on the roofs and crane stages of the warehouses. A striking effect was produced during this trip by the floating steam fire-engines of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, which, closely lashed together, all at once saluted the Shah as he passed, by casting up many perpendicular jets of water to a great height in the air. On the evening of this day, by command of the Queen, a State ball was given at Buckingham Palace, at which the Persian Sovereign and the British Princes and Princesses were present. After a short visit to Liverpool, the Shah left England on the 5th of July, no abatement having taken place in the entertainments in his honour up to the last.

The Shah's departure from London, and his embarkation for Cherbourg on board the French Government yacht *Rapide*, was the final act of these remarkable proceedings. He was accompanied to the Victoria Station by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Arthur, the Duke of Cambridge, and Prince Christian, all in full uniform. The Shah having been made a Knight of the Garter during his visit to England, her Majesty presented him with the badge and collar set in diamonds. He in turn gave his photograph set in diamonds to the Queen and the Prince of Wales. To Earl Granville he offered his jewelled portrait, but that wily diplomatist, knowing what was meant, demurely said he could only accept the portrait if the precious stones were removed from it. London never had such a lion before or since, and the fuss made over him led many to imagine that his visit was of high political importance. It was certainly odd that the heir to the Russian throne, who must have been satiated with the Shah's society in St. Petersburg, persisted in being seen everywhere in his train in London. Perhaps at his interview with Lord Granville he had asked for some promise of protection against Russian encroachment, and as it was impossible for Russia to conquer the Tekke Turcomans unless she could draw her supplies from the Golden Province of Khorassan, such a promise, if given and kept, would have effectually barred the march of the Cossack towards Herat. If these matters were talked of, events subsequently showed that no such promises had been made, and that Lord Granville, like his predecessors, firmly adhered to the fatal policy initiated by England in

order to buy the aid of the Czar against Napoleon I.—the policy of abandoning Persia to Russian "influence."

It was semi-officially announced in the middle of July that the Duke of Edinburgh had been betrothed (11th July) to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna, the only daughter of the Czar of Russia. The affair had been the subject of some difficult and delicate negotiations, not so much because there was some difference of religion between the bride and bridegroom, but because, being an only daughter, the parents of the Grand Duchess felt that parting with her would be a bitter heart-wrench. She was devoted to her father, as he was to her, and it was said that if he had given his crown to the English Prince he could not have testified more strongly his esteem for him than he had done by bestowing on him his daughter's hand. "I hear," writes the Princess Louis of Hesse from Seeheim (9th July), to the Queen, "Affie [the Duke of Edinburgh] comes on Thursday night. Poor Marie is very happy, and so quiet. . . . How I feel for the parents, this only daughter (a character of *Hingebung* [perfect devotion] to those she loves)—the last child entirely at home, as the parents are so much away that the two youngest, on account of their studies, no longer travel about." *

This alliance was unusually interesting, for the Duke of Edinburgh was practically within the Royal succession.† Nothing but an Act of Parliament barring him from the succession, such as men talked of passing against the hated Duke of Cumberland, who conspired with the loyal Orangemen of Ulster to oust the Queen from the throne, could prevent the Duke from succeeding to the Crown if the Prince of Wales and his children did not survive the Queen. There was a very general feeling that this marriage was worthy of the country. Apart from her great wealth, the only daughter of the Czar of All the Russias appeared to the average British elector to be a much more fitting mate for a Prince who stood very near the English throne, than an impecunious young lady from a minor Teutonic "dukery"—if we may venture to borrow a term which Lord Beaconsfield made classical. Thoughtful observers of public life were grateful to the Queen for establishing a precedent which enlarged the area of matrimonial selection for English Princes. Since the reign of George II. this had been so closely limited to Germany, that the Royal Family of England from generation to generation had been purely and exclusively German. There was, therefore, no popular outcry against a Parliamentary settlement for the Duke of Edinburgh. Mr. Gladstone, on the 29th

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 308.

† If, for example, the Prince of Wales and his children died, the Duke of Edinburgh would have succeeded him. The succession to the English throne, unlike that to most European Sovereignties, is governed by the same law which regulates the succession to all Scottish dignities and most of the very ancient English baronies, namely, descent is to heirs general, male or female; but then all males must be exhausted ere the right of the females accrues. Thus the Duke stood before his elder sisters and their families in the line of succession.

of July, carried a resolution in the House of Commons, giving the Duke of Edinburgh an annuity of £25,000 a year, and securing to the Grand Duchess Marie £6,000 a year of jointure in the event of her becoming a widow. The Minister was not met with any formidable opposition. When Mr. Holt and

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Mr. Newdegate began to attack the Grand Duchess's religion, the House instantly flew into a passion and hooted them into silence. When the resolution was debated two days afterwards, Mr. Taylor, who objected to the vote on the ground that the bride was one of the richest heiresses in Europe, was literally effaced by Mr. Gladstone. Amid deafening cheers from all parts of the House, he asked Mr. Taylor if he dared to stand up before his own constituents and beg the Russian Czar to accept a poor English Prince for a

son-in-law on the plea that his daughter had a large fortune? The grant was carried by a vote of 170 to 20.

The marriage itself was solemnised on the 23rd of January, 1874, at the Czar's Winter Palace in St. Petersburg in accordance with the Greek and the Anglican rite. All that wealth and absolute power could do to invest

THE DUCHESS OF EDINBURGH

(From a Photograph by W. and D Downey.)

the ceremony with Imperial pomp and splendour was done. Among those invited were members of the Holy Synod, and of the High Clergy of Russia; the members of the Council of the Empire, Senators, Ambassadors, and other members of the Corps Diplomatique, with the ladies of their families, general officers, officers of the Guard, of the Army and Navy. The great Russian ladies wore the national costume, while the nobles and gentlemen were in full uniform. The Queen of England was represented by Viscount Sydney and

Lady Augusta Stanley. On their arrival at the church the Duke and Grand Duchess took their places in front of the altar, where were standing the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and the chief priests, attired in magnificent vestments. The Czar and Czarina were on the right of the altar, the Prince of Wales and the Russian Grand Dukes standing opposite. The most interesting portions of the ceremony were the handing of the rings to the bride and bridegroom, the crowning of the Royal couple, and the procession of the newly wedded pair, with the Metropolitan and clergy, Prince Arthur, and the Grand Dukes round the analogion or lectern, the bride and bridegroom carrying lighted candles in their left hands. On the conclusion of this part of the ceremony, the bride and bridegroom proceeded to the Salle d'Alexandre, where the Anglican ceremony was performed by Dean Stanley, the bride being given away by the Emperor, while Prince Arthur officiated as his brother's groomsman. The Duke of Edinburgh and the Grand Duchess Marie used prayer books which had been sent to them by the Queen, and the Grand Duchess carried a bouquet of myrtle from the bush at Osborne, which had been so often laid under tribute for the marriages of the Queen's children. The wedding-day was celebrated in the principal towns of Great Britain with much popular rejoicing.

The Queen deeply regretted her inability to be present at a ceremony so interesting to her, and, in some respects, momentous for her House. Nor was she the only member of the Royal circle who entertained the same feeling. Her daughter, the Princess Louis of Hesse, writing to her from Darmstadt on the 23rd of January, 1874, says, "On our dear Affie's [Prince Alfred's] birthday, a few tender words. It must seem so strange to you not to be near him. My thoughts are constantly with them all, and we have only the *Times* account, for no one writes here. They are all too busy, and, of course, all news comes to you. What has Augusta [Lady Augusta Stanley] written, and Vicky and Bertie? Any extracts or other newspaper accounts but what we see would be most welcome. . . . God bless and protect them, and may all turn out well." Artless passages like these are worth quoting, if for no better reason than this, that they illustrate the strength of the sentiment of domesticity which has not only bound the Royal children to the Queen, but to each other, all through life. Even after the Queen had complied with her daughter's request, and sent her some letters about the ceremony, the Princess recurs to the same theme, saying, "Dear Marie [the Duchess of Edinburgh] seems to make the same impression on *all*. How glad I am she is so quite what I thought and hoped. Such a wife must make Affie happy, and do him good, and be a great pleasure to yourself, which I always liked to think." And again, a few days later, she writes to the Queen as follows:—"I have a little time before breakfast to thank you so much for the enclosures, also the Dean's [Stanley's] letter through Beatrice. We are most grateful for being allowed to hear these most interesting

reports. It brings everything so much nearer. How pleasant it is to receive only satisfactory reports." *

The Grand Duchess, when she came to her new home, brought her own weather with her. She was introduced by the Queen to London and the Londoners on the 12th of March, in the midst of a bleak and blinding snow-storm. That dense crowds of people should line the street, and stand for hours in the half-frozen slush, for an opportunity of bidding the Grand Duchess welcome to her new home, afforded an impressive testimony to the deep-seated loyalty of the capital. The Queen, the Grand Duchess, the Duke of Edinburgh, and other members of the Royal Family, left Windsor Castle at 11 o'clock in closed carriages for the railway station, under a brilliant escort of Scots Greys. The Royal train steamed to Paddington terminus, which was all ablaze with Russian and English colours. The people thronged the windows, balconies, the house-tops, and the pavements, and each side of the roadway, all along from Paddington to Buckingham Palace, and the Queen and the Royal couple showed their appreciation of the splendid reception which was given to them by braving the snowstorm in an open landau. The Queen, who was dressed in half-mourning, smilingly bowed in acknowledgment of the hearty cheering, and the Grand Duchess, who sat by her side, attired in a purple velvet mantle edged with fur, a pale blue silk dress and white bonnet, was evidently surprised at the warm greeting she received. The route was lined by the military and police. The streets were full of loyal but bedraggled decorations, and grimly festive with limp flags and illegible mottoes. Nothing could be more gracious than the smiling demeanour of the Queen and her new daughter-in-law, and nothing more pitiable than the obvious discomfort of the poor ladies-in-waiting, who sat palpably shivering in their carriages. At night the chief thoroughfares were brilliantly illuminated. "I hope," writes the Princess Louis of Hesse to the Queen, "you were not the worse for all your exertions. . . . Such a warm reception must have touched Marie, and shown how the English cling to their Sovereign and her House." Yet, after the first flush of excitement had passed away, the Russian Princess began to suffer from the common complaint of all Northern women—*nostalgia*, or home-sickness. "Marie must feel it very deeply," writes the Princess Louis to the Queen (7th April), "for to leave so delicate and loving a mother must seem almost wrong. How strange this side of human nature always seems—leaving all you love most, know best, owe all debts of gratitude to, for the comparatively unknown! The lot of parents is indeed hard, and of such self-sacrifice." This incident seems to have led to a curious correspondence between the Queen and her daughter, in which her Majesty apparently gave her some solemn warnings about the evil done by parents who bring up their daughters for the sole purpose of marrying them. "This," observes the Princess Louis in her reply to her

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, pp. 317 and 318.

MAR IAGE OF THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH.

(*From the Picture by N. Chevalie*.)

mother, "is said to be a too prominent feature in the modern English education of the higher classes. . . . I want to bring up the girls without *seeking* this as the sole object for the future—to feel that they can fill up their lives so well otherwise. . . A marriage for the sake of marriage is surely the greatest mistake a woman can make. . . . I know what an absorbing feeling that of devotion to one's parent is. When I was at home it filled my whole soul. It does still in a great degree, and *heimweh* [home-sickness] does not cease after so long an absence."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION.

Questions of the Recess—The Dissenters and the Education Act—Mr Forster's Compromise—The Nonconformist Revolt—Mr. Bright Essays Conciliation—Sudden Popularity of Mr Lowe—His "Anti-puritanic Nature"—Mr. Chamberlain and the Dissidence of Dissent—Decline of the Liberal Party—Signs of Bye-elections—A Colonial Scandal—The Canadian Pacific Railway—Jobbing the Contract—Action of the Dominion Parliament—Expulsion of the Macdonald Ministry—The Ashanti War—How it Originated—A Short Campaign—The British in Coomassie—Treaty with King Koffee—The Opposition and the War—Skilful Tactics—Discontent among the Radical Ranks—Illness of Mr. Gladstone—A Sick-bed Resolution—Appeal to the Country—Mr Gladstone's Address—Mr Disraeli's Manifesto—Liberal Defeat—Incidents of the Election—"Villadom" to the Front—Mr Gladstone's Resignation—Mr Disraeli's Working Majority—The Conservative Cabinet—The Surplus of £6,000,000—What will Sir Stafford do with it?—Dissensions among the Liberal Chiefs—Mr Gladstone and the Leadership—The Queen's Speech—Mr Disraeli and the Fallen Minister—The Dangers of Hustings Oratory—Mr Ward Hunt's "Paper Fleet"—The Last of the Historic Surpluses—How Sir S. Northcote Disposed of it—The Hour but not the Man—Mr. Cross's Licensing Bill—The Public Worship Regulation Bill—A Curiously Composed Opposition—Mr Disraeli on Lord Salisbury—The Scottish Patronage Bill—Academic Debates on Home Rule—The Endowed Schools Bill—Mr. Stansfeld's Rating Bill—Bill for Consolidating the Factory Acts—End of the Session—The Successes and Failures of the Ministry—Prince Bismarck's Contest with the Roman Catholic Church—Arrest of Count Harry Arnim—Mr. Disraeli's Apology to Prince Bismarck—Mr Gladstone's Desultory Leadership—"Vaticanism"—Deterioration in Society—An Unopposed Royal Grant—Visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Birmingham—Withdrawal of the Duchess of Edinburgh from Court—A Dispute over Precedence—Visit of the Czar to England—Review of the Ashanti War Soldiers and Sailors—The Queen on Cruelty to Animals—Sir Theodore Martin's Biography of the Prince Consort—The Queen tells the Story of its Authorship.

Two questions disturbed the recess of 1873-74—would Mr. Gladstone attempt to conciliate the Dissenters, and would Mr. Bright, at their bidding, denounce the Education Act which had been recently passed by a Government of which he was a leading and authoritative member?

The great grievance of the Dissenters was, that the 25th Clause of the Education Act sanctioned the payment of denominational school-fees for pauper children out of the school-rate. The Dissenters argued that it was as wicked to make them pay rates for Anglican teaching in a school, as it was to make them pay tithes for it in a church. Their opposition was mainly led and organised by Mr. Chamberlain and the Birmingham Secularists, who had so effectually made war on the Liberal Party at bye-elections, that even

Mr. Forster deemed it prudent to conciliate them early in 1873. He offered them a compromise in his Education Amendment Act, which passed before Parliament rose. This Act repealed the 25th Clause, which ordered the payment out of the school rate of fees for pauper children in denominational schools. Instead of that it compelled Boards of Guardians to pay the fees to the indigent parent, leaving it to him to select a school for his child. He might choose a denominational school if he preferred it, only it must be an efficient school under Government inspection. This compromise had, however, been rejected by Mr. Chamberlain, who also complained bitterly that Mr. Forster refused to make the formation of School Boards compulsory in every parish. Nor was the bitterness of the Nonconformists assuaged by an indiscreet speech which Mr. Gladstone had made during the recess at Hawarden, in which he advised the people of that parish to be content with their Church Schools, and not to elect a School Board. The attempts which were made to explain away this speech were not successful, and so when Mr. Bright came before his constituents at Birmingham, he found the Dissenters in open revolt. He therefore deemed it prudent to condemn the Education Act, and oppose Mr. Forster's Education policy. As he had joined a Cabinet in which Mr. Forster held high rank, Mr. Bright's utterances on the subject did the Government more harm than good. The Dissenters put no faith in them, because, they said, amidst all the Ministerial changes that had occurred, Mr. Forster was still at the Education Office. Independent supporters of the Ministry were, on the other hand, surprised to find a statesman of Mr. Bright's reputation condemning on high moral principles an Act which he had himself helped to pass only a year before. Mr. Bright's unfortunate position was further aggravated by the defence which was put forward on his behalf. It was contended that he had no responsibility for Mr. Forster's Education Act. All he had seen was the draft of the Bill, and of that he had, as a Cabinet Minister, formed a favourable impression. But his illness had withdrawn him from active work, and when the measure was passing through the House of Commons evil changes, it was argued, were made in it, and for these Mr. Bright could not be blamed. Unfortunately it was written in the inexorable chronicles of *Hansard* that the only changes made in the Bill were all in favour of the Dissenters. Mr. Bright was accordingly too clearly responsible for the original measure, which was infinitely more odious to the Nonconformists than the one that was finally passed, and which he now disowned and denounced on account of its injustice.

Curiously enough, it was Mr. Lowe who was most successful in winning popularity for the Ministry during the recess. The police found in him a zealous defender. The working-classes heard with pleased surprise a rumour to the effect that he had drafted a Bill conceding the demand of Trade Unionists for a reform of the Labour Laws. His manner of receiving deputations had suddenly become bland and suave. When, for example, the representatives of the Licensed Victuallers went to complain to him of the

Licensing Laws, he was so sympathetic that the leader of the deputation sent a graphic account of the interview to the Press. He explained how he and his colleagues had waited on the new Home Secretary in fear and trembling, but how delighted they were to find that "the great scholar and debater cheered the meeting with many sunny glimpses of his own Anti-puritanic nature."

Still, in spite of Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe, the Liberal cause was waning among the electors. Every day Mr. Chamberlain was driving deeper and deeper into the heart of the Liberal Party the wedge of Dissenting dissension, that ultimately split its electoral organisation in twain. On the whole, the bye-elections favoured the Conservatives. But Mr. Henry James, the new Attorney-General, carried Taunton, and Captain Hayter, owing to an imprudent letter which Mr. Disraeli wrote in support of the Tory candidate, was successful at Bath.*

A Colonial scandal and a Colonial war also attracted much attention during the recess, and though the scandal did not affect the Ministry, the war somewhat chilled the sympathies of many of their strongest supporters.

The story of the scandal was as follows:—The Canadian Government had decided to construct a Pacific Railway that would bridge the wildernesses by which Nature had separated those Provinces, which were united by the British North American Act. The project was deemed so hopeless as a commercial undertaking that the money to carry it on could not be raised. But during the negotiations which ended in the Treaty of Washington, Canada, at the instance of the British Commissioners, made certain concessions, in return for which the British Government undertook to guarantee a loan for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The money was then raised without delay, and Sir Hugh Allen, the richest capitalist in Canada, formed a syndicate, who applied for and obtained the contract for constructing the railway from the Government of Sir John Macdonald, which then held office in the Dominion. It was soon alleged that Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues in the Canadian Cabinet had been bribed to "job" away the contract into Sir Hugh Allen's hands. The Canadian House of Commons believed in the charge, insisted on an investigation, and appointed a Committee of Inquiry. Vigorous efforts were made to hush up the scandal, and by means of the veto of the Crown the Committee was paralysed. An Act authorising it to examine witnesses on oath was passed by the Dominion Parliament, but was vetoed by the Crown on technical grounds. The Members of the Opposition, however, defeated this attempt to stifle effective inquiry, by refusing to serve on what they declared would be a sham tribunal, and public opinion was so incensed that the Government were compelled to appoint to the vacant seats in the Committee persons of high judicial position.

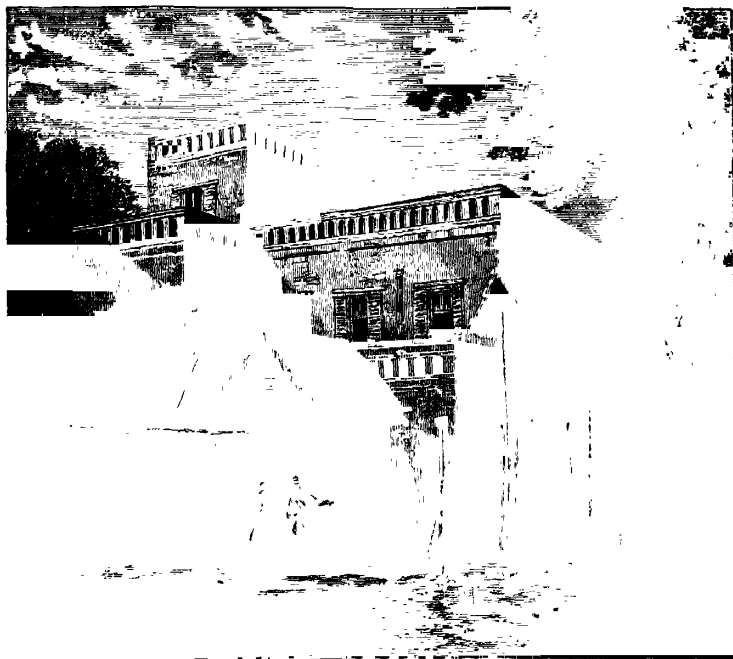
* This was the letter to "My dear Grey," in which Mr. Disraeli accused the Ministry of a policy of "blundering and plundering." As they were in power solely because he had refused office, the attack of course recoiled on his own party.

When under examination by the Commissioners Sir Hugh Allen admitted that he paid Sir John Macdonald £36,000 in order to secure the election of candidates pledged to support his Ministry in the Canadian Parliament. Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues admitted that they received this money, and that they had used it to carry seats in the Province of Ontario for their faction. After the money was paid the contract was given to Sir

COOMASSIE

Hugh Allen. But in this transaction Sir John Macdonald denied that there was any taint of bribery. Like his celebrated countryman, Sir Pertinax Macsycophant, he said, "Dinna ca't breebery. It 's juist geenerosity on the ae haun', an' grawtitude on the ither." In Canada and England a different view was taken of the matter. The Macdonald Ministry was driven from office amidst public execration, and even Lord Dufferin the Governor-General, and the Colonial Office did not escape censure, when it became clear that they were at least privy to the matter.

The Colonial war broke out on the West Coast of Africa. In consideration of being permitted to annex as much of Sumatra as they could subdue, the Dutch had handed over to England their possessions on the West Coast of

Africa. The English Government soon became involved in a dispute with the King of the Ashantis over a subvention which the Dutch had always paid him. The Ashantis attacked the English settlements near Elmina, but were beaten off by a small party of English troops. When the cool season came it was decided to send Sir Garnet Wolseley with an expedition strong enough to march to Coomassie, the Ashanti capital, and, if need be, lay the country

KING KOFFEE'S PALACE, COOMASSIE

waste. Sir Garnet arrived before his troops, and engaged with success in several unimportant skirmishes. The main army left England in December, and on the 5th of February, 1874, it entered Coomassie in triumph. The place was so unhealthy that it had to be evacuated almost immediately. But ere the troops left a Treaty was signed by which King Koffee renounced his claim to sovereignty over the tribes who had been transferred from the Dutch to the British Protectorate. The management of the expedition was not perfect. But it at all events showed that the administrative departments of the Army had improved somewhat since the Crimean War, and that whilst the English private soldier had lost none of his superb fighting qualities, he was now led by officers possessed of a considerable degree of professional

And yet the Ashanti War failed to arrest the decay of public confidence in the Government. With masterly tact the Tory leaders put forward Lord Derby to deprecate wasteful military enterprises and extensions of territory in pestilential climes, whilst Sir Stafford Northcote attacked the Ministry fiercely in September for engaging in such a war without consulting the House of Commons. The effect of this criticism was soon manifest. The sympathies of a large section of the Radicals and of the entire Peace Party were alienated from the Ministry, who now found the arguments they had used to embarrass Mr. Disraeli during the Abyssinian War, turned against themselves. Mr. Bright, in joining a Cabinet which waged a costly war on some wretched African savages without the consent of Parliament, sacrificed the last remnant of authority which his inconsistent attitude to the Education Act had left him. Nor did he regain this authority by writing a letter early in January, in which he expressed an opinion that all difficulties with Ashanti might be settled by arbitration. As the country was actually at war with King Koffee, Mr. Bright's suggestion was taken to mean that England should, by an act of surrender, pave the way for arbitration between herself and the Ashantis. This could not possibly be the opinion of the Government which was vigorously prosecuting the war, and it was clear that on this subject, as on the Education question, there was chaos in the Cabinet. In these circumstances the question came to be would Ministers dissolve, or would they meet Parliament and attempt to regain popularity through the work of a reconstructed Cabinet, whose latest and most influential recruit never spoke in public without showing that, when he did not abandon his principles, he was at variance with his colleagues? Various rumours were current as to a conflict of opinion on the subject between Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues and the Queen. Ultimately it was decided that there should be no dissolution before spring.

Worn with anxiety, irritated by the failure of his plans for recovering popularity through a reconstruction of his Cabinet, sick in body and mind, the Prime Minister in January fell seriously ill. A fortnight before the opening of the Session he paralysed his Party with amazement by deciding to dissolve Parliament. Seldom has so momentous a decision been arrived at in circumstances so strange and so peculiar. Writing to Lord Salisbury on the 26th of January, 1874, Mr. Hayward says: "Alderson (whom I saw yesterday) thought it unlikely that you would be brought back earlier than you intended by the Dissolution, which has come on every one by surprise. The thought first struck Gladstone as he lay rolled up in blankets to perspire away his cold, was mentioned as a thought to daughter and private secretary, then rapidly ripened into a resolution and submitted to the Cabinet. The secret was wonderfully well kept by everybody. The Liberals are delighted, and the Disraelites puzzled and amazed."*

* A Selection from the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 254.

Parliament was dissolved on the 26th of January, and it was reckoned that the new House of Commons would be elected by St. Valentine's Day. Mr. Gladstone's Address to the electors of Greenwich set forth at great length the reasons for his sudden appeal to the country. But Mr. Forster gave the best and briefest explanation, when he told his constituents at Bradford that the Dissolution was due to the petty defeats and humiliations which the Government had suffered since Mr. Disraeli's refusal to relieve them of the cares of office, and to a desire that the electors should decide whether Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Gladstone should have the spending of the enormous surplus of £6,000,000 at the disposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Gladstone in his declarations of policy referred to the Ashanti War as a warning against "equivocal and entangling engagements." He complained that the House of Commons was overburdened with work, and, with an eye to the Irish vote, he approved of delegating some of its business to "local and subordinate authorities" under the "unquestioned control" of Parliament. He held out no hopes of effecting any great changes in the Education Act, but he promised a measure of University Reform, supported the extension of Household Franchise to the Counties, and pledged himself to abolish the Income Tax. His meagre references to Foreign Affairs seemed to show that Mr. Bright had forced the Cabinet to accept the unpopular policy of selfish and self-contained isolation, which virtually ignored the higher international duties of England as one of the brotherhood of European nations.

Mr. Disraeli's manifesto was not at first sight captivating. Instead of attacking Mr. Gladstone's proposal to abolish the Income Tax as an attempt to secure a Party majority by taking a *plébiscite* on a Budget which had not yet come before Parliament, Mr. Disraeli fell in gladly with the idea. The abolition of the Income Tax was apparently to him what emigration was to Mr. Micawber when he had it suggested to him for the first time—the dream of his youth, the ambition of his manhood, and the solace of his declining years. The Tory chief also over-elaborated his complaints that Mr. Gladstone had imperilled freedom of navigation in the Straits of Malacca by recognising the right of the Dutch to conquer the Acheenese if they could. Nor was he apparently successful in attacking the Government for entering on the Ashanti War without waiting to ask Parliament for leave to repel Ashanti assaults on our forts. But when he demanded "more energy" in Foreign Affairs than Mr. Gladstone had exhibited, and when he said that measures could be devised to improve the condition of the people without incessant "harassing legislation," he cut the Government to the quick.

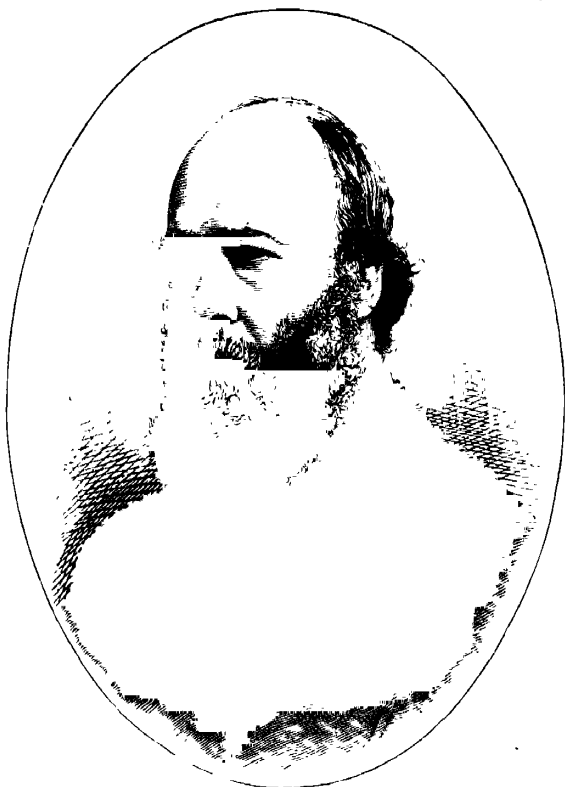
The elections ended in a signal disaster to the Liberal Party. Nobody was ready for the fray. Everybody was irritated at being taken unawares. The influences and the "interests" that had caused the decay of Mr. Gladstone's Administration have been already described. It will be enough to say here that they smote it with defeat at the polls. The attempt to neutralise these

[illegible] by promising to spend the surplus in abolishing the Income Tax and readjusting local taxation completely failed. The working classes were not eager to take off a tax which they did not pay. The majority of the Income Tax payers argued that Mr. Disraeli's manifesto showed that he was prepared to give them whatever relief was possible. Independent electors felt that it was desirable to censure a project which might establish a precedent for including the Budget in an electoral manifesto,* and throwing the financial system of the country into the crucible of a General Election.† The City of London decisively abandoned Liberalism. The counties were swept by Tory candidates. The working classes refused to support candidates of their own order, save in Stafford and Morpeth, where the miners returned Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Burt to Parliament. Men of high capacity, unless their names were known to newspaper readers, were ruthlessly rejected. The electors preferred either candidates of loudly-advertised eminence, rich local magnates, or young men of family—especially if they had titles. Only two tenant-farmers were chosen—Mr. Clare Read, a moderate Conservative, and Mr. McCombie, a moderate Liberal. The "professors" and academic politicians went down helplessly in the *mêlee*—even Mr. Fawcett failing to hold his seat at Brighton, though shortly after Parliament met he was returned by Hackney, where a vacancy accidentally occurred. The Home counties, where "villadom"—to use Lord Rosebery's term—reigns supreme, went over to Conservatism, and the success of the Tories in the largest cities was amazing. The middling-sized towns, and, generally speaking, the electors north of the Humber, were pretty faithful to Liberalism. But in Ireland the Liberal Party almost ceased to exist—the Irish electors preferring to return either Home Rulers or Tories.

* It was unjustly said that Mr. Gladstone offered to abolish the Income Tax as an electoral bribe. The fact was that he was under a recorded pledge to Parliament to take off the Income Tax when the finances admitted of its repeal. That was the condition on which he had been allowed to impose it when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1853 As the vast majority of the electors were not Income Tax payers, the proposal could not possibly be an effective electoral bribe.

† Another difficulty for the Independent Elector was that of seeing how Mr Gladstone could abolish the Income Tax. Mr Disraeli, who soon began to repent his haste in trying to outbid Mr. Gladstone on this point, suggested that difficulty in a speech at Newton Pagnell. He did not withdraw from his declaration that he desired to get rid of the Income Tax. But, he said, "If Mr. Gladstone asks me 'are you prepared to repeal the Income Tax by means of imposing other taxes?' I am bound to say it is not a policy I should recommend" Mr. Gladstone never divulged his plan. It is, however, obvious that he could have easily got rid of the worst features of the Income Tax by readjusting the House Duty. A House Duty. Mr. Mill said, is the fairest of all direct taxes, and a man's house-rent is—with certain exceptions—a sure guide to his means and substance. If, for example, Mr. Gladstone had put 1s. 6d. in the £ on all houses above £10 rental, or if he had graduated the duties from 4d. to 3s. in the £ on rentals of from £10 to over £300, he could have supplied the place of the Income Tax which yielded £4,875,000. The difference would have been this—that a man with £200 of income, presumably paying £25 a year for his house, would—less 9d. of existing house duty—have paid at the 1s. 6d. rate 18s. 9d. a year of "a means and substance" tax on his rent, instead of the £2 10s. he then paid in Income Tax. The relief of local rates might have been obtained by handing over the old House Tax or a portion of it to the local authorities.

Roughly speaking, Mr. Disraeli could count on a steady working majority of fifty, even reckoning the Irish Home Rulers as Liberals.

Mr. Gladstone tendered his resignation at once when the results of the Elections were known, and Mr. Disraeli on being sent for formed a Cabinet,

LORD SALISBURY

(From a Photograph by Bassano, Old Bond Street, W.)

in which the offices were distributed as follows:—First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Disraeli; Lord Chancellor, Lord Cairns; Lord President of the Council, Duke of Richmond; Lord Privy Seal, Lord Malmesbury; Foreign Secretary, Lord Derby; Secretary for India, Lord Salisbury; Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon; Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Cross; War Secretary, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy; First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Ward Hunt; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote; Postmaster-General, Lord John Manners. The minor offices were distributed either among administrators and men of

business, or young men of high birth and promising abilities, who were thus put in training for the duties of leadership in the future.*

Ministers and ex-Ministers soon had their troubles thick upon them. The "interests" were impatient for satisfaction, and there was an ugly rush after the surplus. Deputations of Income Tax repealers, Local Taxation Leaguers, clergymen demanding subsidies to Consular chaplains, brewers demanding the repeal of their licence, Malt Tax repealers, Sugar Duty repealers, clerical supporters of voluntary schools, who, according to Lord Sandon, virtually asked for the suspension of payment by results, waited on Sir Stafford Northcote to claim their share of Mr. Gladstone's surplus. Other Ministers, too, were pestered by the various "interests" who had worked for the Tory Party at the General Election on the understanding that Mr. Gladstone's "harassing" legislation would be undone if Mr. Disraeli came back to power. The new Government were sufficiently courageous to resist this pressure. Indeed, they were generous enough to retract much of the hostile criticism which in the heat of electioneering contests had been hurled against Mr. Gladstone's Administration. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, was not only shattered, but practically leaderless. Its chiefs, it was said, were fighting among themselves. Stories flew about to the effect that Mr. Lowe declared he would never again follow Mr. Gladstone, that Sir William Harcourt was convinced he must lead the Party himself if it was to be saved from extinction, and that Sir Henry James vowed that he would never permit Mr. Gladstone to sit as his colleague in any future Liberal Cabinet. Naturally Mr. Gladstone retired from the duties of leadership, but pressure was put upon him to resume them. He consented, but only on the understanding that his service was to be temporary, and that he should not be expected to be in regular attendance in the House of Commons. His advanced age, his broken health, and his need of rest, were the reasons which he gave publicly for his action. His real motive, however, he confided to Mr. Hayward, who, in a letter to Lady Emily Peel (27th of February, 1874), says, "I had a long talk with Gladstone yesterday. He thinks the Party in too heterogeneous a state for regular leadership, that it must be let alone to shake itself into consistency He will attend till Easter, and then quit the field for a time. He does not talk of permanent abdication."† Mr. Gladstone, it would seem, at this time considered his functions as a leader ended after he had shattered his Party. Not till it had been reorganised by somebody else, or had reorganised itself, did he apparently deem it worthy of his guidance.

* Mr. Clare Sewell Read was made Secretary to the Local Government Board, of which Mr Sclater-Booth was made President. Sir M. Hicks-Beach became Irish Secretary. Sir H. Selwin Ibbotson was Under-Secretary at the Home Office. Mr. R. Bourke was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Lord Sandon was Vice-President of the Council, Lord George Hamilton was Under-Secretary for India, Sir C. Adderley President of the Board of Trade, Mr Algernon Egerton Secretary to the Admiralty, and Lord Henry Lennox Chief Commissioner of Works.

† Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., Vol. II., p. 258.

On the 19th of March the Queen's Speech was read to both Houses of Parliament. It referred joyfully to the termination of the war with the Ashantis, the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh, but mournfully to the famine which was then devastating Bengal. It promised a Land Transfer Bill, the extension of the Judicature Act fusing law and equity to Ireland and Scotland, a Bill to remedy the grievances of the publicans, a Bill dealing with Friendly Societies, and a Royal Commission on the Labour Laws.* In the debate on the Address several Peers took occasion to make sport of the great Minister who had fallen from power. But the Commons were spared this exhibition of political vulgarity, mainly because Mr. Disraeli snubbed most mercilessly the first of his followers who attempted to indulge in it.

When Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, who moved the Address, taunted Mr. Gladstone with his defeat, Mr. Disraeli assured the House that Sir William had, contrary to custom, spoken without consulting him as to what he should say—in fact, without consulting anybody. As for the silence of the Liberal Members on the results of the Dissolution, "I admire," said Mr. Disraeli, "their taste and feeling. If I had been a follower of a Parliamentary chief as eminent as the Right Honourable gentleman, even if I thought he had erred, I should have been disposed rather to exhibit sympathy than to offer criticism; I should remember the great victories he had fought and won. I should remember his illustrious career; its continuous success and splendour; not its accidental or even disastrous mistakes." Mr. Gladstone's frank and candid statement was a model of dignified simplicity well worthy of Mr. Disraeli's chivalrous admiration. The defeated Minister simply said that his policy of fiscal reorganisation in his judgment could not be carried save by a Government possessing the full confidence of the country. The bye-elections —notably the Liberal defeat at Stroud—during the recess rendered it doubtful if his Administration possessed this confidence. His appeal to the country confirmed that doubt. Nay, the verdict of the electors so emphatically declared their desire to entrust power to the Tory Party, that he felt it his duty to make way for Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues as soon as possible, and to afford them every reasonable facility for giving effect to the will of the people.†

* It was supposed that Mr Disraeli would prevent the inevitable grammatical blunder from creeping into the Queen's Speech But it crept in here, greatly to the delight of the pedants. They pointed out that it was wrong to speak of "the recent Act of Parliament affecting the *relationship* of master and servant." The word cannot be used, they argued, instead of *relation*, to denote a relative position which is temporary or official

† To those who had the advantage of taking no personal interest in these transactions, Mr. Gladstone's statement reads like the apology of a Minister who was "riding for a fall." He was admittedly pledged to the House of Commons since 1853, to abolish the Income Tax when he had a sufficient surplus. Instead of redeeming his pledge in 1874 to the House, he took it to an electorate that had no existence in 1853, and who, even if they had been competent to the task, could not have given a fair decision on such a point in the turmoil of elections which seemed purposely hurried through in a few days. Mr. Gladstone, moreover, never defended his proposal at length. Had he really desired to carry it, he would have submitted it to Parliament—for the House of Lords, whose hostility

These chivalrous courtesies foretold a dull Session. Nor did the statements of Ministers seem promising to the "young bloods" of the Tory Party, who held it as an axiom that they were badly led if their leaders did not show them plenty of "sport." What did Lord Derby mean, for example, by telling the House of Lords that Lord Granville had left the Foreign Affairs of the country in the most satisfactory condition? Had they not all assured their constituents that he had brought England to such a depth of degradation that there were now none so poor as do her reverence? What did Mr. Disraeli mean in moving the Vote of Thanks to the Ashanti troops by praising Mr. Cardwell for the preparations he made for bringing the war to a speedy and victorious conclusion? Had they not all declared on the hustings that the conduct of the war was a model of mismanagement? Moreover, was it necessary for Lord Salisbury to exhaust the vocabulary of eulogy on Lord Northbrook for his energy in dealing with the Indian Famine? and was Mr. Hardy true to his followers and supporters when, on moving the Army Estimates (30th March), he contradicted every one of the charges that had been made against Mr. Cardwell, who had been accused of stopping Volunteering, exhausting stores, wrecking fortifications, and failing to arm the troops?* One passing gleam of hope shot across the horizon when Mr. Ward Hunt in his speech on the Naval Estimates stood by the wild and whirling rhetoric of Opposition criticism. He declared that the Fleet was inefficient, and warned the House he might need a Supplementary Estimate. Whilst he, at least, remained at the Admiralty he would not tolerate a "fleet on paper" or "dummy ships." But alas! even Mr. Ward Hunt's alarmist statement vanished in a peal of laughter when it was discovered that all he asked for to convert his "paper fleet" into a real one was £100,000! Cynical critics soon reassured a scared populace. The best proof that the Services had not been starved or rendered inefficient by Mr. Gladstone's Administration was afforded by Sir Stafford Northcote, who made no secret of his intention to distribute the surplus of £6,000,000 which every one regarded with hungry eyes.

The eventful day for the division of the spoil came on the 16th of

he affected to dread, could not constitutionally have meddled with it—and then if, after exhaustive discussion in the Commons it had been defeated, he could have appealed to a nation sufficiently instructed by that discussion to pronounce a rational opinion on the question As it was, the matter hardly entered into the election controversies of 1874 at all.

* "We find," said Mr. Hardy, "the stores so full and efficient that we can dispense with the payment of £100,000 on this head." As to arms, he remarked that "in a few weeks the whole of the infantry will, I hope, have the Martini-Henry rifle. By to-morrow there will be 140,000 Martini-Henry rifles in store, and during the year there will be a further number of 40,000 provided." After dilating on the abundance of ammunition in stock and the sufficiency of the Reserves, Mr. Hardy said of the Volunteers that the original number of them was 199,000, "far, however, from efficient men," whereas the number in 1874, though only 153,000, consisted of thoroughly efficient men, who were "far more worth having than what formerly existed" The fortifications, he said, were of "the most efficient character." He even praised the Intelligence Department, the formation of which had been a favourite subject of denunciation by the Tory "Colonels."

REVIEW IN WINDSOR GREAT PARK OF THE TROOPS FROM THE ASHANTI WAR: THE MARCH PAST BEFORE THE QUEEN.

April, when Sir Stafford Northcote made his statement. In spite of Mr. Lowe's remission of taxes, his payment of the *Alabama* Claims, his disbursement of £800,000 on the Ashanti War, the year 1873–74 ended with a surplus in hand of £1,000,000. On the basis of existing taxation Sir Stafford Northcote for the coming year estimated his revenue at £77,995,000, to which he added £500,000 from interest on Government advances for agricultural improvements heretofore added to Exchequer balances and never reckoned in the revenue. His expenditure was taken at £72,503,000, so that he had the magnificent surplus of £6,000,000 to play with. Never did a Finance Minister use a great opportunity more tamely. With such a sum at his disposal he might have re-cast the fiscal system of England and won a reputation rivalling that of Peel. But Northcote had not the heart to climb ambition's ladder. He pleaded lack of time as an excuse for attempting no great stroke of financial policy, and he frittered away his six millions as follows:—He gave £240,000 in aid of the support of pauper lunatics; £600,000 in aid of the Police rate; £170,000 in increased local rates on Government property, and this sum of £1,010,000 was to be raised in succeeding years by further payments for pauper lunatics to £1,250,000 as an Imperial subvention to local taxation.* He devoted £2,000,000 to the remission of the Sugar Duties; he took a penny off the Income Tax, which absorbed £1,540,000, and he remitted the House Duties, which cost him £480,000. The half-million of interest on loans which he had included in revenue Sir Stafford Northcote used to create terminable annuities, which would in eleven years extinguish £7,000,000 of National Debt. The fault of the Budget was that nothing historic was done with a surplus such as rarely occurs in the history of a nation. Even if Sir Stafford Northcote felt unequal to the task of re-casting the whole financial system, and giving relief to the poorer taxpayers, he could easily have earned for his Government the enduring gratitude of the nation. He might, for example, have created terminable annuities to pay off twenty or thirty millions of National Debt before 1890.

Mr. Cross's Licensing Bill was introduced early in May, when the publicans, who had worked hard to put the Government in power, expected Mr. Austin Bruce's restrictions on the hours of opening public-houses to be swept away. Mr. Cross, however, found that the magistrates and police, and more respectable inhabitants of every town and parish, were of opinion that these restrictions had done good. He was, therefore, forced to disappoint his clients. He left the Sunday hours untouched. On week-days he fixed the hours for closing at half-past twelve in London, half-past eleven in populous places, and

* The most curious result of this reform was the increase which took place in pauper lunacy. Sir Stafford Northcote, in fact, offered Boards of Guardians the strongest temptation to get their senile paupers quartered on the State as pauper lunatics. All that was necessary for that purpose was a certificate from a pliable medical officer.

eleven in rural districts.* He cancelled the permission given by Mr. Bruce to fifty-four houses to remain open till one in the morning, in order to provide refreshments for playgoers and theatrical people. Inasmuch as the Government were at the mercy of the publican vote in a great many constituencies, the Bill was most creditable to Mr. Cross. It was, in truth, a Bill not in extension but in further restriction of the hours of opening, and in passing it he risked giving offence to Ministerialists who had won their seats under a pledge that the existing restrictions would be relaxed.†

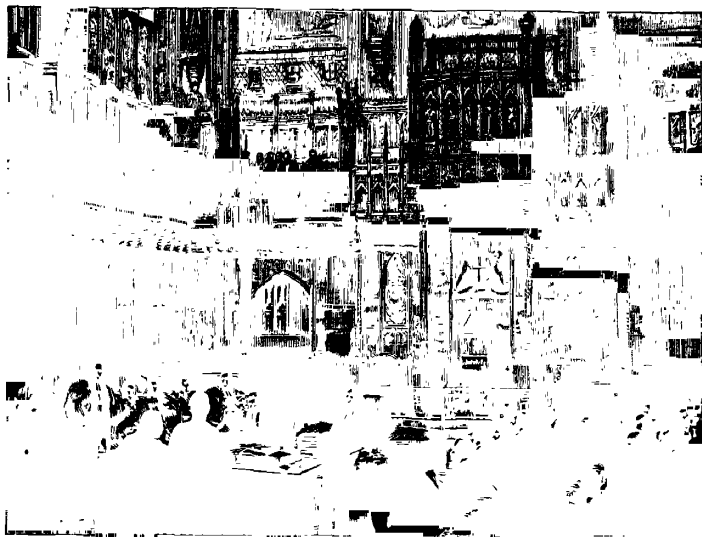
Quite unexpectedly the Ministry plunged into the stormy sea of ecclesiastical legislation, and as was hinted at broadly, not without encouragement from the Queen. This much might also have been inferred from two facts. The churchmen who had most strongly influenced the Court in matters of ecclesiastical government were Dr. Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Norman Macleod, Minister of the Barony Parish in Glasgow. The Bill dealing with the English Church represented the ideas of Tait. That dealing with the Kirk of Scotland embodied the policy of Macleod. Indeed, pressure of an unusual character must have been applied to the Prime Minister to support the former measure, which he knew only too well must provoke dissensions in his Cabinet. It was on the 20th of April that Dr. Tait introduced the Public Worship Regulation Bill in the House of Lords, and the best and briefest description of it was that which was subsequently given by Mr. Disraeli, who said, in one of the debates in the House of Commons, that it was a Bill "to put down Ritualism." At first Ministers did not give it warm support, in fact, Lord Salisbury opposed it vigorously. After it had passed through the House of Lords the fiction that it was a private Member's Bill was still kept up, the Second Reading being moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Russell Gurney. Mr. Hall, the new Tory member for Oxford, moved an amendment to Mr. Gurney's motion, and Mr. Gladstone opposed the measure as an attack on congregational liberties, which had been consecrated by usage. The three great divisions of the Established Church, the Evangelical, Broad, and High Church Parties, had each been allowed a large scope of liberty. Why single out the last for an invidious assault? Mr. Gladstone, however, did not deny that some Ritualistic practices were offensive, and he moved six resolutions which would sufficiently protect congregations from priestly extravagances, and yet leave the clergy ample freedom in ordering their church service. These resolutions disintegrated both parties in

* The hours against which the publicans had agitated were twelve in London, and in other places any hour between five and seven in the morning, till any hour between ten and twelve at night, as the magistrates might decide.

† Mr. Cross held that the extension of the hours from twelve to half-past twelve at night was not a real extension. Under the former rule the publican had "grace" given him to clear his bar. Under Mr. Cross's Bill closing was imperative at half-past twelve. Then Mr. Cross put a stop to certain public-houses being kept open to one in the morning, which Mr. Bruce had allowed, and the fixing of the hours at ten and eleven, in very many cases, led to further restrictions.

the State. Sir William Harcourt led a Liberal revolt against Mr. Gladstone. The Secretary for War (Mr. Gathorne-Hardy) replied hotly to Sir William Harcourt's ultra-Erastian harangue. Mr. Disraeli here cast in his lot with the supporters of the Bill; which, despite the opposition of Mr. Hardy, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Lord John Manners, accordingly became in a few days a Cabinet measure. In the House of Lords matters grew still more serious. When the House of Commons sent the Bill back to the Peers, one of Mr. Gladstone's defeated amendments was speedily inserted in it, and Lord Salisbury "utterly repudiated the bugbear of a majority in the House of Commons." A few days afterwards Mr. Disraeli replied with caustic humour to the taunts of Lord Salisbury, whom he ridiculed as "a great master," so he called him, "of gibes, and flouts, and sneers." Still, the Commons accepted the Lords' Amendments, which were for the most part in favour of individual freedom, and so the Bill passed. But Mr. Disraeli paid a great price for his complaisance to the Court and its confidential ecclesiastical adviser. The High Church Party, who had ever marched in the van of his supporters, became disaffected, and in every future electoral contest those of them who did not fall sulking to the rear went over to the enemy. Mr. Disraeli's tactical blunder in identifying his Cabinet with the Public Worship Regulation Bill of 1874 was notoriously one of the causes of the collapse of the Tory Party in the General Election of 1880. His other adventure into the perilous region of ecclesiastical legislation was not so disastrous to his Party as to the institution it was his desire to protect and strengthen. In 1869 Dr. Macleod had headed a deputation which waited on Mr. Gladstone, asking him to abolish lay Patronage in the Scottish State Church. Mr. Gladstone asked if Macleod and his colleagues had considered what view was likely to be taken of the proposal by the other Presbyterian churches of Scotland, "regard being had to their origin." This phrase struck the deputation dumb. It was as if Mr. Gladstone had asked whether they thought it right that the clergy of the Free Church, who sacrificed their endowments in 1843 because the Party whom the deputation represented successfully prevented the abolition of lay Patronage, should be ignored now, when this very Party proposed that the price they agreed to pay for the enjoyment of their benefices should no longer be exacted. The project, according to Dr. Macleod, excited no great enthusiasm in Scotland,* but the Courts of the Scottish Established Church supported it strongly. In 1874 Mr. Disraeli, yielding to pressure, which it was admittedly difficult to resist, permitted Lord Advocate Gordon to introduce his Scottish Patronage Bill. It abolished the rights of lay patrons, and vested presentations to livings in the hands of the congregations of the Established Church of Scotland. When the patron was a private individual he was compensated, but when the patronage to a benefice was held by

* Life of Norman Macleod, D.D., Vol. II., p. 325.

a Corporation it was confiscated without compensation. The idea of the Government was that Presbyterians outside the Established Church were deterred from joining it by the existence of lay Patronage. When this was abolished it was supposed that they would immediately go over to the State Church, whose services they could command gratuitously, and leave their own pastors, whose stipends they had to pay out of their own pockets, to starve. Mr. Disraeli did not understand that lay Patronage, by bringing the Church

THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH (DR. MAGEE) ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

courts and civil courts into collision, was merely the occasion and not the cause of the Disruption, and that what separated the Free Churchmen from the State Church was a difference of opinion on the relative position of Church and State, as wide as that which separated Dr. Pusey from an Erastian like Sir William Harcourt. But the Patronage Bill was passed in spite of Mr. Gladstone's opposition, though, like the Public Worship Regulation Bill, it failed in its object. The congregations of the non-established Presbyterian churches refused to justify Mr. Disraeli's cynical estimate of their character, and therefore did not desert their pastors. The powerful Free Kirk of Scotland, representing the principle that the Church should be established and endowed but left free from State control, had been debarred from joining in the Disestablishment movement. It now, however, cast in its lot with those Presbyterian dissenters who clamoured for Disestablishment in Scotland, which thus for the first time came within

the range of practical politics. Perhaps, if Mr. Disraeli had insisted on the rights of patrons being transferred to all parishioners his policy might have been more successful. But by transferring these rights to the congregations in actual attendance at established churches, he gave the Free Churchmen a pretext for arguing that he had sectarianised the national ecclesiastical endowments, and that, therefore, the State Church could no longer be defended on principle. These endowments were not sectarianised, but secularised, when controlled by private patrons and civil courts, for patron and judge could alike be regarded in theory as legal trustees for the nation. They were bad trustees according to the Free Churchmen, but then they represented the nation officially, and did not, like their successors, the congregations of the parish churches, constitute a sect.

Academic debates on Parliamentary Reform and Home Rule varied the monotony of ecclesiastical controversy which Ministers seemed to take a morbid delight in stirring up. Their next achievement in this direction led to a defeat. Lord Sandon unexpectedly introduced in July an Endowed Schools Bill, which virtually undid the work of 1869. It restored the ascendency of the Church of England in Grammar Schools, and substituted the authority of the Charity Commissioners for that of the Endowed Schools Commission. The Bill would probably have done much to conciliate the clergy who had been offended by the Public Worship Regulation Act, but, on the other hand, it closed the ranks of the Opposition, and recalled the Dissenters to the Liberal colours. The result was that, after fierce controversy in both Houses, Mr. Disraeli professed himself satisfied with the appointment of the Charity Commission to superintend the working of Mr. Forster's Act, and postponed the contentious clauses till the following year. They were never heard of again. Mr. Stansfeld's Rating Bill, which the Lords had rejected in the previous Session, was adopted by the Ministry and passed. Mr. Mundella's Bill for consolidating the Factory Acts, which had been shelved in 1873, was adopted by Mr. Cross and carried.

The popular verdict on the Ministry, when the Session closed on the 8th of August, was, that as administrators they had done nothing brilliant, and as legislators they were timidly reactionary, when they did not adopt the ideas and measures of their predecessors. The Premier, perhaps, suffered most in reputation. It was impossible to admire the strategy that brought into prominence Church questions which divided his Cabinet, and were uninteresting to the populace, or which, like the Endowed Schools Bill, when they were of great popular interest, were dealt with in an offensively reactionary spirit. On the other hand, the success with which the famine in Bengal and Behar was arrested, and indeed the whole tone of the administration at the India Office, greatly increased Lord Salisbury's *prestige*. Lord Carnarvon's management of the Colonies was sympathetic and popular. Foreign affairs had been conducted by Lord Derby with admirable prudence.

This was aptly illustrated by his skill in avoiding entangling engagements committing England to approve of changes in international law which would have greatly extended the powers of invading armies in an enemy's country. These changes were proposed at a Conference at Brussels, which had been promoted by Russia and Germany ostensibly to mitigate the evils of modern warfare.

Only one cloud shadowed the Foreign policy of the Cabinet during this uneventful year. The contest between Prince Bismarck and the Roman Catholic Church was raging in Germany, and the personal rivalry of the German Chancellor and Count Harry Arnim—who had been German Ambassador at Paris—had ended in the arrest of the latter on the charge of embezzling State documents. This arrest had been effected after Count Harry Arnim's house had been ransacked by the police, and the Continent rang with the scandal. Mr. Disraeli, at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, on the 9th of November, congratulated the country on the Conservatism of the British working classes, who, he said, enjoyed so many liberties that they were naturally loyal to the institutions under which their freedom was safeguarded. "They are not," said he, "afraid of political arrests or domiciliary visits." The Queen was somewhat pained at an utterance which the German Government regarded as an impertinent interference with its domestic affairs, but a few days afterwards the wrath of Prince Bismarck was appeased by an official explanation in the *Times* to the effect that Mr. Disraeli had not meant to refer to the affairs of Germany, or to the arbitrary conduct of the Berlin police. In this unfortunate speech Mr. Disraeli, however, struck a popular note when he referred to the extension of the Empire by the annexation of the Fiji islands, in terms that foreshadowed a policy of Colonial expansion.

As for the Opposition, it remained in a state of disorganisation, under Mr. Gladstone's desultory leadership. Its prospects were not improved by his publication of two pamphlets, in which he attacked what he called "Vaticanism," and attempted to prove that good Catholics, who were mostly Liberals, must be incapable of reasoning, if they were not traitors. That was the sum and substance of his amazing tirades against the extravagant pretensions of the Papacy under Pius IX.

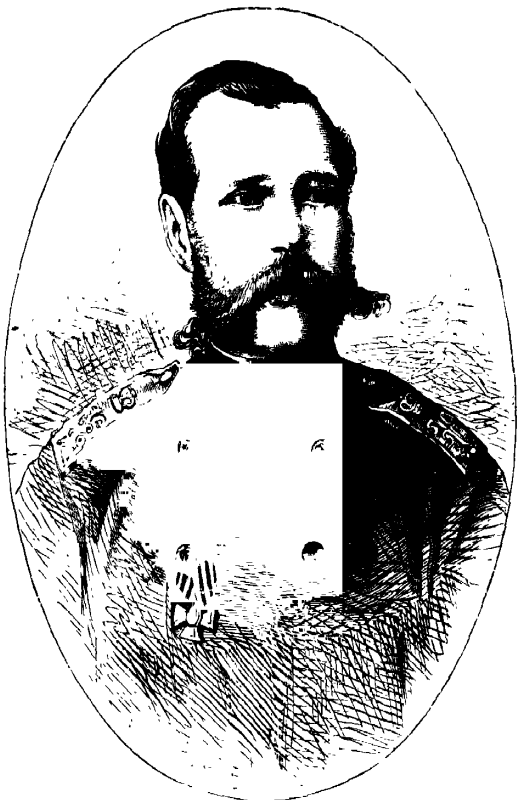
During the year the Queen seldom appeared in public, which was, perhaps, one reason why a marked deterioration in the moral tone of society was discernible. A curious languor crept over the upper classes. They were consumed with a quenchless thirst for amusement, and the genius who could have invented a new pleasure would have had the world at his feet. Frivolity seemed to prey like a cancer on the vitality of the nation. When the Prince of Wales gave a State Fancy Ball in July, the *Times* actually devoted three columns of space to an elaborate description of the dresses. Sport became a serious business to all classes of society, and even

grave and earnest men of affairs like Mr. Gladstone wasted their lives in the laborious idleness of ecclesiastical controversies. The more vigorous youth of the aristocracy now began to make their "grand tour," not as did their ancestors to study foreign affairs and institutions, but merely to kill big game. Fashionable life became so costly that rents had to be exacted with unusual rigour, and the strikes among the agricultural labourers that mitigated the advantages of a good harvest, were accordingly spoken of in West End drawing-rooms as if they had revived the horrors of the *Jacquerie*. Though prices had begun to fall, the mercantile classes vied with the aristocracy in the ostentatious extravagance of their personal expenditure, and in the City the old and substantial Princes of Commerce were pushed aside by gamblers who termed themselves "financial agents," and who had suddenly grown rich by "placing" Foreign Loans and floating fabulously successful Joint-Stock Companies. The pace of life was too rapid even for the Prince of Wales, whose financial embarrassments during a dull autumn formed the subject of some discussion. It was publicly stated that he had incurred liabilities to the extent of £600,000, and that the Queen, disgusted with Mr. Gladstone's refusal to apply to Parliament for money to discharge them, had paid them herself. From what has already been said on this delicate subject it is hardly necessary to point out here that this statement was not quite accurate. It was true that the debts of the Heir Apparent amounted to one-third of his income, but it was equally true that on the 1st of October his Controller's audit showed that he had a balance to his credit sufficient to meet them. At the same time there could be no doubt that the Prince's expenditure far exceeded his resources, for sums varying from £10,000 to £20,000, taken from the great fund accumulated for him by the Prince Consort's thrifty administration of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, were sacrificed every year to prevent his debts from becoming unmanageable.*

His brothers were more fortunately situated. Prince Arthur, who had been created, in May, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn and Earl of Sussex,† was able to devote himself quietly to his military studies, and lead a life of dignified simplicity. "Many thanks," writes the Princess Louis of Hesse to the Queen (May 4th, 1874), "for your last dear letter, written on dear Arthur's birthday, of which, though late, I wrote you joy. Such a good, steady, excellent boy as he is! What a comfort it must be to you never to have had any cause of uneasiness or annoyance in his conduct! He is so much respected, which for one so young is doubly praiseworthy. From St. Petersburg, as from Vienna, we heard the same account of the steady line he

* *Times*, October 1, 1874.

† Prince Arthur was the first of his line who took as his superior dignity a title from Ireland. Several Princes and Princesses of England bore Irish titles, *e.g.*, the Queen herself is Countess of Clare, but they were secondary ones, and denominated inferior dignities.

holds to, in spite of all chaffing, &c., from others, which shows character."* Prince Leopold was equally fortunate; indeed, his delicate health would of itself have compelled him to shun the exhausting gaieties of London seasons, when Society was worn out with *ennui* every year ere the rosebuds burst into bloom. When Parliament voted him an income of £15,000 a year, Mr.

ALEXANDER II., CZAR OF RUSSIA.

Disraeli described Prince Leopold as an invalid student of "no common order," and to the Queen it was an increasing source of delight to watch in her youngest son the growth of the same pensive nature, the same studious habits, and the same refined and cultured tastes which, in the Prince Consort, Mr. Disraeli averred somewhat effusively, "gave a new impulse to our civilisation."

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 321.

With the exception of the grant to the Duke of Edinburgh on his marriage, this was the only Royal grant voted by Parliament which was not made a matter of controversy. But it must be noted that in 1874 the spirit of Republicanism in the country was almost dead. Mr. Chamberlain, by his writings and speeches, made an ineffectual effort to keep it alive, but even he had to bow his austere knee to the popular idols of the time, who were undoubtedly the Prince and Princess of Wales. As if to throw out a jaunty challenge to the enemies of the Monarchy, the Prince and Princess paid a visit to Birmingham in November, where it was the duty of Mr. Chamberlain as Mayor to receive them, and where they met with a welcome from the populace, the significance of which he was quick to recognise. Mr. Chamberlain, who had not been expected to make pleasant speeches to his guests, behaved to them with the tact of an astute if not an accomplished courtier. His undisguised appreciation of the Prince's visit to his mansion, and of the Princess's delight in his conservatories, famed for their priceless exotics, recalled the devotion of the Lady Margaret Bellenden in "Old Mortality," when Charles II. accepted the hospitalities of her castle.

One marked feature of the London season in 1874 was the sudden withdrawal of the Duchess of Edinburgh from Court ceremonials. An attempt was made to account for this by explaining that as her Royal and Imperial Highness was expecting to become a mother she deemed her retirement from Society necessary.* According to statements current at the time, however, her absence was due not exactly to a dispute, but to a difficulty about her precedence, which must have considerably embarrassed the Queen. As the daughter of a powerful Emperor, the Duchess of Edinburgh not unnaturally thought that she had a right to take precedence of the Princess of Wales, who was but the daughter of a petty king. An Imperial Highness should, in her opinion, take precedence of a Royal Highness. On the other hand, it was intolerable to the English people that even by implication should the inferiority of the English Monarchy to that of any Imperial House in Europe be recognised—in fact, the kings of England had never admitted that any of the Continental Emperors had a title to precedence over them. The country, therefore, heard with interest a report that the Russian Czar was about to come to England, not merely to visit his daughter, but if possible to settle with the Queen the question of precedence that had disturbed her family. Her Majesty was understood to be willing to assent to any arrangement which did not confer on the wife of her second son, the right to take precedence over the wife of the Heir Apparent, and so matters stood when the Czar arrived at Dover on the 13th of May. He was received with the utmost cordiality by the Queen in person at Windsor. The first effect of his visit was to replace the Duchess of Edinburgh in the *Court Circular* among the ladies of

* *Times*, May 11, 1874.

the Royal Family next to the Princess of Wales, and to cause her to be described as "Her Royal *and Imperial Highness* the Duchess of Edinburgh (Grand Duchess of Russia)."* The Czar was well received by the people, among whom he was popular as the Liberator of the Serfs, and after a dreary week of sightseeing and State banquets, he left England on the 22nd of May.

On the 30th of March the Queen proceeded to Windsor Great Park to review the troops who had been engaged in the Ashanti War. The force, 2,000 in number, went through their evolutions in gallant style, and her Majesty with her own hands awarded the Victoria Cross to Lord Gifford for personal bravery in the campaign. On the 13th of April the Queen also inspected the sailors and marines of the Royal Navy who had fought in the Ashanti War. The review took place at Gosport, and many of the officers were, by the Queen's desire, personally presented to her.

The controversy then raging over Vivisection seemed to have interested her Majesty greatly, for at the Jubilee meeting of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals there was read a letter written by Sir Thomas Biddulph by the Queen's instructions, which ran as follows:—

"MY DEAR LORD,—The Queen has commanded me to address you, as President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, on the occasion of the assembly in this country of the foreign delegates connected with your association and of the Jubilee of the Society, to request you to give expression publicly to her Majesty's warm interest in the success of the efforts which are being made at home and abroad for the purpose of diminishing the cruelties practised on dumb animals. The Queen hears and reads with horror of the sufferings which the brute creation often undergo from the thoughtlessness of the ignorant, and she fears also sometimes from experiments in the pursuit of science For the removal of the former the Queen trusts much to the progress of education, and in regard to the pursuit of science, she hopes that the entire advantage of those anæsthetic discoveries, from which man has derived so much benefit himself in the alleviation of suffering, may be fully extended to the lower animals. Her Majesty rejoices that the Society awakens the interest of the young by the presentation of prizes for essays connected with the subject, and hears with gratification that her son and daughter-in-law have shown their interest by distributing the prizes Her Majesty begs to announce a donation of £100 to the funds of the Society."

On the 23rd of November her Majesty was present, with the Empress of Russia, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and other members of the Royal Family, at the christening of the infant son of the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh—Prince Alfred of Edinburgh; and on the 3rd of December she received a deputation from France to present her with an Address of thanks for services rendered by Englishmen to the sick and wounded in the war of 1870-71. The Address was contained in four large volumes, which were placed on a table for the purpose of being shown to her Majesty. M. d'Agiout and Comte Serrurier explained the nature of their contents. Having accepted the volumes, the Queen said to the deputation in French, "I accept with pleasure the volumes which you have presented, and which will be carefully preserved by

* *Spectator*, May 23, 1874.

me as records of the interesting historical events which they commemorate. They are beautiful as works of art, but their chief value in my eyes is that they form a permanent memorial of the gratitude of the French people for services freely and spontaneously rendered to them by Englishmen acting under a simple impulse of humanity. Your recognition of those services cannot fail to be appreciated by my subjects, and it will increase the friendly

THE ALBERT MEMORIAL CHAPEL, WINDSOR

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

and cordial feeling which I am happy to believe exists between the two nations." The volumes were placed in the British Museum.

On the 3rd of December her Majesty at Windsor personally presented several seamen and marines with the medals which they had won for conspicuous gallantry in the Ashanti War. A few days after this ceremony the attention of the country was absorbed in the first volume of the biography of the Prince Consort, which had been compiled with sedulous care, delicate tact, and refined feeling by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Theodore Martin. The verdict of the public was one of immediate and unreserved approval. They were delighted with Mr. Martin's idyllic picture of Prince Albert's domestic life, and of the tender companionship in which he and the Queen lived lovingly together. Glimpses, too, of the Queen's own strength of character and of her shrewd judgment in politics, such as, for example, her letters and memoranda on the affair of the Spanish marriages, and her keenly-etched

portrait of the Czar Nicholas after his visit in 1844, suggested very [illegible] that the Sovereign was not exactly a cipher in the State. If in some of its lines Mr. Martin's portrait recalled memories of William III., it reminded the people that, like William III., the Prince, though unable from his intellectual detachment to inspire the people with love, won their confidence and respect through his unpretending, but unswerving fidelity to the interests of his adopted country. But the frankness and absence of reserve with which the book was written displeased a few of the Queen's foreign relatives; indeed, this feature of the biography had been commented on by some who thought it was derogatory to the dignity of the Royal Caste. The Princess Louis of Hesse, if she did not share this opinion, felt it her duty to convey it to the Queen. In a letter to her mother at the beginning of 1875, the Princess says, "It is touching and fine in you to allow the world to have so much insight into your private life, and allow others to have what has been only *your* property, and *our* inheritance. . . . . . For the frivolous higher classes how valuable this book will be if read with real attention, as a record of a life spent in the highest aims, with the noblest conception of duty as a leading star." To this letter the Queen replied from Osborne, 12th of January, 1875:—"If," she wrote, "you will reflect a few minutes, you will see how I owed it to beloved papa to let his noble character be known and understood, as it now is, and that to wait longer when those who knew him best—his own wife, and a few (very few there are) remaining friends—were all gone, or too old and too far removed from that time, to be able to present a really true picture of his most ideal and remarkable character, would have been really wrong. He must be known for his own sake, for the good of England and of his family, and of the world at large. Countless people write to say what good it does and will do. And it is already thirteen years since he left us! Then you must also remember that endless false and untrue things have been said about us, public and private, and that in these days people will write and will know; therefore the only way to counteract this is to let the real full truth be known, and as much be told as can be told with prudence and discretion, and then no harm, but good, will be done. Nothing will help me more than that my people should know what I have lost! . . . The 'Early Years' volume was begun for private circulation only, and then General Grey and many of papa's friends and advisers begged me to have it published. This was done. The work was most popular, and greatly liked. General Grey could not go on with it, and asked me to ask Sir A. Helps to continue it; and he said that he could not, but recommended Mr. Theodore Martin as one of the most eminent writers of the day, and hoped I could prevail on him to undertake this great national work. I did succeed, and he has taken seven years to prepare the whole, supplied by me with every letter and extract; and a deal of time it [illegible] but I felt it would be a national sacred work."

CHAPTER XX.

EMPRESS OF INDIA.

Mr. Disraeli recognises Intellect—Lord Hartington Liberal Leader—The Queen's Speech—Lord Hartington's "Grotesque Reminiscences"—Mr. Cross's Labour Bills—The Artisans' Dwellings Act—Mr. Plimsoll and the "Ship-knackers"—Lord Hartington's First "Hit"—The Plimsoll Agitation—Surrender of the Cabinet—"Strangers" in the House—The Budget—Rise of Mr. Biggar—First Appearance of Mr. Parnell—The Fugitive Slave Circular—The Sinking of the Yacht *Mistletoe*—The Loss of the *Vanguard*—Purchase of the Suez Canal Shares—The Prince of Wales's Visit to India—Resignation of Lord Northbrook—Appointment of Lord Lytton as Viceroy of India—Outbreak of the Eastern Question—The Andrassy Note—The Berlin Memorandum—Murder of French and German Consuls at Salonica—Lord Derby Rejects the Berlin Memorandum—Servia Declares War on Turkey—The Bulgarian Revolt Quenched in Blood—The Sultan Dethroned—Opening of Parliament—"Sea-sick of the Silver Streak"—Debates on the Eastern Question—Development of Obstruction by Mr Biggar and Mr Parnell—The Royal Titles Bill—Lord Shaftesbury and the Queen—The Queen at Whitechapel-A Doleful Budget—Mr. Disraeli becomes Earl of Beaconsfield—The Prince Consort's Memorial at Edinburgh—Mr Gladstone and the Eastern Question—The Servian War—The Constantinople Conference—The Tories Manufacture Failure for Lord Salisbury—Death of Lady Augusta Stanley-Proclamation of the Queen as Empress at Delhi.

The year 1875 opened less gloomily for the Ministry than for the Opposition. Mr. Disraeli had sanctioned the despatch of a Polar Expedition, and in a curious letter, since published by Mr. Froude, he had tendered Mr. Carlyle the Grand Cross of the Bath on the ground that "a Government should recognise Intellect."* He had also offered Mr. Tennyson—"if not a great poet, a real one," to use his own phrase—a baronetcy. Both offers had been refused, but the scientific and literary classes—potent agencies for influencing public opinion—sang loud the praises of a Ministry that was so obviously in sympathy with them. As for the Opposition, Mr. Gladstone's definite refusal to lead them any longer, compelled them to elect a successor, whereupon an infinite amount of dissension, heartburning, and jealousy was stirred up in their ranks. Mr. Goschen, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. W. E. Forster were the candidates who had most partisans, and the last was undoubtedly the one on whom the public choice would have fallen, if the public had been permitted to arbitrate between the rivals. The Nonconformists, however, had not yet forgiven Mr. Forster, and Mr Bright put him out of the field by using his powerful influence in favour of Lord Hartington, who was finally selected. According to one of the ablest of Liberal political critics, Lord Hartington "succeeded in making the whole party content, if not enthusiastic, with their choice."† Lord Hartington had, in the course of the Session, virtually nothing to do, and, like the Peers in Mr. Gilbert's opera, he "did it very well." The Queen's Speech outlined a temperately progressive policy, and when the Opposition leader taunted Ministers with failing to carry out the scheme of reaction to which they stood pledged

* Mr. Carlyle refused the offer, though he had accepted the Prussian Order of Merit.

† England Under Lord Beaconsfield, by P. W. Clayden, p. 120.

on the hustings and in the Conservative Press, Mr. Disraeli, with demure gaiety, protested against his "grotesque reminiscences." Lord Hartington, he complained, sought out "the most violent speeches made by the most uninfluential persons in the most obscure places, and the most absurd articles appearing in the dullest and most uninfluential newspapers," and took these as the opinions of "the great Conservative Party."* The opinions of the Conservative Ministry, he added, were now expressed from the front Ministerial Bench, and for these alone did he hold himself responsible.

Mr. Cross was the popular Minister of the Session. His Artisans' Dwellings Bill embodied a resolution which Mr. U. Kay-Shuttleworth and Sir Sidney Waterlow had induced Mr. Gladstone's Government to accept, and though in practice it proved disastrous to local ratepayers, it was taken as a kindly recognition of claims which Liberal Cabinets had too often ignored.† Mr. Cross was much more successful with his Labour Bills, drafts of which, it was said, had been prepared by Mr. Lowe. The Home Secretary had framed his Bills to conciliate Tory members who had eloquently denounced Trades Unions during the General Election. But in Committee he accepted amendments which removed from the law every trace of the evil spirit that punished breach of contract by a workman, not as a civil offence, but as a crime. Though he fought hard against the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, he finally surrendered to Mr. Lowe, and not only accepted his definition of "molestation" or "picketing," but further agreed to his proposal to make that offence punishable when committed by anybody—be he master or servant. The growth of a Conservative spirit among the Trades Unions dates from the passing of Mr. Cross's Employers and Workmen Bill, and his Conspiracy Bill. Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's Regimental Exchanges Bill was a reactionary concession to "the Colonels," for it gave rich officers facilities for bribing poor ones to relieve them from arduous foreign service. Lord Cairns, however, did much more harm to the Government by withdrawing his Judicature Bill under the menaces of a secret Junta of Peers, headed by

* Mr. Disraeli was blamed for ungenerous discourtesy to Lord Hartington on his first appearance as Opposition Leader. But there was a good justification for the Premier's contemptuous reply. Lord Hartington's taunts were foolishly factious, because he had, in a speech at Lewes (21st of January), already defended the Tory Government for not attempting to undo Liberal work, which was, as he put it, "irrevocable."

† The Bill had these defects. (1), It was permissive and not compulsory. (2), It forced local authorities to compensate owners of insanitary dwellings doomed to destruction. The worse the rookeries the higher the rents, and the more extravagant the compensation, so that the Bill put a premium on the creation of rookeries. (3), It enacted that workmen's houses must be rebuilt on the cleared land. This rendered it impossible to sell the sites at prices covering the cost of clearing them, so that local authorities had (a) to keep the land on hand in the hope of getting their price, during which time the displaced inhabitants were pushed into adjoining neighbourhoods already overcrowded; or (b) after five years to sell the sites by auction at a loss. On the 4th of July, 1879, the Metropolitan Board of Works sold some of their sites to the Peabody Trustees at a loss of £600,000 to the ratepayers of London.

Duke of Buccleuch, who had resolved to restore to the House of Lords its Appellate Jurisdiction. Whilst independent Peers protested against this course as a slight to the Upper House, the country considered that it indicated a deplorable want of courage. For when Lord Cairns' new Bill, postponing till the 1st of November, 1886, the provisions of Lord Selborne's Act (1873),* and establishing an Intermediate Court of Appeal as a kind of judicial makeshift, came before the House of Commons, Sir John Holker,

MR. PLIMSOLL ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

with indiscreet frankness, explained why the Government had dropped their own measure. The Peers, he said, meant to retain their jurisdiction in spite of the House of Commons, and it was, therefore, futile to resist them. This admission that the Cabinet, which ought to be responsible only to the Queen and to Parliament, was really controlled by a small caucus of Peers, whose very names were kept secret, was one which Government could now-a-days survive. The Bill, however, passed before the Session closed.

Ministers also lost much of their popularity through Mr. Disraeli's tenderness towards owners of unseaworthy ships. Mr. Plimsoll had stirred

* This Act deprived the Peers of their Appellate Jurisdiction.

up public opinion against the "ship-knackers," as he called them, who, having over-insured vessels that were rotten, sent them away to founder at sea with their crews, and then put the insurance money in their pockets. The Board of Trade had rather frowned on his efforts to get it to detain unseaworthy ships for survey, but in deference to popular pressure the Government had

THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)

promised to bring in a Merchant Shipping Bill to check the evil which Mr. Plimsoll had discovered and denounced. The Bill was read a second time in the Commons without opposition, and it was one in which the Queen was said to be as much interested as Mr. Plimsoll himself. But Mr. Disraeli had brought forward a measure permitting farmers to receive compensation for unexhausted improvements, and enabling landlords to deny them this compensation by contracting themselves out of the Bill. He had contrived to [illegible]

Government business into confusion by trying to push on Ministerial measures abreast instead of in single file, and in a fatal moment he shelved the Merchant Shipping Bill, in order to make way for the perfectly worthless Agricultural Holdings Bill. He announced the fact on the 22nd of July, when Mr. Goschen entered a mild protest.

Mr. Plimsoll, however, rose quivering with rage and passion, and moved the adjournment of the House. He not only protested against the Government postponing a Bill that interfered with "the unhallowed gains" of the "ship-knackers," but said that some of them sat in the House, and mentioned by name one of "the villains" he was determined to "unmask." In vain the Speaker called him to order. Louder and louder grew the turmoil, and in the midst of it Mr. Disraeli grew visibly pale when Mr. Plimsoll rushed up the floor of the House with his clenched fist extended in front of him. However, he did not strike the Premier or Sir Charles Adderley—who was officially in charge of the Bill—as had been dreaded. He merely stood on one leg, placed a written protest on the table, and then, having shaken his fist in the Speaker's face, marched out of the Chamber amidst a scene of terrible disorder. Mr. Disraeli lost his temper and, with it, touch of the House for a moment. In angry accents he moved that Mr. Plimsoll be reprimanded there and then, whereupon the Speaker interfered, and said that before a motion of that sort could be put Mr. Plimsoll, who was now standing below the bar, must be heard in his place. Mr. Plimsoll, however, preferred immediate withdrawal, and the House was on the eve of entering into conflict with a defiant Member, supported by an irresistible force of democratic passion in the country, a conflict from which it must have emerged with impaired authority, when suddenly Lord Hartington came to the rescue. His frigid accents, in strong contrast with Mr. Disraeli's tremulous tones of wrath, immediately cooled the temper of the House. Mr. Plimsoll was, said Lord Hartington, merely suffering from "overstrain acting on a very sensitive temperament, and before taking any strong measures against a man so universally respected, it would be more consonant with the dignity of the House to give him reasonable time to put himself right." Mr. Disraeli instantly saw that Lord Hartington's phlegmatic sense had suggested the course that would extricate him from the dangerous position into which he was leading the House, and he consented to adjourn the matter for a week. Mr. Plimsoll made an honourable apology to the Speaker, and the matter ended happily, but the incident, to the gratification of the country, revealed in Lord Hartington a capacity for cool and adroit leadership, the existence of which had hitherto been unsuspected. The day after the scene in the House of Commons a storm of agitation broke over the country on behalf of Mr. Plimsoll. From every constituency remonstrances couched in terms of strong indignation poured in upon the House of Commons. Tory Members warned the Whips that they did not dare to run athwart the wave of passion that swept over the land.

The Cabinet accordingly held a meeting in a panic, and resolved to bring in a temporary Bill empowering the Board of Trade to detain rotten ships and to prohibit grain cargoes from being carried in bulk. The measure was passed, even the Peers shrinking from the responsibility of rejecting it.

Another blunder damaged Mr. Disraeli's leadership. In April Mr. Charles Lewis moved that the printer of the *Times* be summoned to the Bar and dealt with for printing a letter reflecting on a Member of the House of Commons, in a report of evidence given before the Foreign Loans Committee. It was an attempt to carry out the old Standing Order, which made it an offence for newspapers to report Parliamentary proceedings. Mr. Disraeli first spoke against the motion, and then voted for it. It was carried. But next day he moved that the Order be discharged, and when Mr. Sullivan asked him if he intended to put the relations of the Press and Parliament on a less anomalous footing, he answered "No." Thereupon Mr. Sullivan warned him he would insist on carrying out the ridiculous old Standing Order, and clearing the House of reporters every night till Mr. Disraeli yielded. Lord Hartington induced Mr. Sullivan to refrain, but Mr. Biggar next stepped in, and with elfish humour, one night when the Prince of Wales was listening to a debate, rose and said he "espied strangers in the House," which was duly cleared of every one—including the Prince—save Members. The two leaders then carried a motion suspending the ridiculous Order for that evening. Mr. Disraeli, however, still refused to alter the rule or accept a proposal from Lord Hartington for altering it. Mr. Sullivan accordingly retorted by again "espying strangers," clearing the House, and compelling the Government to adjourn an important debate. Mr. Disraeli now saw he had no choice but to surrender. He therefore carried a new Standing Order, enabling the Speaker to exclude strangers when he saw fit, but submitting the attempt of a private Member to clear the House, to the check of an immediate and undebateable vote.

Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget was ominous of hard times coming. Prices were beginning to fall, and unsound Foreign Loans, in which rich people had invested, were beginning to collapse. Sir Stafford Northcote, therefore, though he received half a million more revenue than he expected, wisely made no sanguine estimate for the ensuing year. His anticipated expenditure he put at £75,268,000, an increase of £939,000, and his revenue at £75,685,000, showing a probable surplus of £417,000, which was ultimately converted by supplementary estimates into an estimated deficit of £300,000—a bad contrast to the miraculous surplus of £6,000,000, which in the previous year he inherited from Mr. Gladstone. There was no special feature in the Budget, save the scheme fixing the charge for the paying up the interest and the principal of the National Debt in future at £28,000,000 a year, and making it obligatory to meet this sum before any surplus could be declared. It was, in fact, a plan for establishing a rigid Sinking Fund to discharge the

[illegible] Debt, and though it was popular at the time, it failed, as all such [illegible] fail, because whenever a difficulty arises Ministers of Finance always [illegible] a Sinking Fund in preference to imposing new taxes.

Ireland, represented by the new National Party, under Mr. Butt, gained little during 1875, but she gained something. Under a Liberal Government half the Home Rule Party could have been bribed by places into silence. But an ostentatiously hostile Tory Ministry could not offer them places, and

ABERGELDIE CASTLE.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

yet they had to be quieted somehow, for the Irish people had by this time lost faith in their insincere Parliamentary action. Fenian agents were telling the Irish peasantry that they could expect no concessions unless they extorted them by revolution. The Government, accordingly, relaxed the existing Coercion Acts, and the debate on one of these—the Westmeath Act—was, on the 22nd of April, 1875, rendered historic by the intervention of Mr. Biggar, who talked against time for five hours, by the simple device of reading long extracts from Blue Books.* Shortly after this feat, Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, a young Wicklow squire, who had been educated at Cambridge, and was notable for his shyness, his aristocratic reserve, and his

* Hansard, Vol. CCXXIII., p. 1458.

faltering and confused speech, took his seat as Member for Meath, in succession to John Martin, who had died. Nothing was known of him save that he had the reputation of being a Protestant landlord who was on good terms with his tenants, that from his mother—a daughter of the celebrated Commodore Stewart of the United States Navy—he had inherited Republican ideas, that he was a lover of field sports, and that he was a cadet of the family of which his great-grandfather, Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer in 1782, was a distinguished member, and the head of which was the present Lord Congleton. That his beautiful estate of Avondale was heavily mortgaged was *not* regarded as noteworthy. Mr. Joseph Gillies Biggar, whose quaint *bourgeois* humour had already made him, if not the favourite, at least one of the privileged "diversions" of the House, and who was destined to be Mr. Parnell's coadjutor in organising the largest and most powerful Irish National Party of the Victorian period, was a prosperous provision-dealer, of Scottish extraction, trading in Belfast. His experience of affairs had been gained as Chairman of the local Water Board.

Parliament was prorogued peacefully on the 13th of August, and, on the whole, Ministers emerged from the Session with credit. Mr. Disraeli's bright wit, his cheerful temper, and his airy jocularity in meeting serious attacks, recalled pleasant memories of Lord Palmerston, and tempted the House to forget his occasional blunders as its Leader. The Recess, however, brought serious peril to his Cabinet—peril which, however, it had done little to deserve. In the middle of September it was discovered that the Foreign Office had induced the Admiralty to issue a Fugitive Slave Circular to naval officers. They were told they must not receive fugitive slaves in territorial waters unless their lives were in danger. If the fugitive slave came on board a British ship in territorial waters, he was not to remain if it were proved he were a slave. If received on the high seas, he must be surrendered when the ship came within the territorial waters of the country from which he had escaped. The Circular, in fact, defined the legal obligations under which British ships of war must logically lie if they chose to enter the territorial waters of slave States, with which England was not at war. It was a Circular embodying regulations on which every Liberal Minister had habitually acted, but the Liberal Party immediately proceeded to make political capital out of it. An agitation as fierce as that which was caused by the abandonment of the Merchant Shipping Bill sprang up, and Lord Derby, at whose instance the Admiralty issued the Circular, was accused of attempting to commit England to a furtive partnership with slave-owners. The most that could be said in fairness against the document was that it was so badly drafted as to imply that the deck of a Queen's ship was subject to foreign jurisdiction. Moreover, the order to surrender a fugitive slave who had taken refuge on a Queen's ship on the high seas, was so completely indefensible that Lord Derby himself struck it out of the second edition of his

Circular. He might as well have ordered a British Consul in Rio to arrest and surrender a Brazilian slave who, having gained freedom by escaping to English soil, had afterwards returned to that port. Till Parliament met in 1876, the country rang with the inflated protests of Liberal partisans against the amended Circular, which was published after the original one had been suspended in October, and cancelled in November.

But the issue and publication of the Slave Circular was not the only blunder at the Admiralty that rendered the Government unpopular during the Recess. They were guilty of one which gave the Queen the utmost annoyance. When she was crossing the Solent from Osborne to Gosport on the 18th of August her yacht ran down another yacht called the *Mistletoe*. The owner (Mr. Heywood) and his sisters-in-law, Miss Annie Peel and Miss Eleanor Peel, were on board, and, though the last-named was rescued, Miss Annie Peel and the sailing-master were drowned. The Queen happened to be on deck, and her emotion during the scene was painful to witness. The Prince of Leiningen, as commander of the Royal yacht, was blamed by the people for the catastrophe, and unfortunately the Admiralty not only refused to try him by court-martial, but, after a secret inquiry, condemned the navigating officer. This roused public wrath, and it was ungenerously alleged that the Queen had forced a servile Minister to protect her nephew from just punishment. The fact is, as a subsequent case showed, the Admiralty merely followed the stereotyped rule, which, in those days, was to punish subordinate officers for the blunders of their superiors. It used to be asked, What was a navigating officer on board a Queen's ship for, unless to take his captain's punishment? Unfortunately for the Prince of Leiningen, there was a tribunal from which he could not escape—the coroner's inquest on the bodies of those for whose death he was morally responsible. The evidence given before the coroner still further exasperated the ill-feeling which had been roused. Yachtsmen—proverbially a loyal body of men—were irritated at the tone of a letter addressed to the president of the Cowes Yacht Club (the Marquis of Exeter), in which General Ponsonby expressed the Queen's wish that in future members of the Club would not approach too closely to the Royal yacht when the Queen was on board. The insinuation contained in this document and assumption that no blame rested on the officers of the *Alberta*, provoked yachtsmen in every club in Great Britain to retort that, in their painful experience, the Queen's yachts were navigated in the Solent with a disregard of the "rules of the road" which rendered them a constituted nuisance.

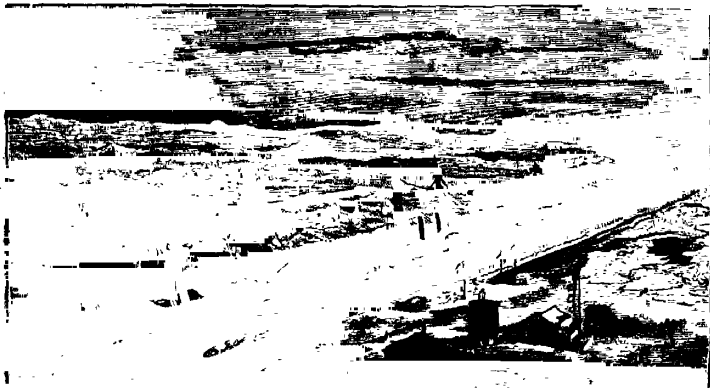
In this particular instance the Royal yacht had been driven at the rate of seventeen miles an hour, and the Prince of Leiningen and his subordinates had paid no attention to the Board of Trade rule which makes it the duty of a steamer to get well out of the way of a sailing-vessel. The quartermasters of the yacht, too, gave their evidence in a manner which not only cast

suspicion on their testimony, but suggested that they stood in terror of their officers. A letter which the Queen wrote to her nephew expressing her satisfaction with their conduct, was moreover taken to be an attempt to unduly influence the Coroner's Court. The first jury did not agree on a verdict, and the outcry about the Queen's letter was so loud that the case had to be tried again. The Queen had for a moment forgotten that the vast influence which she had acquired during her reign rendered it imperative for her to be silent on all matters of controversy—especially if they were under judicial investigation. She forgot that the mere expression of her individual opinion gave an advantage to one side in a dispute, the extent of which she herself had clearly never dreamt of—an advantage so great, that it bore unfairly against the side that had not got it. The second jury, however, brought in a verdict of "Accidental Death," and condemned the officers of the Royal yacht (1), for steaming at too high a speed, and (2), for keeping a bad look-out. The verdict was quite illogical. If the look-out on the *Alberta* was bad and her speed too high, and if, as was proved, her officer had violated the rule of the road, the verdict ought to have been one of Manslaughter. But no further steps were taken to do justice. Mr. Anderson brought the case before the House of Commons, and though he was defeated in his effort to make the Government move in the affair, he created a great stir in the country, by declaring that public funds had been used as hush-money to prevent further inquiry.* So far as the verdict of the jury went, demanding that the Royal yachts should steam at less speed in the Solent, it was absurd. State business often forces the Queen and her messengers and Ministers to travel fast. What the jury should have recommended was a new rule of the road, to the effect that everything must make way on the water for a yacht flying the Sovereign's personal flag.

The other blunder of the Admiralty arose out of an inquiry into the loss of two ironclads off the Wicklow coast. On the night of the 1st of September the *Iron Duke* rammed and sank the *Vanguard*. There was a fog at the time, and the captain of the *Vanguard* left the deck at the moment of greatest peril, and was stupid enough to reduce speed for no discernible reason without warning the *Iron Duke*, which was coming behind him. The captain of the *Iron Duke* was stupid enough to increase her speed in the fog, and she was not only badly steered, but her fog-signal was not blown. Had they been employed in the merchant service these two officers would have been subjected to the severest punishment. As it was, the captain of the *Vanguard* was dismissed the service. The captain of the *Iron Duke*, who had been condemned by the court-martial for ramming the *Vanguard*, was acquitted, on a review of his sentence by the Admiralty. The Admiralty then, by way of compensation, cashiered his subordinate, Lieutenant

* See Hansard, Vol. CCXXVIII., p. 1488. Mr. Heywood got £3,000 compensation.

[illegible], without a trial, and without giving him leave to make a defence. As for the Admiral, who, from lack of skill or from negligence permitted the [illegible] of his squadron to sail close to each other in a fog, he was freed from blame.

Fortunately for Mr. Disraeli, an opportunity for a great stroke of policy occurred, which diverted public attention from these blunders, and re-established the waning popularity of his Ministry. On the 26th of November it was announced that the Government had bought for £4,000,000 the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, and what a French writer described as "a conquest by mortgage" was hailed by the English people, with a shout of gratification. The impecunious ruler of Egypt had been literally hawking

VIEW ON THE SUEZ CANAL.

his Canal shares among the Powers. It was possible that at any moment Germany or France might buy them up, and then impede the passage of English troops to India. Not a day was to be lost, and Mr. Disraeli, therefore, on his own responsibility, and without consulting his Cabinet, purchased the Shares. There was joy in the City over this operation. The bankruptcy of Turkey, declared at the end of October, had converted Turkish Bonds into waste paper, and it was some compensation to speculators that Mr. Disraeli's purchase of the Canal Shares sent up the price of Egyptian Stock by leaps and bounds. Lord Hartington, it is true, in a speech at Sheffield (15th of December), querulously carped at the transaction. But as his contention was that England was in a better position to secure the neutrality of the Canal without them, with a solid proprietary interest in it, nobody paid the least attention to his unpatriotic cavillings. They merely convinced the country that, despite Mr. Disraeli's bungling Parliamentary leadership, his inaccuracy of statement, his loose hold of principle, and the administrative blunders of his subordinates, he

was the only living statesman of first rank, in whose hands the higher interests of the Empire were safe.

It was announced in March that the Prince of Wales was to visit India in November, with Sir Bartle Frere as his guide. In July it was decided that his tour should be a State Progress, the expenses of which should be paid for out of the revenues of England and India. The marine escort was to

COUNT FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

be provided by the Admiralty at a cost of £52,000; the Indian Treasury was to contribute £30,000; and when Mr. Disraeli asked the House of Commons for £52,000, Lord Hartington had no complaint to make except that he thought the vote ought to be larger. Messrs. Macdonald and Burt, when they objected that the working-classes would not approve of the grant, were literally "howled down" by the House. Yet all Mr. Burt said was that as he himself lived on a salary derived from his constituents, he could not decently vote away their money to pay the cost of what they believed was a tour of pleasure for a rich Prince. His argument was fair enough from

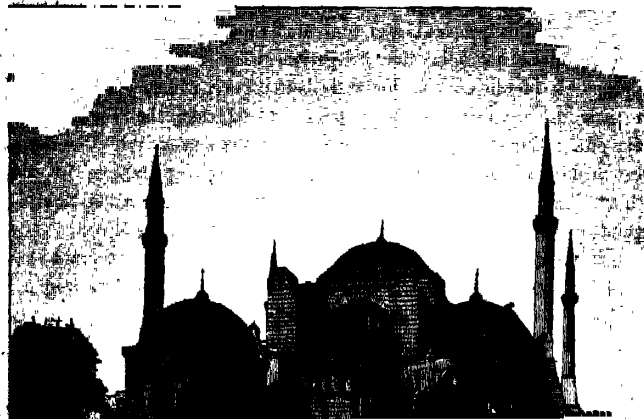
[illegible] view. It was faulty because he failed to see that a vote for a State [illegible] which meant to individualise the Monarchy to the Indian mind, was not a grant to the Prince as a private individual. Mr. Bright's support of the grant, which was voted, was useful to the Government. But as his argument was that the visit of the Prince might be serviceable in checking the harsh and cruel treatment to which the natives of India are subjected by their English rulers, it was condemned as unjust to the devoted servants of the Queen, who wear out their lives in honourable exile, maintaining peace in an Empire that, without them, would be converted into a pandemonium of slaughter.

The opening days of 1876 were marked by the announcement of Lord Northbrook's resignation as Viceroy of India. The Indian Viceroy had for some time thwarted the policy of the Secretary of State, and the final rupture was made when they differed in opinion as to the kind of Envoy the Government should have at Cabul. It was a quaint controversy. Lord Salisbury said the face of the British Envoy should be white. Lord Northbrook contended that it should be black, whereupon Lord Salisbury wrote Lord Northbrook a despatch, couched in terms that left him no alternative save resignation. According to Lord Salisbury, unless a white Envoy kept watch over the Ameer, Shere Ali, our information from Cabul would be defective. According to Lord Northbrook, if we sent an European Envoy to Cabul, he would be promptly assassinated, in which case we should get no information at all, and India would be dragged into a ruinous war of vengeance. Lord Northbrook had nothing on his side but facts. No Afghan Ameer had ever been able to guarantee a Christian Envoy at Cabul against assassination. When Lord Salisbury did send an European Envoy to Cabul he was not only murdered, but, pending his inevitable murder, the only information worth having that came from Cabul, came from native sources. It was, moreover, a slight on the Indian Government to say that they had not been able to train a Mahommedan official of rank up to the duties of effective diplomatic espionage at Cabul. However, the dispute ended in Lord Northbrook coming back to England, and in Lord Lytton going out to India as his successor. There was no doubt a time when the appointment of a diplomatist who was a Peer and a passionate poet, to the Viceregal Throne might have been useful. Unhappily, in 1876, a different type of ruler was needed in India. The war cloud in Eastern Europe was about to break, and it was well known that in any diplomatic contest between Russia and England, it would be the aim of Russia to weaken England by making trouble for her on her Indian frontier. For the stress of the times, a man like Lord Mayo was necessary, and Lord Lytton was everything that Lord Mayo was not.

All through 1875 there had been in Bosnia and Herzegovina disturbances precisely similar to those in the Principalities which preceded the Crimean

War. After Lord Derby had been appealed to by Musurus Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador in London, he suggested to Count Andrassy that Austria should prevent her subjects on her frontier from supporting the insurgents in the mutinous Turkish provinces, and a similar suggestion was made to the Servian Government. His advice to the Turks was to stamp out rebellion as quickly as possible, so as to prevent it from spreading and provoking European intervention. The Porte, instead of acting on this advice, desired that the Consuls of the Great Powers should mediate between the Sultan and the rebels, and Lord Derby, instead of adhering to his original counsels, weakly fell in with this proposal, and consented, though with great hesitancy, to let the British Consul join the delegation. The rebels were delighted with the proposals of the Consuls for their better government, but refused to lay down their arms unless the Powers guaranteed that the Turks would carry them out. The Consuls were pleased that the demands of the insurgents were moderate and reasonable, but could give no guarantees for the good faith of Turkey. As they were returning from their mission fighting began again.

From their public utterances during the recess of 1875 it was inferred that while Lord Derby was averse from further intervention on the part of England in the business, because in the East, he said, "we want nothing, and fear nothing," Mr. Disraeli was of opinion that England had great interests in Eastern Europe, which the Government, he said at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, "are resolved to guard and maintain." There are no novelties in English politics. The situation was the same as that which led to the Crimean War, and it also had to be dealt with by a Cabinet which, like Lord Aberdeen's, was divided into interventionists and non-interventionists. But an acute observer might have detected what Mr. Disraeli failed to see, that English opinion had changed since 1853. In 1853 the electors were in favour of intervention, whereas, since the defeat of Palmerston by the Court and Mr. Cobden in 1864, they had always been against it. As the insurrection spread, the Porte promised reforms. Three Powers—Austria, Germany and Russia, afterwards joined by France and Italy—sent a Note to Turkey known as "the Andrassy Note" (30th of December, 1875), condemning the misgovernment of the insurgent provinces, bewailing the broken promises of the Porte, and demanding certain reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina to prevent a general rising. Lord Derby, after about a month's hesitation, instructed the British Ambassador to give the Note a general support. Turkey accepted most of its proposals, and issued another *Iradé* to carry them out. The *Iradé* was never made operative, and though Lord Derby was not offended by the contumacy of Turkey, the other Powers resented it. Count Schouvaloff persuaded him to permit Lord Odo Russell to meet the representatives of the five Powers at Berlin in May to consider the situation. At this meeting the Berlin Memorandum was produced and agreed to by the Continental Powers.

assumed, that as the Porte had promised to carry out the reforms in the Andrassy Note, the Powers had now the right to force it to keep its pledges. It formulated the guarantees which Europe asked for in order to give effect to the Andrassy Note, and threatened Turkey with "more effective measures" of coercion if she failed to give them within two months after an armistice between her and her rebellious provinces had been concluded. The reason why the Note was minatory lay on the

THE MOSQUE OF SAN SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

surface. The Consuls of France and Germany had been murdered by the Turks at Salonica, and before any redress could be obtained Prince Bismarck had to send the Porte an ultimatum that meant war. Lord Derby declined to assent to the Memorandum, on the ground that England had not been consulted in the preparing of it, and did not believe that it would do any good if presented. The Foreign Ministers of the Powers in vain implored him to reconsider his decision, and then the Memorandum was tossed into the waste-paper basket of diplomacy. Turkey, seeing that Lord Derby had broken up the European Concert at Berlin, behaved exactly as she did when Clarendon broke up the same instrument of coercion at Vienna. Her contumacy was intensified, and what was still more serious, her European vassals,

seeing that diplomacy had failed to rescue them from misrule, took up arms. Within a month after the diplomatic triumph of England, the Turks found it had secured to them the following advantages:—(1), The Continental Powers withdrew from the field, and adopted an attitude of vigilant inactivity. (2), Servia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey. (3), The soil of Bulgaria was soaked with the blood of her Christian population, whose revolt had been quelled by massacres and ghastly atrocities, that rendered expulsion from

HERALDS AT THE MANSION HOUSE, PROCLAIMING THE QUEEN AS "EMPRESS OF INDIA."

Europe the manifest destiny of the Ottoman race. (4), The Sultan Abdul Aziz was dethroned by a mob of fanatical Moslems, and his European Empire lay wrecked in anarchy. It had been made a matter of complaint that the Foreign Policy of England in 1853 was slow in producing any effect. When we consider what happened in the month that followed the failure of the Berlin Memorandum, and the collapse of the European Concert, that complaint cannot be justly advanced against Mr. Disraeli's Foreign Policy in 1876.

Parliament was opened on the 8th of February by the Queen in person, with great pomp and ceremony; and the Royal Speech promised several useful measures dealing with the Court of Appeal, Merchant Shipping, and Prisons. But the one that excited most public interest was the Bill to confer

on the Sovereign a new title derived from India, in gracious acknowledgment of the enthusiastic reception given to the Prince of Wales by the natives of that Empire. As for the Slave Circular, the questions raised by it were to be referred to a Royal Commission. The Foreign Policy of the Government was expressed by Mr. Disraeli, in terms that appealed sympathetically to national feeling. It was based on the idea that England was responsible for the good use of her influence in the councils of Europe, and it united the Tory Party, and caused the country to condone all Ministerial blunders. The debate on the Eastern Question showed that Mr. Gladstone and other eminent Liberals approved of Lord Derby's adherence to the Andrassy Note. But it clearly indicated that the Opposition would attack the Government if it adopted the old Crimean policy of supporting Turkey whenever she rejected the demands of Europe. The purchase of the Suez Canal Shares provoked more controversy. It turned out that they had been mortgaged by the Khedive, and could not yield dividends for nineteen years, a fact unknown to Mr. Disraeli when he bought them. Sir Stafford Northcote, therefore, proposed to borrow £4,000,000, and exact from the Khedive 5 per cent. a year on that sum to cover the loss of the mortgaged dividends. Mr. Gladstone attacked the financial details of the transaction,* and though his criticism was logical it failed to influence the country. Had the purchase of the Shares been solely a commercial speculation, the unbusiness-like manner in which it had been effected would have been of some importance. But it was also a stroke of high policy, and it appealed to the imperial instincts of the nation which, as Mr. Disraeli said, was getting "sea-sick of the silver streak."† Most of Mr. Gladstone's prophecies have been falsified by events. Oddly enough the only valid objections to the purchase of the Canal Shares were not pressed by him. They were (1), That a Canal which could be easily blocked and wrecked by an enemy's ship, was not a safe route to India; and (2), That the fault of Mr. Disraeli's policy was in his failure to carry it out to its logical conclusion—the establishment of a British Protectorate over Egypt, which would have rendered the final fate of Turkey, a matter of indifference to Englishmen. Parliament ratified the policy of the Government with enthusiasm. The appointment of the Royal Commission to examine all the difficulties raised by the Slave Circular saved Ministers from defeat at the end of the Debate on the issue of that stupid State Paper. The Government

* He complained that the Government had gone to Messrs Rothschild for the purchase-money instead of to their regular financial agents, and paid them a commission equal to 15 per cent. a year on the advance. He declared that the Khedive would probably fail to pay his 5 per cent on the purchase-money, and that England, in any dispute as a shareholder, would have to sue and be sued in a French court. As trustee for the nation the Government ought, he said, to insist on low tariffs. As a shareholder it must, however, insist on high dividends. The purchase, he held, would give England no real influence at the Board of Direction.

† Mr. Gladstone once cited the Channel as "the silver streak," which was the best defence of England against the Continent, and a justification for a Foreign Policy of isolation.

was also fortunate in its domestic legislation. The Merchant Shipping Bill, when it passed, was found to be a compromise which remedied most of the wrongs for which Mr. Plimsoll sought redress. Lord Sandon's Education Act was a concession to the advocates of compulsory education, for it prohibited the employment of children under ten, and it prohibited the employment of children between ten and fourteen, who had not attended school 250 times a year and passed an examination in the Fourth Standard. In fact, the Bill legalised, not direct, but indirect compulsion. Bills restricting the practice of vivisection, and restoring to the House of Lords its Appellate Jurisdiction, but adding to it Judges of Appeal, who would be Peers during their tenure of office, and who, with the ex-Chancellor, would discharge the judicial functions of the Upper House, were also passed. For the meagre achievements of the Session three reasons may be given: (1), Much time was lost over the Education Act, because not only was it necessary for the Opposition to tone down its reactionary clauses, but concessions to the opponents of School Boards were suddenly sprung upon the House by Lord Sandon, which had to be fiercely resisted. (2), The policy of obstruction which had been adopted with so much success to delay Mr. Forster's Ballot Bill in 1883, was now developed in an ingenious manner by Messrs. Biggar and Parnell. They "blocked" Bills indiscriminately, so as to bring them under the rule which forbade opposed measures to be taken after half-past twelve at night. They moved adjournments in various forms at half-past twelve, on the ground that the hour was too far advanced for discussion. They were always on the watch to "count out" the House, and they never missed a chance of "talking out" a Bill,* quite regardless of its merits. Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar thus taught themselves to be formidable debaters at the expense of the House, for, as Mr. Parnell once told a friend, the best way to learn the rules of Parliament is to break them.† (3), A great deal of time was also wasted in discussing the Royal Titles Bill, to which the Liberals offered an amount of opposition out of all proportion to the significance of the measure.

The Royal Titles Bill was introduced by the Prime Minister on the 7th of February. He had some idea that it would be an offence against the prerogative if he stated what the new title was to be, but it was said that the Queen, ever since the Duchess of Edinburgh had claimed precedence over her sisters-in-law, on the ground that hers was an Imperial, whilst theirs was a Royal title, desired to be styled Empress of India. On the other hand, most people objected to change the Queen's designation. Why, it was asked, should the successor of Egbert wish to be a modern Empress? To insert India in the existing form of the Royal title would adequately meet any

* When a Bill was approaching one of the stages at half-past twelve, Mr. Biggar or Mr. Parnell would get up and speak so as to protract debate till the hour came when opposed business must be postponed.

† The Parnell Movement, by T. P. O'Connor, M.P. Popular Edition, p. 157.

real necessity for change. The Imperial title was also surrounded with associations, and it suggested that Imperialism or personal Governm tempered by casual appeals for support to the democracy or the Army c the head of Parliament, was the end aimed at by the Ministerial pol Mr. Disraeli's haughty refusal to communicate the new title to the Ho

THE QUEEN VISITING THE WARDS OF THE LONDON HOSPITAL.

of Commons was met by a motion that no progress be made with Bill till the title was revealed. The Prime Minister accordingly yielded point, and promised to give the necessary explanations before the Bill read a second time. The debate on the Second Reading showed clearly t the House of Commons was hostile to the Bill; but as the Government g a pledge that the title should be used in India only, the Second Read was carried. This pledge was soon broken, for the Proclamation was ma not that the new title should be used in India, but that it might be u

everywhere save in the United Kingdom. The Peers were as reluctant as the Commons to sanction the adoption of any exotic titles by the Crown, and the Court did not scruple to bring personal pressure to bear on them for the purpose of overcoming their threatened opposition. Lord Shaftesbury was summoned to Windsor in early spring, and as it was twenty years since he had been the Queen's guest, he says in his Diary that he assumed his

THE ALBERT MEMORIAL, CHARLOTTE SQUARE, EDINBURGH.

invitation was brought about by the controversy then raging over the Royal Titles Bill. "I dread it [the visit]," he writes in his Diary, on the 12th of March, "the cold, the evening dress, the solitude, for I am old, and dislike being far away from assistance should I be ill at night. . . . . She [the Queen] sent for me in 1848 to consult me on a very important matter. Can it be so now?" The next entry showed his foreboding to be correct. He says, on the 14th of March, "Returned from Windsor. I am sure it was so, though not distinctly avowed. Her Majesty personally said nothing." But though she did not discuss the views he expressed to her, a Lord-in-

Waiting formally requested him to communicate them to Mr. Disraeli. Disraeli paid no heed to them, and Lord Shaftesbury accordingly mo (3rd of April), in the House of Lords, an Address to the Queen praying not to take the title of Empress. He pointed out that in time it would l its present impression of feminine softness, and be transformed into "Emper whereupon "it must have an air military, despotic, offensive, and intolerabl To scoff as Mr. Disraeli had done at the popular dislike to the Imperial ti as a mere "sentiment" was a mistake. "Loyalty itself," observed L Shaftesbury, "was a sentiment, and the same sentiment that attached people to the word Queen, averted them from that of 'Empress.'" In division, though the Government obtained 137 votes in favour of what *Saturday Review* called a "vulgar and impolitic innovation," eight Du and a large body of habitual courtiers voted with Lord Shaftesbury in minority of 91.* The dismal predictions of the opponents of the meas have not been verified—possibly because their protests convinced the Court t any ostentatious display of modern Imperialism by an ancient Constitutio Monarchy would lead to a recrudescence of the Republic agitation. For nately the heated debates on the Titles Bill did not affect the perso popularity of the Sovereign. In the midst of the controversy the Qu visited Whitechapel on the 6th of March, to open a new wing of the Lon Hospital, which had been built by the munificence of the Grocers' Compa Her Majesty was enthusiastically received, the only complaint being that drove too fast along the route where the populace swarmed in their thousa to gaze on her. The visit was taken to be an intimation that the Crown not a mere toy of the aristocratic quarters of the capital, and that wl the Queen emerged from her seclusion it was not solely for the purpose benefiting the West End shopkeepers. "The bees welcome their Quee was one of the mottoes displayed on the route. "I was sick and ye visi me," was another, and both inscriptions reflected the kindly feeling w which her Majesty was greeted by industrial London. In the Hospital ma interesting incidents were recorded, one of the most touching being tl of a little girl who was suffering from a severe burn, and who had said s was sure she would get better if she "could only see the Queen." Wl this was communicated to her Majesty, she smiled, went straightway to child's cot, where she kissed her, and soothed her with many tender wo of comfort.

Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget was a doleful statement of increased exp diture, and diminished income from a revenue that had ceased to be elast He estimated a deficit for the coming year of £774,000, and so he increas the income-tax to 5d. in the £, and added 4d. on the pound to the duty tobacco. The latter tax was a mistake. It did not raise the price

* See Hodder's Life of Lord Shaftesbury, Vol. III., pp. 367, 371.

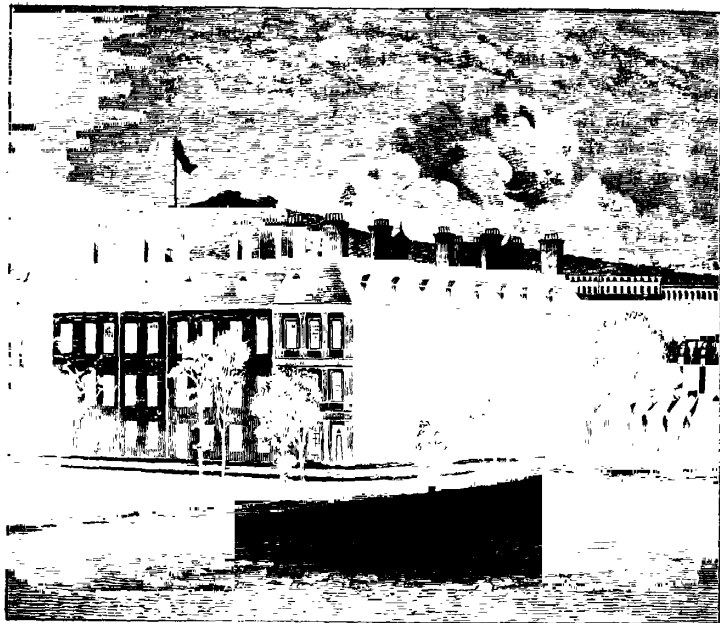
tobacco to the poor, but it caused the manufacturers to adulterate their tobacco with water so as to add to its weight. The Session ended on the 15th of August, and next day the world heard with great surprise that Mr. Disraeli had become Earl of Beaconsfield, and to use his own jocose expression, that, "abandoning the style of Don Juan for that of Paradise Lost," he would in future lead the House of Lords. Sir Stafford Northcote was left to represent him in the House of Commons.

On the 17th of August the Queen unveiled the Scottish National Memorial of Prince Albert, which had been erected in Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. The monument consisted of a colossal equestrian statue of the Prince Consort, and the four panels of the pedestal contained bas-reliefs illustrating notable events in his Royal Highness's career. At each of the four corners of the platform on which the pedestal stands were groups of statuary, symbolical of the respect paid to Prince Albert's memory by all classes of the community: one group typifying Labour, another Science and Art, a third the Army and Navy, and the fourth the Nobility. The equestrian figure and the panels were the work of the veteran Scottish sculptor, Mr. John Steell, who designed and superintended the construction of the memorial. The subordinate groups were executed by Mr. D. W. Stevenson, Mr. Clark Stanton, Mr. Brodie, and Mr. George McCallum, a young artist of high promise, who died before his group was completed. The ceremony of unveiling was unusually interesting. A gaily-decorated pavilion had been raised for the occasion. The Queen was accompanied by Prince Leopold, the Princess Beatrice, and the Duke of Connaught. Under the command of the Duke of Buccleuch, the Royal Company of Archers formed the bodyguard. The Duke of Roxburghe, Lord Rosebery, Sir W. Gibson-Craig, the Earl of Selkirk, the Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Provost Falshaw, and the Town Council, were among the distinguished persons present. After the statue had, at her Majesty's command, been uncovered, she walked round it and expressed her entire satisfaction with the memorial. To signalise her appreciation of what had been done, and to manifest her desire to honour her "faithful city," Mr. Falshaw was created a baronet, and a knighthood was conferred on Mr. John Steell, and on Mr. Herbert Oakeley, Professor of Music in the University.

During the Recess, the country could think of nothing save the Eastern Question. Mr. Gladstone's taste

"For writing pamphlets and for roasting Popes"

was bent in a new direction, and he threw himself with all his might into the controversy that ended in turning English public opinion irrevocably against Turkey. Throughout the Session Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington had, with commendable patriotism, abstained from putting questions to Ministers with reference to their Eastern policy. Parliament and the country were, therefore, in the dark as to what was going on. But towards the end of

disquieting rumours flew about to the effect that there had been a revolution in Bulgaria, and that the Turks had suppressed it by massacres of the most revolting barbarity. The Government met these tales with jaunty persiflage. On the 10th of July Mr. Forster put a question on the subject, which Mr. Disraeli answered by saying that he considered the reports exaggerated, nor did he think that torture had been resorted to by "an Oriental

HOLYROOD PALACE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

people who, I believe, seldom resort to torture, but generally terminate their connection with culprits in a more expeditious manner"* This ill-timed jest was hailed with a great guffaw of laughter from the Ministerial Benches. It destroyed Mr. Disraeli's authority in the country when the awful truth was revealed, not by the diplomatic agents of England, who strove hard to conceal it, but by two American gentlemen, Mr. J. A. Macgahan, a distinguished journalist, and Mr. Eugene Schuyler, the United States Consul-General in Turkey. They went to Philippopolis on the 25th of July, and Mr. Macgahan's description of what he saw in the country, which had been ravaged by the Turks, when published in the *Daily News*, sent a thrill of horror through the

* Hansard, Vol. CCXXX., p. 1182.

civilised world. The partisans of Turkey were enraged beyond self-control, and vowed that the worst of all outrages that had been committed was that which was perpetrated by the publication of Mr. Macgahan's report on the brutalities of the Turkish soldiery. The wild work of the Sepoys at Cawnpore was indeed merciful and humane compared with what had been done by the

SIR JAMES FALSHAW

(From a Photograph by J. Moffat, Edinburgh.)

Turks at Batak. Indiscriminate butchery could alone be laid to the charge of the Indian mutineers. But in Bulgaria, before the Turk murdered his victims, he inflicted on them fiendish tortures and bestial outrages. The Province was one vast desolation covered with blackened ruins, devastated fields, putrefying corpses, and bleached skeletons. Neither age nor sex had been spared. The land would have been as silent as a desert, save for the wailing of the scattered remnant of the Christian population who had

eluded the vengeance of their oppressors. As for the Porte—whose promises of reform in Bulgaria were cheerily cited by Mr. Disraeli to cast doubt on the descriptions of these atrocities—it gave but one sign of action. It promoted Achmed Aga, the barbarian who was responsible for all this wickedness, to be Governor of the Province which he had laid waste.* The effect of these revelations on public opinion was heightened by Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, entitled "Bulgarian Horrors," and by his speech at Blackheath on the 9th of September, wherein he convicted the Government of apologising for Turkish barbarities, when it could no longer venture to deny their existence. He laid down the lines of the new Eastern policy which England must support. The Turkish officials must be expelled from Bulgaria "bag and baggage," and the European Provinces of Turkey granted such powers of self-government under the suzerainty of the Sultan, as would protect them from being seized by Austria and Russia on the one hand and devastated by Asiatic savages on the other. Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Derby, in subsequent speeches, seemed to adopt the principle of Mr. Gladstone's policy. They admitted that it was the duty of England to join the civilised Powers in preventing Turkey from opening again the floodgates of lust, rapine, and murder in Bulgaria, and the English people for the first time understood how, with the cries of their tortured neighbours ringing in their ears, the Servians and Montenegrins had flown to arms.

Some Conservative writers and speakers still tried to persuade the world that the Russian Government had bribed the Turkish Pashas to commit and the Bulgarians to submit to outrages, in order to discredit Ottoman rule in Europe. But their efforts were futile, and the word went forth from all sides that never again would England draw her sword, as in 1854, to save Turkey from the consequences of her incurable barbarism. Strange to say, Lord Beaconsfield failed to gauge the strength of this feeling. On the 20th of September, in his speech at Aylesford, he neither adopted nor rejected the policy suggested by Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Derby, but he spoke in a querulous tone of the popular meetings which were being held all over England expressing sympathy with Bulgaria and urging the Government to shield her from the cruelty of her oppressors. The agitation, he said, was "impolitic, and founded on erroneous data." Those who got up these meetings, he declared, were guilty of outrages on "the principle of patriotism, worse than any of those Bulgarian atrocities of which we have heard so much." His negative policy which destroyed the Berlin Memorandum without putting any counter proposals in its place, would, he contended, have had a happy issue in negotiations. These, however, were upset by the unexpected Servian declaration of war against Turkey, which was prompted by "the Secret Societies." Yet England had signed

* See Macgahan's Letters and Consul-General Schuyler's Report to the United States Minister at Constantinople, cited in the Appendix, pp. 22 *et seqq.*

the Andrassy Note, which warned Turkey that this unexpected war would be waged against her by Servia, unless she granted the reforms demanded in the Note. When Turkey, instead of granting these reforms, massacred the population that craved for them, it was absurd to suppose that "the Secret Societies of Europe," rather than the popular sympathies of the Christian Slavs, forced the Servian Government into war. That the speech fell flat was seen by the polling at the Buckinghamshire Election next day, when in Lord Beaconsfield's own county Mr. Freemantle only saved the seat from the attack of Mr. Rupert Carrington, the Liberal candidate, by the small majority of 186. There were now two voices in the Cabinet; for on the day after Lord Beaconsfield's speech was made and was taken by Turkey to mean that she had the English Cabinet on her side, Lord Derby ordered Sir H. Elliot to go to the Sultan, and not only denounce the outrages in Bulgaria, but, in the name of the Queen, who was profoundly shocked by them, demand that the officials who perpetrated them be adequately punished. It is hardly necessary to say that the Sultan, imagining that the Prime Minister was all-powerful, paid no heed to remonstrances from the Foreign Secretary. On the 25th of September, the day after the war with Servia began, Sir H. Elliot pressed the Porte to make peace on terms which Lord Derby suggested, and which were most creditable to his diplomatic sagacity. Lord Derby's proposals, if carried out, would have saved Turkey from the supreme disaster which was awaiting her, for they provided that the Porte should effectively guarantee administrative reforms in her Christian Provinces, while Servia and Montenegro should lay down their arms and return to the *status quo ante bellum*. The Porte would only accept an armistice which would have been unfair to Servia and Montenegro, and Servia would not accept a settlement which did not provide for the withdrawal of the barbarous soldiers of Turkey from Bulgaria. Whilst negotiations were pending, the Turks, on the 29th of October, beat down the Servian defence at Alexinatz, whereupon, to the mortification of England, the Czar effected in an instant that which Lord Derby, after many weary weeks of negotiation, had failed to accomplish. Ignatieff was instructed to tell the Porte that if it did not accept an armistice of six weeks within forty-eight hours, diplomatic relations between Turkey and Russia would cease. When the same threat had been delivered by the British Ambassador, the Turks ignored it; in fact, they were impudent enough to meet it with a counter-proposal so absurd, that the Italian Minister said they were obviously playing with England. Although strengthened by a great victory, they did not, however, dare to treat the representative of the Czar as if he were the representative of the Queen. They accepted his ultimatum without demur or delay, and thus owing to the feebleness of English diplomacy, Russia emerged with the honours of the game in which, up to the last moment, Lord Derby held the winning cards. This was, however, a minor matter. Lord Beaconsfield and

Lord Derby had now given Russia not only a plausible pretext for taking the lead in dealing with the Eastern Question, but also an opportunity for intimating to the world that, in circumstances which extorted the sanction of the Continental Powers, she had the right, in case of a deadlock, to deal with

LORD BEACONSFIELD AT THE BANQUET IN THE GUILDHALL.

it single-handed. In other words, the English Government, by allowing the Porte to trifle with it during September, 1876, flung away at one cast the only practical results won by the Crimean War.

The Czar now proposed that a coercive naval demonstration by the Powers should be made in the Bosphorus, but Lord Derby rejected the idea. After some weeks he suggested that a Conference of the Powers should be held to

consider the situation on the basis of his own excellent proposals for peace, which have been already described. The Conference was assented to, and Lord Derby to some extent retrieved the position he lost on the morrow of Alexinatz. The Czar had also given the English Government the fullest assurances that he had no design on Constantinople, and in proof of his sincerity he had withdrawn a suggestion he had thrown out for the temporary occupation of Bosnia and Bulgaria by Austrian and Russian troops, and frankly accepted the English proposals for a settlement. It has been seen that during the negotiations which led up to the Crimean War, whenever the question was on the point of being settled somebody always interfered in England and in France to break the accord of the Powers. On this occasion history repeated itself. On the 9th of November Lord Beaconsfield delivered a speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, which suppressed all information as to the conciliatory mood of the Czar, and not only terrified Englishmen into a belief that Russia was scheming to seize Bulgaria, but that England was determined to oppose her by arms. The Czar, on the other hand, in an address to the Notables of Moscow, said that he was "firmly resolved to act independently if necessary" to obtain justice for the Christian subjects of Turkey.* At Constantinople there was joy among the Pashas, for they argued that after Lord Beaconsfield's Guildhall speech they might regard the verdict of the Conference with indifference. The Czar, on his side, by way of emphasising his Moscow speech, mobilised six *corps d'armee*,† and Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Cross, in order to minimise the effect of Lord Beaconsfield's threats, delivered addresses showing that they thought Turkey must be coerced if she trifled with Europe.‡ Lord Salisbury visited the European capitals on his way to the Conference at Constantinople, at which he was to represent England, and at each one he was informed that he must expect no aid in supporting Turkey. An appeal was made by the *Times* to Prince Bismarck to check Russia—but in vain. When Lord Salisbury had an interview with Prince Bismarck he found he was virtually a diplomatic ally of Russia. In fact, ere he reached Constantinople, Lord Salisbury found that Lord Beaconsfield's policy of applying the obsolete ideas of the Whigs of 1854 to solve the Eastern Question in 1876, had isolated England. In the preliminary Conference, from which the Turks were excluded, Mr. Gladstone's plan of giving administrative autonomy to the European Provinces of Turkey was adopted, Lord Salisbury supporting it with great ability and skill.§ He even consented to allow 6,000 troops from some minor State—Belgium was

* It was not possible that the Czar could have seen a telegraphic summary of Lord Beaconsfield's Guildhall speech when he spoke to the nobles at Moscow.

† 160,000 men, and 648 guns.

‡ Sir S. Northcote spoke at Bristol on the 13th of November, and Mr. Cross at Birmingham a week later.

§ It was at this time that Tory partisans and Ministerial organs, in order to encourage the Turks to resistance, began to denounce Lord Salisbury as a traitor.

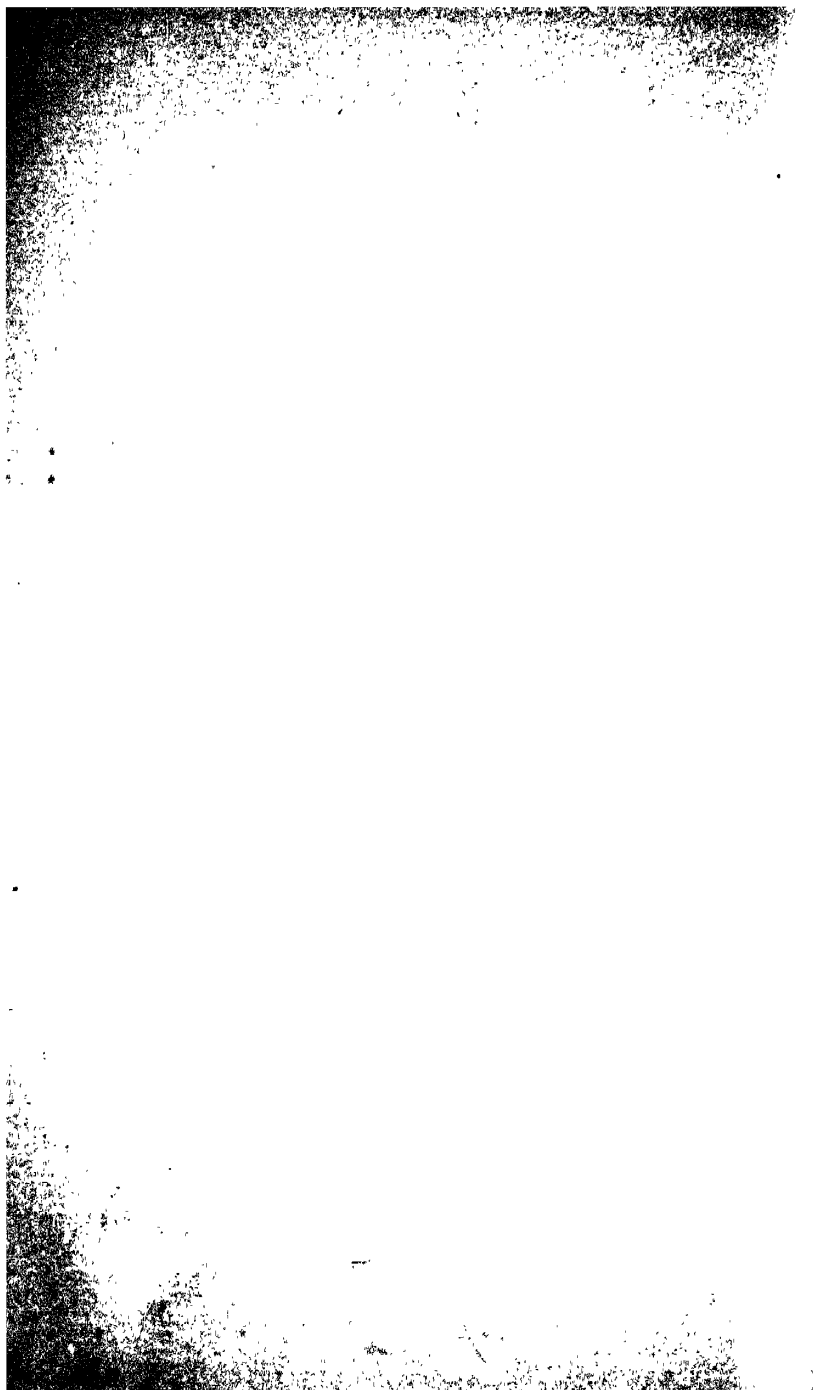
suggested — to support the International Commission for reorganising the Government of an autonomous Bulgaria. This scheme was to have been adopted by the Porte at a Plenary Conference. Relying on the support of Lord Beaconsfield, and misled by the denunciations of Lord Salisbury which appeared in the Ministerial Press—then busy manufacturing failure for the English representatives at the Conference—the Porte met the demands of the Powers for reform, by proclaiming a grotesque Parliamentary Constitution for the Ottoman Empire. But it obstinately refused to grant the reforms demanded by the Conference, which accordingly broke up on the 20th of January, 1877. The Ambassadors of the Powers were then recalled from Constantinople. On the 8th of December (1876) a National Conference, under the presidency of the Duke of Westminster, and representing not only the heads of the Whig nobility, but most of the leaders of literature, science, and art, the High Church clergy, the Nonconformists, and politicians of every shade of Liberal opinion, met in St. James's Hall to condemn Lord Beaconsfield's policy, and protest against England giving armed aid to Turkey.

Early in 1876 the death of Lady Augusta Stanley, wife of the Dean of Westminster, removed one of the Queen's most trusted friends. She had been for many years in personal attendance on her Majesty, and her services were so valuable that for many years her marriage with Dean Stanley had been postponed simply because the Royal Family could not spare her from their domestic circle. This gentle lady, throughout her life of unobtrusive usefulness at the Deanery of Westminster, served as one of the connecting-links between the upper, the middle, and the lower classes. She was as well known and as well loved in the dismal "slums" of London as in the radiant circle of the Court, and her death somewhat dimmed the brightness of the London season of 1876. It was a feverish, ill-conditioned season, agitated by financial scandals, by the pressure of hard times, by the failure of trade due to the uncertainty of the political situation, and by fierce and factious controversies as to the relative merits of Turks and Eastern Christians. To be in the mode one had to affect a strong admiration, not only for the ethics of the Koran, but for those of the Bashi-Bazouk, and a compassionate regret that Christianity had failed to elevate the European subjects of the Sultan, to the plane of Asiatic civilisation. The china mania, or craze for collecting old pottery, represented the fashionable movement in Art. Rinking, or skating on roller-skates in very mixed assemblies,* was the favourite form of physical recreation, and persons of quality kept their intellects alive by holding the spelling competitions known as "Spelling Bees." Besides the "hard times" due to the collapse of investments, the Colorado beetle and the tropical heat of summer were added to the torments of the time; and the publication of the Domesday Book, showing that 710 individuals owned more

* A fashionable skating-rink did poor business in 1876 if it did not return a profit of 300 per cent., and a good patent for a rinking-skate was worth at least £150.000 to a popular inventor.

than one-fourth of the soil of England and Wales, still further aggravated the uneasiness of a territorial aristocracy, whose margin of income for expenditure on luxuries was daily diminishing. The year closed with the sudden return of the Polar Expedition under Sir George Nares. Its record of achievement was most meagre, and its retreat after enduring only one winter in the ice was felt to be discreditable to the manhood of the British Navy. It was, however, discovered that the disaster was due to a terrible outbreak of scurvy in the crews of the Arctic ships, which was traced to their neglect to use lime-juice. The reputation of the explorers for pluck and endurance was thus redeemed at the expense of their intelligence.

The daily papers were filled with glowing accounts of the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India (Kaiser-i-Hind) at Delhi, in the presence of the Viceroy and the great feudatories of the Empire on the 1st of January, 1877. The ceremony was accompanied by salvoes of artillery. A banner and a medal were given to the Princes to commemorate the event, and five of the most powerful magnates, Holkar, Scindiah, the Maharajah of Cashmere, the Maharajah of Travancore, and the Maharanee of Oodeypore, were granted rank, typified by salutes of twenty-one guns, equivalent to that of the Nizam. But as the viceregal salute was raised to thirty-one guns, Holkar and Scindiah, whose claim was to hold higher status than the Viceroy in their own dominions, and equal rank with him elsewhere, went away discontented. The scenic display was a little tawdry and theatrical, and grizzled Anglo-Indians, who had been accustomed to see austere statesmen or stern soldiers on the viceregal throne, were perplexed to find the Empress represented by a Viceroy who appeared to enjoy keenly the Orientalism of the function, and saw no absurdity in representing the majesty of Empire from the back of an elephant, which had been painted white for the occasion. Yet the ceremony was not without a deep meaning. It represented the final triumph of the new system which was introduced into India by Canning, the system by which, instead of ruling India by a paternal bureaucracy, whose aim was to sweep away all magnates who stood between it and the people, the hereditary rights of the native Princes were recognised, and they themselves admitted as corner-stones in the fabric of Empire of which the Kaiser-i-Hind was now proclaimed the apex and crown. It was, therefore, not without significance that the only class unrepresented at the Coronation was the Indian people. Yet one occasionally heard of the Indian people. A quarter of a million of them had been drowned by a cyclone in Bengal when the debates on the Imperial title were going on in London. Eight millions of them were in the agonies of famine in Central India when that title was proclaimed at Delhi.

TROOPING THE COLOURS IN ST. JAMES'S PARK ON THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY.

LORD CAIRNS

(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF JINGOISM.

Opening of Parliament—Sir Stafford Northcote's Leadership—The Prisons Bill—Mr. Parnell's Policy of Scientific Obstruction—The South Africa Confederation Bill—Mr. Parnell's Bout with Sir Stafford Northcote—A Twenty-six Hours' Sitting—The Budget—The Russo-Turkish Question—Prince Albert's Eastern Policy—Opinion at Court—The Sentiments of Society—The Feeling of the British People—Outbreak of War—Collapse of Turkey—The Jingoes—The Third Volume of the "Life of the Prince Consort"—The "Greatest War Song on Record"—The Queen's Visit to Hughenden—Early Meeting of Parliament—Mr. Layard's Alarmist Telegrams—The Fleet Ordered to Constantinople—Resignation of Lord Carnarvon—The Russian Terms of Peace—Violence of the War Party—The Debate on the War Vote—The Treaty of San Stefano—Resignation of Lord Derby—Calling Out the Reserves—Lord Salisbury's Circular—The Indian Troops Summoned to Malta—The Salisbury-Schouvaloff Agreement—Lord Salisbury's Denials—The Berlin Congress—The *Globe* Disclosures—The Anglo-Turkish Convention—Occupation of Cyprus—"Peace with Honour"—The Irish Intermediate Education Bill—Consolidation of the Factory Acts—The Monarch and the Multitude—Outbreak of the Third Afghan War—The "Scientific Frontier"—Naval Review at Spithead—Death of the Ex-King of Hanover—Death of the Princess Alice.

THE "green Yule," which bodes ill-luck, ushered in the year 1877. The attitude of the Ministry to the Eastern Question was still one of indecision; but there was joy in City circles when, on the 11th of January, it was announced that Lord Derby had recalled the British Fleet from Besika Bay. This was a warning to the Sultan that England had no sympathy with the contumacy of the Porte, which still refused to concede the guarantees for reform in its European provinces that the Conference insisted on.

On the 8th of February the Queen opened Parliament in person, and was well received in the crowded streets, but Mr. Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield, and the Chinese Ambassador and his suite were for the time the real heroes of the mob. The scene in the House of Lords was one of exceptional

brilliancy, and after the Speech was read by Lord Cairns, the Queen, descending the steps of the Throne, left the Chamber, the ceremony, so far as her Majesty was concerned, not occupying more than fifteen minutes. It need not be said that in both Houses the debates on the Address centred round the Eastern Question. The Conference had been a failure, and the Government were seriously embarrassed. Logically, Ministers, as men of spirit, were bound to make the demands of the Conference effective, for was it not their own device for settling the Eastern Question, and were not its demands their demands? That was the view which Lord Hartington vindicated in a speech of great power and cogency.

On the other hand, it was clear that the Cabinet had no fixed aim when it organised the Conference—that if it ever contemplated the contingency of failure, which its supporters by their fierce attacks on Lord Salisbury had virtually manufactured, it had hoped to tide over the difficulty by letting matters drift. Lord Derby had begun by assuming that it was not the right or duty of England to insist on Turkey conceding reforms to Bulgaria. The autumnal agitation about the atrocities induced him to change front, and to admit that it was alike the duty and right of England, as one of the Powers whose support maintained the Turkish Empire, to demand that its European Provinces should not be submerged in barbarism. He had organised the Powers in support of this demand, and now, when the Turks refused to yield to it, he reverted to his original theory that England had no more right to interfere with Turkey, than with Austria or France. What made matters worse for the Cabinet was the prevailing belief that, though they sent Lord Salisbury to Constantinople to insist on reforms, their agents privily assured Midhat Pasha, then Grand Vizier, that no harm would come if Turkey upset the Conference. The State Papers furnish no confirmation of this belief. Indeed, they show that Lord Derby told Lord Salisbury to warn the Turks that though England would take no part in coercive measures against them, the Porte "is to be made to understand that it can expect no assistance from England in the case of war."* The Turks, however, had a fixed conviction that England would help them in a war with Russia. Nothing but a strong statement from Lord Beaconsfield would have eradicated this belief, and all that the English Government can be blamed for is, that Lord Beaconsfield failed or refused to make this statement. According to Prince Bismarck, no statesman who aspires to influence abroad will permit his Government to be associated with a failure in diplomacy. Yet not only had Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Derby permitted their project of the Conference to be laughed to pieces by the Turks, but all they had to say to Parliament was that they were sorry that Turkey had misunderstood her own interests. They were quite contented to accept the defeat of their scheme

* See Parliamentary Papers, Turkey (1877), No 78.

meekly. Their position appears rather abject to those who look at it critically, and yet no other was practically open to them. Only a small faction, led by Lord Hartington and Mr. Gladstone, were for coercing Turkey. A still smaller faction of idle loungers, whose favourite phrase was that "Piccadilly wanted a little wholesome blood-letting," were for joining Turkey in a war against the Slav States headed by Russia. The people were divided between their spasmodic fear of Russia and their equally spasmodic loathing for the Turks, and Radical Russophobes, like Mr. Joseph Cowen, were just as loud in demanding non-intervention as Radical Russophiles like Mr. Bright. Thus the policy of the Government—that of demanding concessions from Turkey from a love of Humanity, and tamely submitting to a contemptuous refusal, from fear of Russia, fairly well reflected the mind of the English democracy.

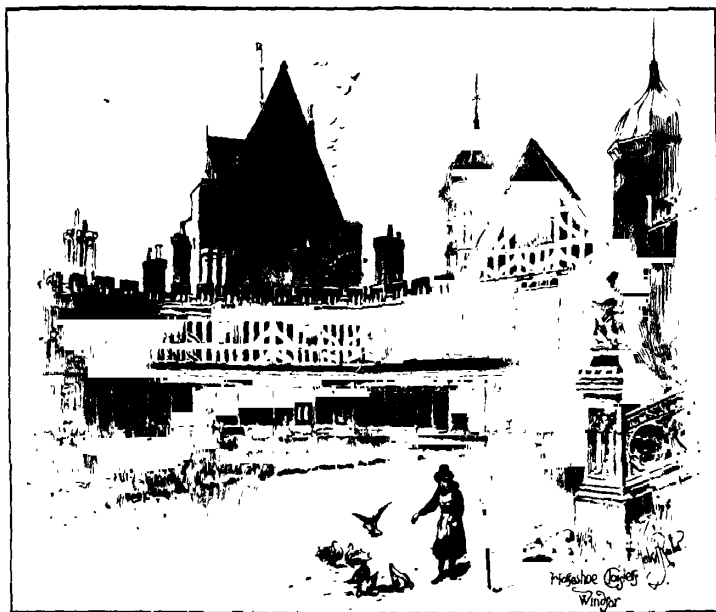
Sir Stafford Northcote's leadership of the House of Commons was not promising. He tolerated the obstruction of a small group of members, who caused the Bill which closed public-houses in Ireland on Sundays to be abandoned, after Ministers stood pledged to its principle, and all parties in the House were willing to pass it. He permitted his more devoted followers to oppose a Resolution moved by Mr. Clare Read—who had left the Government because he considered that they neglected agricultural interests—in favour of County Government Reform. But at the last moment he put forward Mr. Sclater-Booth to accept the Resolution in a speech which was evidently meant as a conclusive argument against it. Mr. Cross's Prisons Bills, too, spread disaffection among the squirearchy. These measures reduced the management of gaols in the three kingdoms to something like uniformity. But they made the prisons national and not local institutions, centralised their administration in the hands of the Imperial Government, deposed the local justices from their position of control over them, and charged their cost to the Consolidated Fund.

The debates in Parliament were rendered memorable by the appearance of a cool and adroit gladiator on the Irish benches, whose business-like methods of attacking the Prisons Bill in Committee extorted admiration from all old Parliamentary hands. This was Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell. It was known to be his intention to obstruct the Prisons Bill, in defiance of the wishes of Mr. Butt, the leader of the Irish Party. But it was assumed that a combination of the two great English Parties would easily crush opposition of the frivolous and factious order with which Mr. Beresford Hope and a section of the Tories had met Mr. Forster's Ballot Bill.* But Mr. Parnell had evidently foreseen this contingency, and he met it by inventing a higher and more scientific type of obstruction than Mr. Hope had been capable of

* Even in 1877 some of the Tory squires were practising the old stupid method of obstruction, *e.g.*, Mr Orr Ewing and Sir William Anstruther put down 250 Amendments to the Scotch Roads and Bridges Bill- most of which, when not frivolous, were unpopular and reactionary. Such obstruction was, of course, easy to deal with.

devising. His obstruction paralysed the two front benches, because he took care that it was not frivolous. He had evidently spent many nights and days in the minute dissection of the Bill, and he had manifestly toiled without stint in reading up the whole question of Prison discipline. It was not till he had made himself master of the entire subject that he intervened in the Debates, and then the House, to its amazement, found that the Home Secretary himself, when pitted against this bland young Irish squire with his soft voice, his lugubrious intonation, his funereal manner, and dull, prosaic Gradgrind-like form of speech, was but a poor amateur wriggling in the firm grip of a pitiless expert. To the dismay of the three leaders of the House—Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Butt—there was no easy means of getting rid of Mr. Parnell, simply because his amendments—and their name was legion—were not vamped up. Nay, with Machiavelian ingenuity he had draughted them so skilfully that most of them appealed strongly to the sympathies of other sections of the House than those connected with Ireland. Indeed, but for the persistency with which Mr. Parnell and one or two of his friends "bored" the House with the sufferings of certain Fenian prisoners under discipline, one would have thought that his treatment of the Bill was simply that of an English country gentleman, who had made himself an authority on the question, and had a genuine desire to eliminate from it stupid provisions which had been palmed off on a credulous Home Secretary. Nor was it in mastery of detail and skill of draughtsmanship alone that Mr. Parnell showed himself formidable. His ingenuity in inventing amendments drawn on lines that appealed to English popular feeling was inexhaustible. If at one moment the Home Secretary found himself contending with Mr. Parnell in the guise of a healthy-minded Tory squire, who was a hater of centralisation and a champion of the rights of visiting justices, at another he found himself battling with a philanthropist in whom the spirit of Howard lived again. Few who witnessed the long duel between Mr. Cross and Mr. Parnell will ever forget the pitiful and perturbed embarrassment of the Home Secretary when he found himself at every turn so maliciously cornered by his enemy, that he must either surrender, offend the prejudices of the rural magistracy, who hated the Bill, or raise up hosts of enemies in Exeter Hall and other centres of philanthropic activity, where any proposal to humanise Prison Discipline was hailed with delight. And when the duel was over it was impossible to deny that whatever might be Mr. Parnell's motive, he had by his opposition extorted from Mr. Cross a series of concessions, which not only improved the Bill, but converted it from a bad one into a good one.

One more point remains to be noted. Mr. Parnell's party practically consisted of one—namely, Mr. Joseph Gillies Biggar. If it was Mr. Parnell's desire "to scorn delights and live laborious days" in reforming the administration of English prisons, it was the firm and austere resolve of Mr. Biggar that this great work should be done with a solemnity of deliberation

worthy of such an august Assembly as the House of Commons. The business in hand was too serious to be transacted without a quorum—so Mr. Biggar invariably tried to "count" out the House. Public affairs ought not to be transacted at an hour when, to use his favourite phrase, "no decent person would be out of *their beds*," so Mr. Biggar would insist on adjourning the House or the Committee about one o'clock in the morning.* And Mr. Biggar played his part in the serio-comedy with so much elfish

HORSESHOE CLOISTERS, WINDSOR CASTLE.

delight and quaint, grotesque humour, that if the House now and then roared with rage at him, it still oftener roared with laughter. Those who saw deeper than the surface saw that something more serious than a comedy was being

* On the 26th of March the House got one of its earliest lessons in the new art of scientific obstruction. Mr Parnell had, owing to the popular lines on which some of his amendments were drawn up, got about eighteen members at this time to act with him But even they deserted him when, at one in the morning, Mr. Biggar moved to "report progress" The division showed—Ayes, 10, Noes, 138. Mr Biggar and his friends then kept up a series of see-saw motions—for adjournment and reporting progress, till at three in the morning Mr. Cross succumbed, and having struck his flag, assented to the rising of the House Then Mr. Biggar and his friends pathetically wailed over the scandalous manner in which the House had had two hours of its valuable time wasted by the Home Secretary, whose surrender was cited as a justification of their opposition.

produced by these new performers from Ireland. They saw sprouting the germ of that extraordinary policy of Parliamentary pressure by which the new school of Irish Nationalists sought to gain their end—the policy that offered the Imperial Government the choice of one of two alternatives—concession of autonomy in Ireland, or the sacrifice of the ancient liberties and privileges of Parliament.

Still Englishmen were loth to believe that an issue so grave would be forced upon them. Indeed, the Conservative Party regarded obstruction, so far as it had gone, with merely a Platonic hatred. It had been used only to check legislation, and Conservative interests were not hurt by keeping things as they were. Then it was also said that the success of Mr. Parnell was due to the feebleness of Mr. Cross, who, however, was in a position to smile at such innuendoes. Whether he had been strong or weak, Mr. Cross had, at all events, got his Prisons Bill passed in a form that brought him great credit in the country. However, in the lobbies of the House of Commons and in the political clubs the general opinion was, that there was no need for Conservatives to be alarmed so long as Mr. Parnell merely delayed legislative changes. He would not venture to obstruct administrative work, and he must assuredly succumb if he challenged a vigorous and resolute Minister like Mr. Gathorne-Hardy. Mr. Parnell accordingly put up Mr. O'Connor Power to block Mr. Hardy's Army Estimates on the 2nd of July. Mr. Power waited till the Army Reserve Vote came on, and then he met it with a motion to report progress, first, because money ought not to be voted away after midnight, and secondly because Ireland, not being allowed to raise a Volunteer Force, ought not to pay taxes to support the Volunteer Forces of England and Scotland. Would Mr. Hardy explain why Ireland should not have Volunteers? Mr. Hardy seemed speechless with wrath at the audacity of the attack, and met the question with contemptuous silence. The interest of the House was now roused. It would be seen whether the strong Minister of the Government, would be more successful than Mr. Cross in coping with obstruction. Of course the motion was defeated—but eight members, including Mr. Whalley, voted for it. Mr. Parnell, it was then seen, had a small party at his back, nay, he had lieutenants at his call ready to serve. Mr. O'Donnell next moved that the Chairman of Committee leave the chair, and defiantly warned Mr. Hardy that, till he did answer Mr. Power's question, no Supply would be voted. Mr. Hardy still refused, and then the struggle went on merrily, dilatory motions being moved one after the other, till at last the Government gave up the fight, and allowed the House to be counted out at a quarter past seven in the morning.* Mr. Cross was the only Conservative member who did not appear crestfallen next day. His "feeble" method of dealing had, at all events, borne fruit. He had got work, and good

* This was fifteen minutes earlier than the hour at which it rose in the Debate on the Address in 1783. See Clayden's England Under Lord Beaconsfield, p. 302.

work, done. Mr. Hardy's vigour had simply demonstrated to the world that six Irish members could keep the House of Commons sitting till seven o'clock in the morning, and keep it sitting for nothing. Sir Stafford Northcote accordingly carried the feeling of the House with him when, at next meeting, he threatened to move that the rules of Procedure be reconsidered. But on going into the matter he found that this would take time. The rules were dear to Members opposed to reform, because they were so contrived as to give the utmost facilities for impeding legislative change. Hence, he intimated, on the 5th of July, that he would deal with the difficulty after the Recess. Mr. Parnell's retort was to obstruct business at that sitting till about three in the morning. He and his friends not only opposed the clause in the Irish Judicature Bill fixing the salaries of the Irish Judges,* but they affected to have suddenly taken an absorbing interest in the Solicitors Examination Bill which had come down from the House of Lords. On the 23rd of July Sir Stafford Northcote, still shrinking from altering the rules of the House, tried to meet the case by moving that the Government should confiscate for their business the nights allotted to private members. This enabled the Parnellite Party to again obstruct business, as champions of Parliamentary privileges.

By this time the House of Commons was working itself up into a fit of burning indignation. The anger of the Conservatives indeed knew no bounds, for they saw that they must either submit to Mr. Parnell, or surrender privileges of obstruction which they had themselves found useful in defeating measures of reform in bygone days. Mr. Parnell's Party sat maliciously cool and annoyingly calm through all the turmoil; indeed, Mr. Parnell seemed bent on provoking the Tories opposite him, by assuming towards them a demeanour of supercilious aristocratic superiority that cut them at every moment like a whip. His manner of disdainful mastery indicated that he must have some dire instrument of torture in reserve for them. And so he had. He and his friends had picked up a Bill which nobody dreamt of seriously attacking, because it was purely an administrative measure proposed by the Colonial Office. It gave the Colonies and the two Dutch Republics in South Africa the means of forming a Confederation if they chose to do so. It was perfectly harmless and permissive, but it was unfortunately complex and loaded with detail. Mr. Parnell and his band had devoted their unremitting energies to mastering, not only this Bill, but every imaginable point in South African policy. Hence, when it came before the House, they suddenly appeared in the character of South African "experts," who knew infinitely more about the subject than the unfortunate Minister in charge of the measure. The Government had also annexed the Transvaal Republic under the erroneous impression that the Boers desired annexation, and Lord Grey had frankly admitted in

* This was a popular move, for it was generally felt that Ireland not only had too many Judges, but that they were extravagantly overpaid.

the House of Lords that South Africa was not ripe for Confederation. A few Radical doctrinaires, led by Mr. Courtney, alarmed at the annexation of the Transvaal, also disliked the Bill. In fact, an ideal opportunity for practising obstructive tactics had been presented to Mr. Parnell by the Government, and he took advantage of it ruthlessly. He and his Party opposed the South Africa Bill line by line, nay, almost word by word,* contemptuously asking Ministers to explain why they persisted in giving to Colonies that did not want it, the autonomy for which Ireland sued in vain. What, however, chiefly embarrassed the Ministry was the factiousness of several powerful Radicals, like Mr. Chamberlain, Professor Fawcett, and Mr. Rylands, who, not content with expressing dissent in the constitutional manner on the Second Reading, voted with Mr. Parnell in obstructing the formal proposal to go into Committee on the Bill.† It would have been comparatively easy to rouse an overwhelming force of public opinion against Mr. Parnell at this juncture, had not Messrs. Chamberlain, Rylands, Courtney, and Fawcett thrown over his opposition the ægis of their personal authority. Their unexpected alliance emboldened Mr. Parnell, who accordingly blocked the Bill in Committee to such an extent, that Sir Stafford Northcote, on the 25th of July, moved that the Irish leader be suspended for two days because he had said he had "satisfaction in preventing and thwarting the intentions of the Government in respect of the Bill." In the wrangle that followed, Mr. Parnell's cool, supercilious manner rendered the House almost ungovernable, until several Members recalled it to reason. It was seen that the words expressed no more in themselves than a legitimate act of critical opposition. Mr. Whitbread moved that the debate on the motion to suspend Mr. Parnell be adjourned for twenty-four hours. Mr. Hardy accepted the proposal, whereupon Mr. Parnell with frigid imperturbability rose and resumed his speech at the very sentence in delivering which Sir Stafford Northcote had interrupted him exactly two hours before. During that sitting, from noon till a quarter to six in the evening, only two clauses were passed. But one point was gained. Mr. Parnell had inflicted on Sir Stafford Northcote a personal defeat so detrimental to his authority as leader of the House, that he was at last compelled to consent to a modification of the rules of procedure.

On the 27th of July he moved two Resolutions, one prohibiting a Member from moving dilatory motions of adjournments more than once on the same night, and another enabling the Chair to put without debate a motion silencing a Member for the rest of the debate who had been "named" as defying the authority of the Speaker or Chairman of Committees. As for Sir Stafford Northcote's motion to suspend Mr. Parnell, that was dropped at Lord Hartington's suggestion. After apologetic explanations were given by Lord Beaconsfield and Sir Stafford Northcote to the Members of the Tory Party at

* Mr. F. H. O'Donnell actually put down seventy-five amendments to it.

† The motion was moved by Sir George Campbell.

a private meeting at the Foreign Office, these resolutions were carried. Independent critics predicted that they would be futile; that, indeed, no remedy short of the Continental *clôture*, which the Conservatives dreaded much more than Mr. Parnell, could be effective.

Mr. Parnell proceeded without delay to give a practical illustration of the

LORD DERBY

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

defects of the new rules. He played his game more warily, but more persistently than ever, and every day the House of Commons found itself an object of contempt to the nation, because it could not vindicate its authority against one man. At last, on the 31st of July, Sir Stafford Northcote in despair resolved to resort to physical methods. He arranged with Lord Hartington to force the South Africa Bill through Committee, by getting the House to sit on without a break till the Parnellites were worn out from sheer bodily exhaustion. Relays of Members were brought up to keep the House

in Session, and Mr. Parnell and his friends were allowed to talk themselves out. For twenty-six consecutive hours the struggle went on with the seven Irish Members, who, ere it was half through, lost their Radical ally, Mr. Courtney, who flounced out of the House muttering his disgust at the hideous scene of anarchy. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the following day Sir Stafford Northcote threatened "further proceedings," and then, and not till then, did the Irish forlorn hope give way. Mr. O'Donnell, whose voice was now scarcely audible, said that this menace* changed the situation, and the Bill was forthwith passed through Committee. The Government triumphed, but at a terrible cost. They had to drop all their best Bills, because Mr. Parnell kept them using up the time at their disposal in passing a measure which was of little interest to Englishmen, and which ultimately proved, not only useless, but mischievous. The Session was therefore barren of legislative fruit. Even the Budget failed to excite debate, for, as Sir Stafford Northcote said, it was "a ready-made" one, and changed nothing.† No old taxes were remitted, and no new ones imposed. Sir Stafford Northcote perhaps underrated the depression in trade, which was even then obviously growing. He hardly appreciated the rapidity with which the working classes were exhausting their savings at a time when wages were more likely to fall than rise. But otherwise his statement was unobjectionable.

Foreign Policy was, however, the mainstay of the Ministry, and it is curious to note how completely the anti-Turkish agitation, which Mr. Gladstone had fomented with passionate zeal, forced the Cabinet to change their attitude to the Eastern Question. In 1876 the Ministerial doctrine was that England had no more to do with a quarrel between the Sultan and his subjects than between the Austrian Emperor and his people—the Ministerial theory, in fact, was, that if England was bound to protect anybody, it was the Sultan, and not his subjects. In 1877 Ministers acknowledged that, as England had been mainly responsible for keeping the Turk in Europe, she was in honour bound to protect his Christian subjects from the torture which his Pashas inflicted on them. There was also a change in regard to another point. In 1876 Ministers were all for maintaining the "integrity and independence" of Turkey. The Atrocities agitation, however, forced Lord Derby to make demands on Turkey, and to assent to demands being made on her, which ignored her visionary integrity and her mythical independence. It was said at the time that the Court, having strongly supported the pro-Turkish policy of 1876, was disappointed at the change of front in 1877. It is quite certain that these views were not shared by the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh and their *entourage*. A passage in

* It was never known what Sir Stafford Northcote meant to do. But it was supposed he would, with the support of Lord Hartington, move the expulsion of the "obstructives."

† The Estimates for the past year had been closely realised. For the coming year (1877-78) the revenue was taken at £78,794,000, and the expenditure at £79,020,000.

one of the letters of the Princess Alice to the Queen makes that point tolerably clear.* But as to the other question the evidence is faulty. The policy of the Prince Consort, which was always supposed to dominate the ideas of the Court, was certainly not pro-Turkish. In his celebrated Memorandum to Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet in 1853 he laid down two principles: It was the duty and interest of England to prevent Russia from imposing in an underhand way a Protectorate on the European provinces of Turkey "incompatible with their own independence." It was also the duty and interest of England to prevent Turkey from using English diplomacy so as to enable the Pashas to impose "a more oppressive rule of two millions of fanatic Mussulmans over twelve millions of Christians." England might go to war to prevent Bulgaria from falling into the hands of Russia, but not for the mere maintenance of the integrity and independence of Turkey. Nay, the Prince considered that such a war ought to lead, in the peace which must be its object, "to the obtaining of arrangements more consonant with the well-understood interests of Europe, of Christianity, liberty, and civilisation, than the re-imposition of the ignorant barbarian and despotic yoke of the Mussulman over the most fertile and favoured portion of Europe."† Lord Aberdeen, Lord Clarendon, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Gladstone accepted this view of English policy. On the other hand, Lord Palmerston repudiated it. He contended that it was the duty of England to maintain the integrity of Turkey at all hazards; that the Prince Consort's policy pointed to the ultimate expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe; and that any reconstruction of Turkey such as that which the Prince foreshadowed simply meant "its subjection to Russia, direct or indirect, immediate or for a time delayed."

But Lord Beaconsfield's policy was simply a reproduction of Lord Palmerston's, hence it might be inferred that if the Prince Consort's ideas still prevailed at Court, his policy in 1876 could not have had Royal sanction. On the other hand, there is no proof that Prince Albert's ideas on the subject —which in the main were those of the great bulk of the English people—were still held as authoritative at Court. In a curious letter, the significance of which is obvious in its relation to the Queen's personal opinions, written by the Princess Alice to her mother (25th July, 1878) there occurs, after an outburst against the advance of the Russians on Bulgaria, the following passage: "What do the friends of the 'Atrocity Meetings' say now? How difficult it has been made for the Government through them, and how blind they have been! All this must be a constant worry and anxiety for you."‡

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 343.

† Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Chap. XLIX.

‡ Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 357.

As the Princess's letters, where they touch on English public affairs, invariably reflect the opinions of the Queen, and as it cannot be imagined that in a matter of bitter political controversy she would venture to obtrude on the Queen so contemptuous a view of the "Atrocity Meetings" and of the conduct of the Opposition, had it not been in sympathy with the Queen's own feelings, we may safely draw one conclusion. Despite the conjectures which have been ingeniously based on the Prince Consort's Memorandum of 1853, the policy of the Court was identified with that of the Cabinet all through 1876, and if it was changed in 1877, it was changed in deference to the popular hostility to Turkey, which Mr. Gladstone had aroused. Among those persons, however, who were closest in contact with the Court, and who usually reflected Royal ideas most correctly, there was no change of opinion. Mr. Hayward's correspondence teems with references to the fierce hatred with which Mr. Gladstone and the Opposition were denounced by "the upper ten thousand;"* in fact, Society vilipended Mr. Gladstone with the same obloquy that it had bestowed on him for his pamphlet denouncing the Neapolitan atrocities. But Mr. Hayward is at pains to state that, "all that the Government have been doing in the right direction is owing to the flame kindled by him [Mr. Gladstone]"; and the Hayward Correspondence proves that at the different embassies the diplomatists were at one on three points (1), the insulation of England; (2), the necessity of protecting the Bulgarians effectually from Turkish oppression; (3), the necessity of refusing Russia any cession of Turkish territory in Europe; a condition which, says Mr. Hayward in his account of a celebrated diplomatic dinner-party at the Austrian Embassy, Russia accepted.†

Events justified the accuracy of Mr. Hayward's information, for it was the fatal error of Lord Beaconsfield's policy that it assumed there was no genuine accord among the Powers, and that they were neither able nor willing to prevent Russia from seizing Turkish territory in Europe. Indeed, Mr. Hayward seems to have been the only observer of public affairs who clearly understood why they were drifting in the direction indicated by the table-talk of the embassies. In a letter to Lady Waldegrave (7th October, 1876) he says, "the power of public opinion is a remarkable feature of the Eastern Question. Russia is so strongly impelled by it that the Government would be endangered by holding back. Austria is impelled by the Magyar to oppose the construction of any new Slav State. The Porte is afraid of exasperating its Mahometan subjects by what might be deemed unworthy concessions. The English Government is completely controlled by public opinion." And again in a letter to Mr. Gladstone he says, "One of the strongest features of the situation is, that the popular voice or national will is bettering or impelling diplomacy and statesmanship in Russia, Austria, England, and Turkey, and

* Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., pp 206, 273

† See a letter from Mr. Hayward to Mr. Sheridan, dated 3rd November, 1876. Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., p. 271.

fortunately so as concerns England. Whatever England is doing in the right direction is owing to the popular impulse for which you are mainly responsible and which will redound to your lasting honour."* At the same time, there was a point at which Mr. Gladstone and the nation parted company. He thought that if England admitted that she ought to see that the Bulgarians were protected from oppression, she ought to force Turkey to give effectual

THE TOWER OF GALATA, CONSTANTINOPLE

guarantees for their protection. If she did not, Russia would step in a their champion, and establish a claim to exclusive influence over European Turkey, which it was not politic to give her even a pretext for exercising The great majority of Englishmen, however, held (1), that it was not their business to waste their taxes in winning freedom for the Bulgarians; (2), that they sufficiently discharged their duty to them when they paralysed Turkey by withdrawing British support from her; and (3), that the futile results o

* See Mr. Hayward's Correspondence, Vol. II., pp. 266 and 268.

the Crimean War proved that Austria and Germany, from their geographical position, were the only Powers who could be safely trusted to effectively check Russian aggression in Eastern Europe. The masses, as distinguished from the aristocratic and academic classes, here proved themselves wiser than their leaders, on whom they forced a policy of non-intervention, which practically meant benevolent neutrality to the oppressed provinces of Turkey. The manner in which the Treaty of San Stefano was transformed into the Treaty of Berlin, every concession extorted from Russia being obviously exacted in Austro-German interests, more than justified the somewhat cynical anticipations of the British people.

It is not necessary to describe at length the steps which led up to the outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey on the 23rd of April, 1877. In vain did Lord Derby implore Turkey to grant of her own free will the concessions she had refused to the abortive Conference. Russia stood grimly on the frontier, with her hand on her sword-hilt, asking Europe how long she was to wait ere she unsheathed her weapon. In March a Protocol was signed by the Powers pressing Turkey to yield. To this Russia appended a declaration that she would disarm if Turkey accepted the advice of the Powers, and also sent an ambassador to St. Petersburg to arrange for mutual disarmament. But otherwise Russia clearly indicated her intention to use force. Lord Derby accepted, as did the other Powers, this declaration, only he added, on behalf of England, a reservation that she would consider the instrument null and void if it did not lead to disarmament. The Turks rejected the appeal of the Protocol. Prince Bismarck rejected a personal appeal which the Queen made to him to hold back Russia; and so war was declared. To the last the Turks expected that England would take their side, and they had been confirmed in their attitude of contumacy by the appointment of Mr. Layard, a notorious supporter of Turkey, to the British Embassy at Constantinople on the day on which the Protocol was signed. If it was the object of Lord Beaconsfield to prevent the outbreak of war and to save the Ottoman Empire in Europe from ruin, his policy must be described as an utter failure. And it failed for obvious reasons. Lord Beaconsfield and the British diplomatic agents in Turkey talked and wrote in terms which persuaded the Turks that, if they resisted the demands of Europe, England would defend them, as in 1853-4. On the contrary, if Lord Beaconsfield desired the Foreign Policy of England to succeed, and to save Turkey from being crushed by Russia, he should have taken steps to convince her that, even if he had the will, he had not the power to do battle for her.

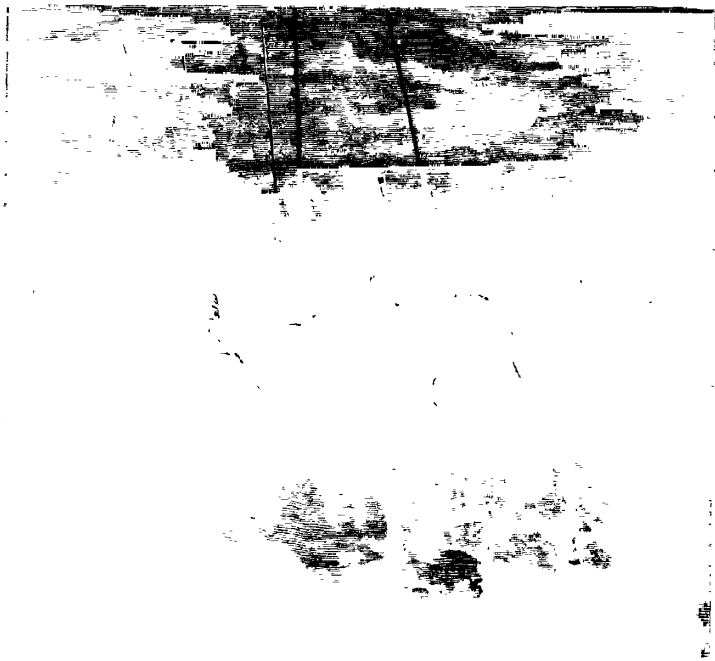
Others besides the Turks shared the opinion that Lord Beaconsfield meant to drag England into a new Crimean War. On the 5th of May Mr. Carlyle stated in the *Times*, "not on hearsay, but on accurate knowledge,"* that Lord Beaconsfield was contemplating a feat "that will force, not Russia only,

* Mr. Carlyle presumably got his information from the highest German authorities.

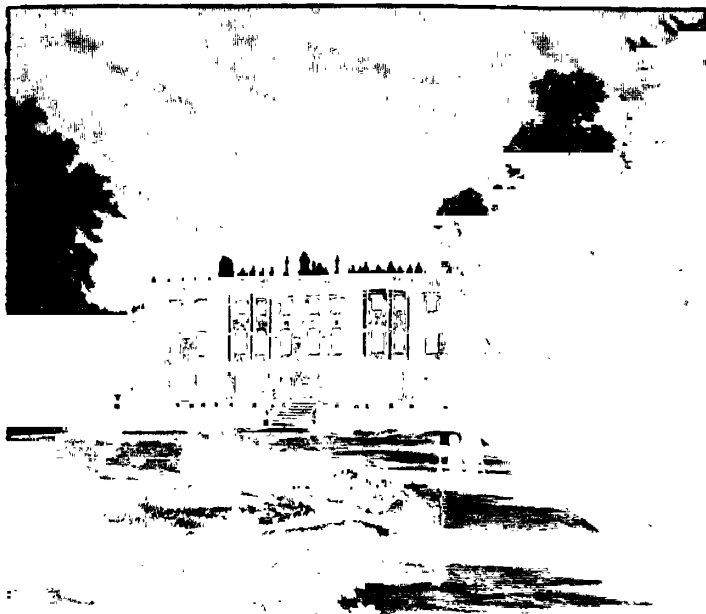
but all Europe to declare war against us."* The idea of the Government was to occupy Gallipoli to protect British interests. This would have forced Russia to declare war against England, and then English public opinion would, of course, have supported Lord Beaconsfield in fighting on the side of Turkey. But Mr. Carlyle's sudden revelation of the scheme roused public opinion in favour of non-intervention, and Mr. Gladstone "took occasion by the hand" to inflame the populace against Lord Beaconsfield's supposed designs. Stormy meetings were held all over England during the first week of May, and then Ministers seemed to have changed their offensive tone towards Russia. On the 6th of May Lord Derby buoyed out for Russia the torpedoes called "British interests" which lay in her way. He laid down in a polite despatch the precise conditions under which England would remain neutral, conditions so plainly reasonable that Prince Gortschakoff accepted them with the utmost frankness. Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone was seriously misled by the public indignation which had been roused against a conspiracy to fight for Turkey under the pretext of protecting British interests. He imagined it would enable him to carry out his own project of coercing Turkey in company with Russia. He therefore submitted to the House of Commons six Resolutions, which were discussed early in May. Of these, however, he was forced to withdraw two, because a powerful section of the Liberal party considered that they bound England to joint action with Russia. Thus Mr. Gladstone's formidable array of Resolutions dwindled down to the simple and harmless proposition that the Turk was a bad man, who did not deserve English sympathy or support. The House, however, by a majority of 131, carried a colourless amendment declining to embarrass the Government by any formal vote, and leaving "the determination of policy entirely in their hands." The debate on the Resolutions was one of those high and sustained triumphs of Parliamentary eloquence which at great crises display the British House of Commons at its best. It may be said to have exhausted the controversy on the Eastern Question. Mr. Gladstone's speech (which would of itself have rendered the debate historical) admittedly soared as high as the loftiest flights of Chatham and of Burke.

There is no need to narrate the events of the war, how Osman Pasha, from behind his earthworks at Plevna, blocked the Russian advance, and Mukhtar held the Russians at bay in Asia Minor. As the star of fortune shed its beams on either side, public opinion in England grew feverish and excited, the Tories all the while clamouring for intervention on behalf of Turkey. Some of them, indeed, seemed to hold that it was the duty of England to head a new Crusade on behalf of Islam against Christianity. But the public utterances of Ministers indicated their determination to remain neutral, and Lord Derby did his best to convince Musurus Pasha that Turkey was abandoned to her fate.

* Carlyle's Life in London, by J. A. Froude, Vol. III., p. 441.

Though the fact was not known at the time, a perfectly frank and friendly understanding existed between the English and Russian Governments; in fact, Russia had informed England, through her ambassador, what terms of peace she would offer to Turkey, if Turkey were to yield before Russian troops were compelled to cross the Balkans. This information was given so that Lord Derby might have an opportunity of modifying these terms if necessary for the protection of British interests, prior to their presentation to

RUSSIAN WOUNDED LEAVING PLEVNA

the Porte, and Lord Derby thought them so reasonable that he made more than one fruitless effort to get Mr. Layard to press them on Turkey. Unfortunately the diplomacy of 1877 was kept a profound secret, and as the people were not aware of the good understanding between the Governments of Russia and England, a fierce and exasperating controversy between the Russophiles and the Russophobes raged through the land. On the 14th and 15th of October the Turkish defence in Asia Minor collapsed. On the 11th of December the fall of Plevna was announced, and when it was intimated that Parliament was to meet on the 13th of January, 1878, the country was panic-stricken. Nobody knew that Lord Derby and Count Schouvaloff had

practically agreed about the terms of peace that were to be imposed on Turkey, and that Lord Derby had repeatedly warned the Turks to expect no help from England. Everybody, in fact, inferred, from the tone of the Ministerial press and of the speeches of Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Hardy, and Lord John Manners, that a scheme of intervention was "in the air," and that the early meeting of Parliament implied a demand for supplies to carry on a war with Russia. The Money Market rocked and swayed with

HUGHENDEN MANOR (From a Photograph by [illegible])

excitement, and securities fell with amazing rapidity.* Throughout England meetings were held by business people protesting against any divergence from a policy of neutrality. At night bands of young men, representing the War Party, marched about London, the only English city which favoured war, singing the chorus of a song then becoming popular in the music-halls, and which began—

"We don't want to fight,
But by Jingo if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men,
And we've got the money too."

* Consols fell three-eighths

A new political term crept into use, namely, "Jingoism,"* or the cult of the war-god Jingo, whose worshippers, however, were bellicose rather than warlike, for they always prefaced their hymnal invocations by the assurance that they did "*not* want to fight." The Ministry, too, was divided—Lord Beaconsfield, Lord John Manners, and Mr. Hardy leading the "Jingo" faction, whilst Lord Derby, Lord Carnarvon, and Mr. Cross represented the Peace Party. This split in the Cabinet was deplored at the time, and yet it was of enormous advantage to England. It prevented her from being dragged into the war. It is true that it buoyed up the expectant Turks with false hopes of aid from England, and thus tempted them to reject the easy terms of peace which Russia would have accepted after the fall of Plevna.† But the wrecking of Turkey was not in 1877 a matter that deeply moved the British taxpayer, unless he held Turkish Bonds, and if Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Hardy, Lord John Manners, and their group, by their bellicose attitude, lured the Ottoman race to disaster, it was for the Turkish or War Party, and not for the nation, to call these Ministers to account.‡ As for the policy of neutrality which the English people literally forced on Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone, it was justified in the second week of December, by a statement which Count Andrassy made to the Austro-Hungarian Delegations on the 8th and 9th of that month. He frankly said that Austrian sympathies were with the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and that he "would not dare to stand up for the *status quo*" in Turkey.

It needed little insight to discern that when Austria—a Power that could have hurled 150,000 men on the flank of Russia—declared herself against

* Mr. George Jacob Holyoake was the first to characterise these patriots as "Jingoes," deriving the epithet from their own anthem. See his letter in the *Daily News*, March 13, 1878.

† These were (1), Bulgarian autonomy north of the Balkans; (2), guarantees of good government for the other Turkish provinces; (3), cession of Batoum, and retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia.

‡ Nobody gave a more vivid picture of the divided state of the nation at this time than Mr. Trevelyan, who had been one of the most active of those who forced Mr. Gladstone to withdraw his Resolutions. Speaking at Galashiels on the 15th of December he said, the desire to fight "is almost universal amongst idlers, and gossips, fashionable aspirants, and the habitual frequenters of the London burlesques and music-halls. The determination to keep at peace is almost universal among the great mass of the population which produces the wealth of this country, and which makes us respected and powerful among nations. My experience is that the division is not, as is generally described, one of class, but of personal habits and character. If you meet a man who does an honest stroke of work on every week-day, whether he be manufacturer, or artisan, or tradesman, or barrister, it is ten to one that he wishes his country to leave this quarrel to be fought out by those whom it concerns. If you meet a man who amuses himself for fifteen hours out of the twenty-four, and sleeps the rest, it is ninety-nine to one but he thinks we should send an ultimatum to Russia as soon as she crosses the Balkans, and that he regards Lord Beaconsfield as a second Chatham, who is robbed of his opportunities by his more timid colleagues." It ought to be said that the Liberals had also their "idlers" and sentimental crochet-mongers, who were eager to join Russia in fighting the "anti-human" Turk, and who had the advantage of Mr. Gladstone's personal leadership. Of course the partisans of Lord Beaconsfield vied with the partisans of Mr. Gladstone in pouring forth contempt on the English people, for their sordid determination to tie the restless and mischief-making hands of these two enterprising politicians.

Turkey, and the *status quo*, it meant that Russia had bought her alliance by consenting to an Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In such a crisis the true policy of a high-spirited English statesman was to have safeguarded British interests in the Ottoman Empire by "temporarily" occupying Egypt, as Austria was to "temporarily" occupy Bosnia. Lord Beaconsfield, however, adopted the surest means for paralysing his arm for such a bold stroke. He summoned Parliament to meet three weeks earlier than usual, and permitted his supporters to divert the attention of the country from Egypt — obviously endangered by the impending fall of Turkey—to wild schemes for occupying Gallipoli, sending a fleet to defend Constantinople, and an army to obstruct the advance of Russia in Asia Minor. As any one of these projects meant war with Russia, popular excitement soon grew intense.

In this crisis it was to be expected that the policy of the Court would be the subject of criticism, even though it were based on conjecture. The pro-Turkish party were artful and adroit in their insinuations that the Queen was on their side; though it is doubtful if the country would have paid heed to them but for a curious coincidence. The third volume of the "Life of the Prince Consort" was published at this juncture, and it was assumed by both the partisans of Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone that Sir Theodore Martin had issued it by the Queen's desire in the form of a violent pamphlet against Russia. Perhaps it might have been more discreet to have suppressed some passages, in which the Prince, carried away by the excitement of the Crimean struggle, had naturally taken a less sober and far-seeing view of European diplomacy and English duty than he formulated in his famous Memorandum of 1853. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that when the work was compiled Sir Theodore Martin, or rather the Queen, who selected the documents for publication, could have anticipated that the London Press and the Pall Mall clubs would be agitated by a frenzied controversy as to whether the Cossack was a more moral man than the Bashi-Bazouk, or Lord Beaconsfield a greater traitor than Mr. Gladstone. Nor can it be said that a just view of the Prince Consort's opinions would have been obtained if his letter to Stockmar, penned in April, 1854, and his Memorandum to the Cabinet of the 3rd of May, 1855, had been withheld. The former expressed the Prince's regret that the English public were too excited to permit the Government to stand by, and, having let Turkey dash herself to pieces against Russia, step in and take guarantees against Russia using her victory to the prejudice of Europe. Public opinion in 1854, the Prince regretfully admitted, recognised no way of taking these guarantees but one—that of supporting Turkey at the outset, so that the influence thus gained might be used to persuade the Porte to behave decently. As for the Memorandum of May, 1855, written during the negotiations at Vienna, it merely put on record his strong feeling against giving Russia an excuse for enforcing, single-handed, demands which Europe

might make on Turkey. It is simply amazing that by these documents the Russophobes pretended to prove that the Queen was on the side of Turkey, and the Russophiles that she was for attempting to raise another Crimean War. The natural inferences from the documents read in connection with the Memorandum of 1853, were (1), that as English public opinion had now changed so as to tolerate the policy of expectancy, for which Prince Albert hinted his personal preference, he would, if alive, have supported the "sordid" national policy of neutrality, and that, too, all the more readily that Austria and Germany were better able to curb Russia in 1877 than in 1854; (2), that he would have either accepted the Berlin Memorandum, or have taken steps to give executive effect to the demands formulated by the Conference of Constantinople.

But another circumstance gave colour to the floating gossip as to the Queen's pro-Turkish sympathies.* She resolved to confer on Lord Beaconsfield a distinction she had bestowed only on three of her Premiers—Melbourne, Peel, and Aberdeen—that of paying him a visit at his country seat. It was on the 15th of December that the Queen arrived at High Wycombe, which she found lavishly decorated with evergreens, flowers, and flags. At one part of her route there was built a triumphal arch of chairs (representing the staple manufacture of the town), in which she displayed a special interest. Accompanied by the Princess Beatrice, her Majesty was received at High Wycombe railway-station by Lord Beaconsfield and the Local Authorities, who presented her with a loyal address. The Mayor's daughter then presented bouquets to their illustrious visitors, after which the Royal party drove, amidst the cheers of the townspeople, to Hughenden Manor. Her Majesty had luncheon there with the Prime Minister, and spent about two hours in his house. She and the Princess planted trees in the grounds in memory of their visit.

* One finds in the advertising columns of the *Era*, strangely enough, a side-light on the Eastern policy of the Court at this period. A Mr. Charles Williams, who advertised himself as singing "the greatest war song on record" at four music-halls, added to his advertisement the following letter: "Lieutenant-General Sir T. M. Biddulph has received the Queen's commands to thank Mr. Charles Williams for the appropriate verses contained in his letter of the 18th inst., and her Majesty fully appreciates his motives." One of the verses ran thus:—

> "Bruin thinks we've been asleep, but a watch we've had to keep,
>   Knowing well the value of his word;
> Look with many a skilful lie how they've blinded every eye,
>   Till the Lion's grand impatience now is heard;
> For every British heart would burn to take a part
>   To fling the Russian lies back in their face,
> And to teach them, as of old, that Briton's hearts are bold,
>   And would die to save our country from disgrace."

—*Vide Era*, February 20, 1878. The song was sung at the Metropolitan Music Hall, in connection with a ballet called "Cross and Crescent War." When the Royal letter was pointed out to Count Schouvaloff, that easy-tempered diplomatist merely shrugged his shoulders. It may be mentioned incidentally that a study of the popular songs of the period reflects faithfully the shifting moods of the London mob during the Eastern Controversy.

If political significance could be attributed to the visit, it must have had some relation to the most recent action of the Government. That had, however, consisted in sending a despatch to Russia (13th of December) expressing a hope that, if the Russians crossed the Balkans, they would not occupy

THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO HUGHENDEN AT HIGH WYCOMBE RAILWAY STATION.

Constantinople or menace the Dardanelles.* To this Gortschakoff's answer was a repetition of the pledge given in July, that British interests would be respected, and that Constantinople should only be occupied if the obstinacy of the Turks forced that step on Russia as a military necessity.† That the

* Turkey III. (1878), No. 1.

† Russia in July had pledged herself not to meddle with the Suez Canal, or with Egypt, or to menace the Persian Gulf. As to the Dardanelles, the position of the Straits "should," said Prince Gortschakoff, "be settled by a common agreement upon equitable or efficiently guaranteed bases." Constantinople, in his opinion, "could not be allowed to belong to any of the European Powers;"

Queen should approve of such a despatch as that which Lord Derby sent two days before she visited Hughenden, and of its frank warning that the occupation of Constantinople would leave England free to take active steps for protecting British interests, was only natural. Yet it was out of this visit that there grew up a great fabric of foolish gossip, the purport of which was that the Sovereign was goading the Cabinet into war with Russia! The Ministerial Press made matters worse by pretending that Prince Gortschakoff's reply to the despatch of the 13th of December was insulting to England. But on the 2nd of January, 1878, Lord Carnarvon, addressing a South African deputation, took occasion to contradict these assertions. The fall of Plevna, he said, had not materially affected the policy of the Cabinet, which was still one of neutrality, and there had been nothing in the Russian communications with the Ministry of an insulting or discourteous character. The war scare now subsided as if by magic, and Funds rose a quarter per cent. But the Ministerial newspapers heaped obloquy on Lord Carnarvon, declaring that he merely spoke for himself; and at a Cabinet Meeting on the 3rd of January there was quite a "scene" between him and Lord Beaconsfield. The Prime Minister condemned the speech of his colleague, who, however, put on a bold front, and read a Memorandum before the Cabinet vindicating his position, and re-affirming everything that he had said. Lord Beaconsfield merely asked him for a copy of this document, and no Minister then or at any subsequent period hinted at a private or public disavowal of Lord Carnarvon's statement. A very conciliatory answer was sent on the 12th of January to Prince Gortschakoff. It did not even suggest that the temporary military occupation of Constantinople would endanger British interests, but it asked Russia not to touch Gallipoli. On the 15th of January Prince Gortschakoff answered that Russia would not occupy Gallipoli unless Turkish troops were massed there; but he said that a British occupation of the Peninsula would be regarded by Russia as a breach of neutrality. On the 17th of January Parliament met, and, to its surprise, found itself greeted with a Royal Speech couched in the most dove-like terms of peace. The War Party were abashed. Even Lord Beaconsfield spoke not of daggers, though he hinted vaguely at the chances of using them. There was also a clause in the Queen's Speech which, after admitting that none of the conditions of British neutrality had been violated, alluded darkly to the possibility of something occurring which might render "measures of precaution" necessary. Lord Salisbury, however, went out of his way to state that the Czar, so far from having aggressive designs, had shown himself anxious to defer to the wishes of Europe, and was possessed with "an almost tormenting desire for peace," so that Members went about asking each other—Why had Parliament been summoned so soon, to the

and on the 20th of July the Czar further enforced this pledge by telling Colonel Wellesley that he would not occupy Constantinople merely for military *prestige*, but only if events forced him to do so.—See Russia II. (1877), No. 2, and Turkey III. (1878), No. 2.

great disturbance of business and the alarm of the nation, merely to be told that everything was going on smoothly? The fact is, that it had been Lord Beaconsfield's original intention to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles.

On the 12th of January, 1878, this proposal was discussed in the Cabinet, and it would have been necessary to follow up the step by asking the House of Commons for a war vote. At a meeting on the 14th, from which Lord Derby was absent, the proposal was adopted. On the 15th Lord Carnarvon sent in his resignation, but Mr. Montagu Corry came to him with a message from Lord Beaconsfield to say that certain telegrams had arrived which had caused the order to the Fleet to be cancelled. These telegrams must obviously have been from Lord Augustus Loftus, conveying Prince Gortschakoff's pledge that Gallipoli would not be touched, and his warning that Russia would regard the British occupation of it as a breach of neutrality. On the 16th Lord Carnarvon was at the Cabinet meeting, but his resignation was not returned to him till the 18th, when Lord Beaconsfield assured him that there was no longer any difference between them. Lord Beaconsfield, indeed, went further in his soothing assurances to the House of Lords on the 17th. Though he had Lord Carnarvon's resignation at that moment in his pocket, he said "there is not the slightest evidence that there has *ever* been any difference between my opinions and those of my colleagues." * As for the rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet, Lord Salisbury scornfully averred that they were only the inventions of "our old friends the newspapers."

To understand the events that followed, and which again threw the country into a panic, two facts must be kept in view. First, the resolution to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles had been taken on the 14th of January, after the receipt of a telegram from Mr. Layard warning the Government that the Russians were moving on Gallipoli. This false statement had been neutralised by Lord Augustus Loftus, who sent on the 15th the telegram conveying Gortschakoff's renewed pledges to respect British interests, in time to enable Lord Beaconsfield to cancel the orders to the Fleet. But the second point is, that the public and Parliament were kept in complete ignorance of Gortschakoff's fresh pledges not to approach Gallipoli, and not to occupy Constantinople. If the one pledge was to be trusted, so was the other, and the withdrawal of the orders to the Fleet proved that the Government thought that the one pledge was valid. Yet Lord Beaconsfield's friends strove without ceasing to impress the public with the false notion that Russia meant to seize Constantinople. On the 17th Mr. Layard sent another alarmist telegram. The Russians, he said, were marching on Adrianople. They were next to occupy Constantinople, and the Sultan was making ready to fly to Broussa. On the 22nd a deputation of the Tory War Party, representing seventy-five malcontents in the House of Commons, urged a policy of intervention on Sir Stafford Northcote. On the 23rd the Cabinet resolved to send immediate orders to

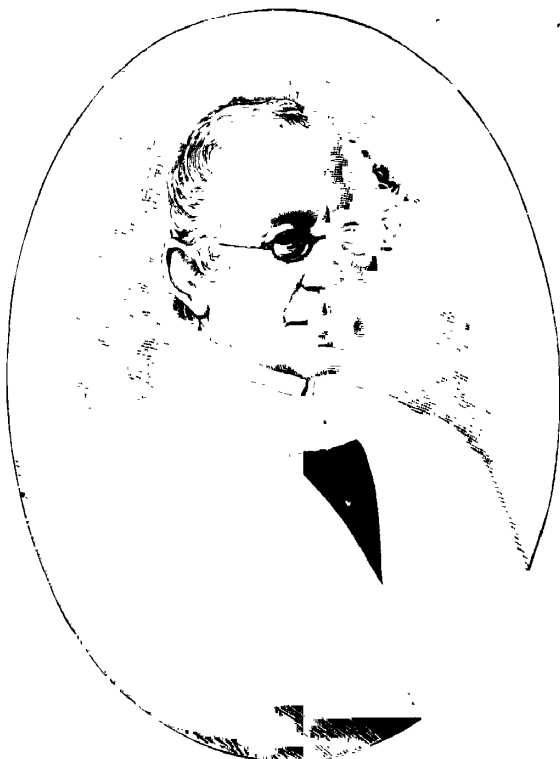
* Hansard, Vol. CCXXXVII., p. 31.

Admiral Hornby to take the Fleet to Constantinople. Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon thereupon resigned. The order to the Fleet was countermanded, and Hornby was instructed to anchor in Besika Bay, whereupon Lord Derby returned to the Cabinet, but without Lord Carnarvon. Lord Derby afterwards admitted that neither he nor his colleagues had altered their opinions about the propriety of sending the order to the Fleet, so that the Ministry and its Foreign Secretary were now avowedly at variance as to a vital point of principle in Foreign policy. If the Cabinet was trustworthy Lord Derby should not have left it. If it was not trustworthy he was right to leave it, but wrong to go back. As for Lord Beaconsfield, that he should have permitted Lord Derby to return in such circumstances was, it need hardly be said, discreditable to him as a man of honour. On January 24th Sir Stafford Northcote gave notice that on the 28th he would move "a supplementary estimate for the military and naval services," and the Ministerial press immediately circulated the most startling accounts of the oppressive conditions which Russia sought to impose on Turkey, then negotiating for an armistice. The Liberal press, on the other hand, accused Sir Stafford Northcote of breaking his promise, passed on the opening day of the Session, that he would not ask for a Vote till he knew what the Russian terms of peace were, and saw that they plainly put British interests in peril.

As for the public, it had not the faintest idea that Ministers had received assurances from Prince Gortschakoff which they had dealt with as satisfactory. The official excuse for the War Vote now was that Russia, by delaying to communicate the terms of peace which were the basis of the armistice, rendered precautionary measures necessary. On the 25th, Count Schouvaloff communicated these terms to the Foreign Office, and they were found to be simply those which Russia had, with unusual frankness, forewarned England and the Powers at various stages of the war, she would exact from Turkey. On the evening of the 25th, Lord Beaconsfield alluded to these terms as a possible basis for an armistice. He must have regarded them as eminently moderate, for he said that they had induced him to cancel the order to the Fleet to proceed to Constantinople.* But the Ministry still persisted in going on with the War Vote, and on the 28th of January Sir Stafford Northcote denounced the terms of peace, in language which would have induced Turkey to reject them had Russia not astutely kept them secret

* Sir Stafford Northcote gave another reason. Mr. Layard, on the 24th, telegraphed that the question of the Bosphorus was to be settled between the Czar and a Congress. Next morning, the 25th, it was found that by a blunder the clerk had written "Congress" instead of "Sultan." It was on this account, said Sir S. Northcote, that the orders to the Fleet were withdrawn. In other words, when on the 24th the Government believed—if by this time they really believed any of Mr. Layard's telegrams—that the question of the Bosphorus was to be settled in accordance with Russia's pledges to England, the Fleet was sent to Constantinople. But when they found this to be a mistake, and that the Czar was going to settle the question in defiance of his pledges to England, the Fleet was ordered back to Besika Bay!

till Turkey had accepted them. On the same day Lord Carnarvon, in the House of Lords, explained his reasons for quitting the Cabinet.*

The feeling in the House of Commons was now running high against the Ministry, whose dissensions could no longer be concealed. But the War Party organised with some difficulty a strong agitation in London in their favour,

PRINCE GORTSCHAKOFF.

and the streets and public-houses soon rang again with the hymnal invocation to the war-god Jingo. His worshippers attacked and broke up meetings called to protest against the War Vote, and they themselves held meetings in Sheffield, in Trafalgar Square, and in Exeter Hall (6th February). Still these demonstrations were empty of real meaning, and the Opposition would not have been intimidated by them but for a curious circumstance.

On the 7th of February the debate on the War Vote was still dragging on, and every night the case of the Cabinet seemed to grow feebler and

* His place at the Colonial Office was filled by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Mr. James Lowther becoming Irish Secretary.

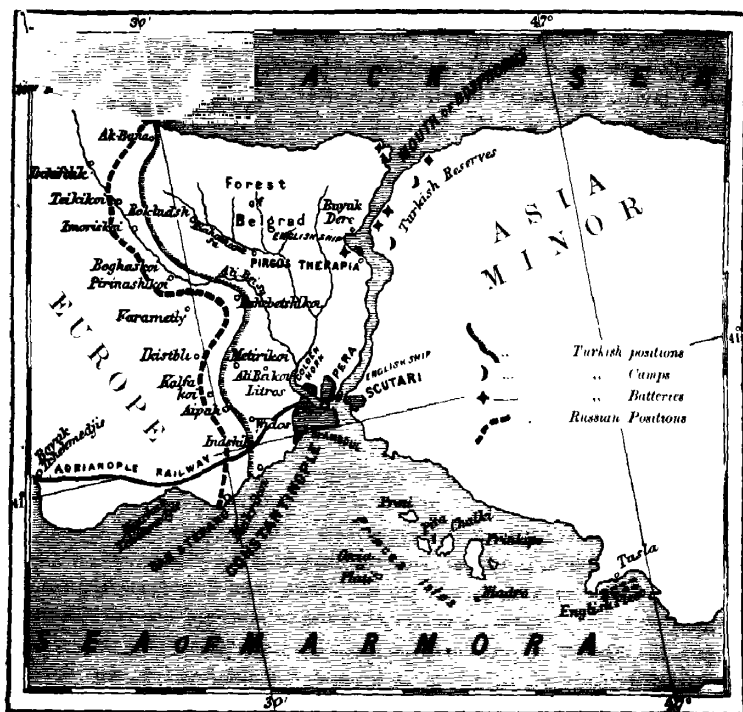
feebler. The accommodating Mr. Layard, however, once more came to their rescue. He began again to pour in his stereotyped telegrams that the Russians, in spite of the armistice, were still marching on Constantinople. Finally his despatches formed the basis for a rumour that was circulated at Countess Münster's ball, on the 6th of January, that the Russians had actually occupied Constantinople. Next day the panic-stricken City was literally occupied by raging "Jingoes," and but for the police Mr. Gladstone's house would have been sacked. Every man who did not bow to the war-god was a traitor and a Russian spy, and the violence of the War Party ultimately frightened the wits out of the Opposition. When the House of Commons met, Sir Stafford Northcote, in reply to Lord Hartington, read Mr. Layard's alarming telegrams, and then the Liberal leaders ran from their guns in a panic. Mr. Forster made haste to withdraw his Resolution against the War Vote. Nobody would listen to Mr. Bright, who shrewdly suggested that Mr. Layard was again misleading the Government; and the Liberal Party, deserted by its leaders, sat in abject dismay, cowering beneath the triumphant cheering of their opponents. But in a moment the whole scene changed, as if by the touch of a magician. While Mr. Bright was casting doubt on Mr. Layard's telegrams, a note was passed on to Sir Stafford Northcote, after reading which he grew visibly agitated. He handed it to his colleagues, and when Mr. Bright sat down, Sir Stafford Northcote rose and, with a shamefaced visage, said he had something of importance to communicate. Both sides strained every ear to learn what fresh act of Russian perfidy had been discovered; but the reaction was indescribable when he read out an official denial from Prince Gortschakoff of Mr. Layard's sensational despatches. "The order," said Gortschakoff, "has been given to stop hostilities along the whole line in Europe and in Asia. There is not a word of truth in the rumours which have reached you." Peals of derisive laughter greeted this anti-climax, only it was difficult to know whether the Opposition and Ministers were laughing at themselves, or at each other.

The end of the affair was that Mr. Forster could not muster up enough courage to press his Resolution, and when a division came he and Lord Hartington and about a hundred bewildered Liberals walked out of the House. Hence the Vote was carried into Committee by a majority of 295 to 199. The country did not conceal its contempt for Mr. Forster's manœuvre. Men of sense agreed that there was only one ground on which such a Vote could be fairly opposed. It was that till Ministers stated definitely, whether their policy was to be that of Lord Derby or Lord Beaconsfield, tempered at intervals by a telegraphic romance from the British Embassy at Constantinople, not a farthing should be granted to them. No such statement of policy was made, and the withdrawal of the Liberals from their position served to convince impartial observers that their opposition had been factious from the beginning.*

* Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone were, however, among those who voted against the Grant.

After this unexpected victory the "Jingoes" pressed the Government t follow it up. To please them the Fleet was ordered to Constantinople, bu to soothe Lord Derby he was permitted to explain that it went there merel to protect British residents who were alarmed by the prevailing anarchy The Turks, enraged at what they deemed their betrayal by Lord Beaconsfiel and Mr. Layard, churlishly refused to grant a firman opening the Straits t the Fleet. Prince Gortschakoff said, that as the protection of Europeans fror anarchy was a duty which Russia and England ought to undertake in commo for the sake of Humanity, Russia would now, as a matter of course, occup the fortified lines that covered Constantinople, and, if need be, the city itsel It was a pretty "situation" in the high comedy of diplomacy, in which Lor Beaconsfield was, for the moment, outwitted and outmanœuvred. He lowere the point of his foil with good temper and good grace, but when he effecte a compromise with Gortschakoff there was wailing and gnashing of teeth i the Temple of "Jingo." And yet Lord Beaconsfield may be forgiven much on account of the dexterity with which he extricated the country from position which rendered war with Russia, and the immediate expulsion of th last remnant of the Ottoman race to Asia, a dead certainty. He, or Lor Derby in his name, promised Gortschakoff not to occupy Gallipoli nor th lines of Bulair, if Russia would promise not to land troops on the Europea shore of the Dardanelles. This compromise was accepted by Russia, with th additional proviso that neither Power was free to occupy the Asiatic side c the Straits.

After the Government obtained the Vote of Six Millions, they began t spend the money as quickly as possible in the arsenals, for the strangest par of their policy was, that their Army and Navy Estimates were essentially peac estimates. Meantime, everybody was speculating as to what terms of peac were being forced on Turkey, and the War Party were busy spreading abroa the most alarming rumours about the exactions of Russia. The veil of secrec in which the negotiations were wrapped excited the suspicion of the people, whc it must be remembered, were kept in ignorance of the fact that the Russia Government had frankly told Lord Derby the conditions on which they woul make peace. There was thus a distinct oscillation of public feeling towards th "Jingoes." The Treaty of Peace was signed at San Stefano on the 3rd of March Nineteen days afterwards the full text of this Treaty, by which, as Princ Bismarck told General Grant, "Ignatieff had swallowed more than Russia coul digest," was printed in the English newspapers. At first, the War Part collapsed. It was clear that the Russians had not touched British interests and that to offer to fight on behalf of Turkey after she was annihilated as fighting Power, and had signed a Treaty of Peace, was a palpable absurdity Some other basis for a policy had thus to be discovered, and it was soo found. The ghastly phantom of "the public law of Europe" was conjure up from the Crimean Museum of diplomatic antiquities. It was said tha

England was bound to defend that law against the Treaty of San Stefano which had violated it, by upsetting the Treaty of Paris as modified in 1871 by the Powers. Austria also took a line that again inspired the War Party with false hopes. The Treaty of San Stefano had not arranged for an Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a counterpoise to a Bulgaria under Russian influence. Austria therefore began to arm. At the instance of

RUSSO-TURKISH WAR: MAP SHOWING POSITION OF RUSSIAN AND TURKISH LINES OUTSIDE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND OF THE BRITISH FLEET

Germany, however, she invited all the Powers to meet in Congress and endeavour to harmonise the Treaty of San Stefano with the general interests of Europe. As Lord Derby was blamed, somewhat unjustly, for the failure of the project of a Congress, it may be well to state precisely his attitude to it. Unfortunately for himself he deemed it desirable to conceal his real objection to the scheme, which was this: he held that more harm than good results from a discussion among rival Powers on their competing interests in any Congress, unless they shall have arrived beforehand at a complete agreement as to the concessions which they will give and take.

Lord Derby's idea evidently was to delay the Congress till the Powers were so far agreed that their meeting would be virtually one to register foregone conclusions. Lord Beaconsfield and the War Party, on the other hand, knew that their only hope lay in preventing the Congress from meeting. Up to a certain point Lord Derby and Lord Beaconsfield could, therefore, hold common ground. But as Lord Derby's policy of obstructive procrastination destroyed the popularity of the project before it had brought about such an agreement among the Powers as would render the Congress innocuous, even in his eyes. it was easy for Lord Beaconsfield to take some warlike step that would get rid of Lord Derby and the Congress also. Hence throughout the period of diplomatic conflict that followed we find Lord Derby allowed to object to the Congress, first because Greece was not to be represented, and lastly because the Russians did not distinctly promise to submit the whole Treaty of San Stefano to it. The dispute finally centred round this last point. Out of England nobody at the time could understand Lord Derby's objection. He seemed, from beginning to end, either to be quibbling about words and phrases, or trying to force Russia to enter the Congress with less liberty of action and on a lower *status* of dignity and independence than the other Powers. Before England accepted the Congress he wrote to Sir Henry Elliot, saying that she would not enter it unless he distinctly understood that "every article in the Treaty between Russia and Turkey will be placed before the Congress, *not necessarily for acceptance*, but in order that it may be ascertained what articles require acceptance or concurrence by the several Powers, and what do not." Russia had already admitted that at the Congress each of the Powers "would have full liberty of appreciation and action" as regards the Treaty of San Stefano, and on the 9th of April Prince Gortschakoff's Circular Note further stated that "in claiming the same right for Russia we can only reiterate the same declaration." Lord Beaconsfield, on the 8th of April, complained, in the House of Lords, that the phrase "liberty of appreciation and action" was involved in classical ambiguity. "Delphi herself," said he, with a provoking sneer at the Russian Chancellor, "could hardly have been more perplexing and august." Yet, on the 27th of March, Count Schouvaloff wrote to Lord Derby as follows: "The liberty of appreciation and action which Russia thinks it right to reserve to herself at the Congress the Imperial Cabinet defines in the following manner. It leaves to the other Powers the liberty of raising such questions at the Congress as they may think it fit to discuss, and reserves to itself the liberty of accepting or not accepting the discussion of those questions." * Russia had communicated the Treaty in its entirety to all the Powers. She had expressly and explicitly informed Austria, who had summoned the Congress, that she admitted the competence of that body to overhaul every clause of the Treaty in European interests—a fact of which Lord Derby was well aware. Austria

* See Sir Stafford Northcote's statement in the House of Commons, *Times*, 26th April, 1878.

and the Continental Powers were satisfied that Russia had sufficiently recognised the competence of the Congress. England alone denied this, and pressed for a declaration which would have technically left all the Powers except Russia free not only to decide what affected their individual interests, but free to decide what affected those of Russia also. Lord Derby's demand seemed as if meant to put the Russian Government, behind which stood a great and irritable army, flushed with victory, in the position of a criminal at the bar of Europe, and to force from her an admission that on certain vital points she pledged herself to bow to the decision of the Congress, though no other Power was to be put under a similar obligation.* Whilst this pedantic controversy was going on the "Jingoes" beat the war-drum with so much sound and fury that Lord Beaconsfield was misled into the idea that they were strong outside London. On the 26th of March the Cabinet accordingly resolved to call out the Reserves, to summon a contingent of native troops from India, to seize Cyprus, and land an army at a port in Syria. Lord Derby was not much alarmed about the order to call out the Reserves, but to seize one portion of the Turkish Empire, and land an army on another, without a declaration of war, was to his mind an act of piracy. Moreover, it would have instantly led to the catastrophe which he had made every sacrifice to avoid—the Russian occupation of Constantinople.

At this crisis Lord Derby saved his country from the direst calamity—a war between England and Russia, in which victory could bring no other gain to England than the privilege of restoring the liberated Turkish provinces to barbarism, and in which, since India had been put down by Lord Beaconsfield as one of the stakes in his game, defeat would have meant the loss of her Asiatic and Colonial Empire. Lord Derby resigned, and the panic caused by his withdrawal from the Cabinet compelled Lord Beaconsfield to abandon the filibustering expedition to Cyprus and Syria, and confine himself to those steps which did not make war inevitable. Russia, who was strengthening her own forces, could not object to England calling out her Reserves. As for the summons to the Indian troops, it would have been harmless, but for a circumstance not known at the time. It gave Prince Gortschakoff an opportunity for carrying out a diabolically malignant scheme of vengeance. He considered himself free to ignore the arrangement by which Russia was bound not to interfere in the "neutral zone" between her Asiatic Empire and the Indian frontier. Russian troops were accordingly ordered to move towards the Oxus for the invasion of India. Russian agents hastened in advance to the frontier to brew trouble for England in Afghanistan. Nay, so swift and secret were these counter-strokes, that even after the dispute

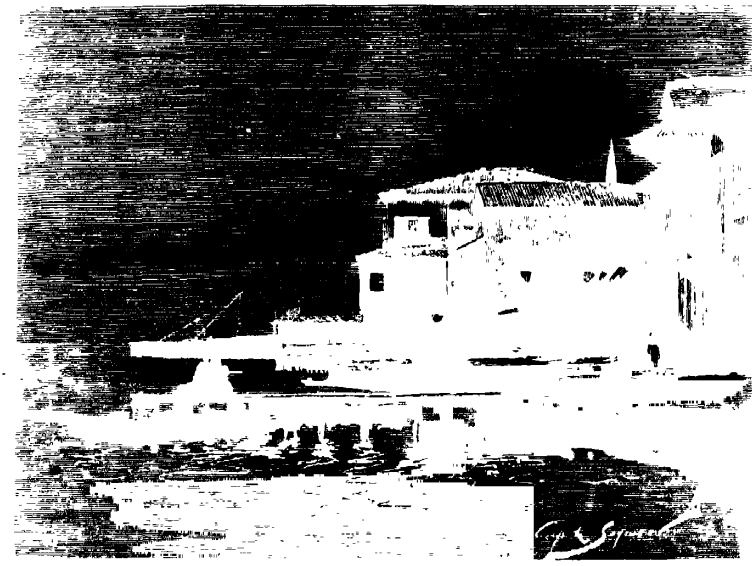
* It is, however, but fair to Lord Derby to say that though all the Tory speakers and writers assumed this to be his object, his obstinacy might be due to another and more honourable motive. He probably persuaded himself that the refusal of Russia implied that she meant to object to the discussion of Articles that in the opinion of the Powers affected their interests as well as hers.

between Russia and England in Europe had been settled, Russia was unable to undo the mischief she had wrought in Asia. England was dragged into the costly agony of another Afghan War, and it may therefore be said that the luxury of bringing the native troops to Europe in 1878 not only permanently disorganised the finances of India, but cost the country hecatombs of lives and £20,000,000 of money in 1879–80. Though the step was at first popular, the nation in time began to appreciate the grave political and fiscal objections which could be urged unanswerably against the employment of Indian troops out of Asia, or out of that portion of Eastern Africa which is practically Asiatic.

But when Lord Derby resigned it was not known that Indian troops were to be brought to Cyprus and landed in Syria, and the Ministerial explanations were so couched as to make it appear that he left the Government merely because the Reserves were called out. His real reasons could not be given at the moment, and he had to submit to a tirade of abuse from Tory speakers and writers unparalleled in its ferocity. Even his personal character was attacked by abominable slanders. Violence and virulence are the outward and visible signs of decaying power in a political Party. These evil qualities had, however, never been displayed to a greater extent by the Tories since the wars of the Protectionists and the Peelites in 1852, when a band of the former one day after dinner at the Carlton Club explored the drawing-room in order to "fling Mr. Gladstone out of the window."* Yet it is curious to observe that Lord Beaconsfield and his followers were forced by events to adopt the policy and even the method of their slandered colleague. They floundered deeper and deeper every day into a quagmire of difficulties, till they actually made a secret arrangement with Russia as to the points in the Treaty of San Stefano, about which, however much they might wage a sham fight in the coming Congress, neither Power would go to war.

In fact it is now evident that of the statesmen who figured in the controversy at this crisis, Lord Derby is the one who emerges from it with least damage to his reputation. Alike in his strength and weakness, in his resolute determination to spend neither British blood nor British treasure for the sake of Turkey, and in his lack of red-hot enthusiasm for the cause of Slavic

* Mr. Charles Greville dwells on one of these ebullitions of patrician rowdyism with much anger. (*See* Memoirs, Part III.) At the same time it is but fair to say that the Peelites had given the Tories just provocation. Lord Aberdeen had led the Tory leaders to believe that, whenever they abandoned Protection, they (the Peelites) would return to the Tory fold, and reunite the Conservative Party. Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli did abandon Protection, incurring great obloquy from their followers. But the Peelites declined to fulfil their part of the implied bargain, and, having got all they wanted out of the Protectionists—a recantation of their principles—not only refused to join them, but attacked them with the Whigs. Mr. Gladstone was supposed to have inspired what Lord Hardwicke, in a letter to Mr. Croker, denounced as a "disgraceful" manœuvre due to "personal pique and hatred."—*See* Croker Papers; also an article in the *Observer*, Feb. 13, 1887, p. 3.

nationality, Lord Derby's diplomacy was the diplomacy of the British people in their saner moments, when they were not under the spell of passion or partisanship. His blunders—the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum and the refusal to give an executive character to the decisions of the Constantinople Conference—had at all events wrought no evil to England or the world, unless it were an evil to hasten the destruction of Ottoman tyranny in Europe, and the deliverance of Bulgaria from barbarism.* As for his successes, they are now obvious. His shrewd appreciation of British interests, and his firmness,

THE MARINA, LARNACA, CYPRUS

candour, courtesy, and lucidity in defining them at the outset of the struggle between the belligerents, made it easy for Russia to avoid a collision with England. That he fell short of his opportunity in neglecting to establish British influence in Egypt was a mistake excusable in a minister whose leader, like a character in one of his own novels, "had but one idea in Foreign

* It ought to be said that Lord Derby's ablest apologist, Mr. T Wemyss Reid, in an article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for June, 1879, advanced a fair defence for his hesitancy to work zealously with the European Powers. Mr Reid asserts, and in a manner which commands respectful attention, that Lord Derby knew that as far back as 1873 Russia, Germany, and Austria had entered into a secret agreement to upset the *status quo* in Turkey. No historian can presume to pass a final judgment on Lord Derby's career at the Foreign Office without carefully studying this remarkable article. It explains much that is otherwise inexplicable in Lord Derby's policy, and had it been an official *communiqué* it would have been almost conclusive.

Policy, and that was wrong"—the "maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire." But the net result of Lord Derby's administration was that he kept the country out of war, and out of enfeebling and disreputable alliances. He thrust a peace policy on bellicose colleagues. Even when they broke from his control he still forced them back to the paths of peace by inflicting on them the penalty of his resignation. In quitting them he left them as his legacy the secret of going into the Congress, and bringing back from it "Peace with Honour."

Mr. Gladstone, in a famous speech at Oxford, said, on the 30th of January, that he had devoted his life, during the past year, to counteract the Machiavelian designs of Lord Beaconsfield. Mr. Gladstone, however, never appeared to less advantage than when he made that statement. It was not Lord Beaconsfield but Lord Derby who was the master-mind of the Cabinet during 1877-78, and who moulded its diplomacy and controlled its action in Foreign Affairs. That Mr. Gladstone strengthened Lord Derby's hands by rendering a war for the sake of Turkey unpopular is true; but that he weakened them by seeming to advocate a military alliance with Holy Russia for a crusade against Islam, is true also.

Lord Derby's successor was Lord Salisbury. His first act was to issue a Circular to the Powers, which was a furious and unrestrained condemnation of every line of the Treaty of San Stefano. If it were to be taken seriously it meant the condemnation even of the proposals of the Constantinople Conference, to which he was himself a party. Prince Gortschakoff, however, did not take it seriously. He replied to it with polite irony in his Circular of the 9th of April, pointing out that the difficulty Lord Salisbury put him in was that he confined himself to saying what England did *not* want. The situation, however, could not be understood by the Powers till Lord Salisbury stated plainly what she did want. The only logical answer which Lord Salisbury in terms of his Circular could give was, "The restoration of the *status quo* in Turkey." Hence it is needless to say that he did not find it convenient to issue a direct reply to Prince Gortschakoff's cynical despatch.

The Resolution calling out the Reserves was carried in the House of Commons by 319 against 64, the Liberal leaders, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, refusing to take part in the division. That fewer than half the House supported the Government was bitterly bewailed by the War Party, but was taken by the country as a good omen of peace. So was the proposal to adjourn Parliament for a holiday of three weeks at Easter, though, when the order summoning the Indian troops to Malta was issued immediately after the adjournment, war alarms again vexed the nation. Peace meetings were once more held, and the provinces grew so restive that in the end of April Mr. Hardy and Mr. Cross, speaking at Bradford and Preston, tried to soothe public opinion by the most pacific assurances. When Parliament met after the Recess the Government were taken to task because,

in sending for the Indian troops, they seemed to be endeavouring to nullify Parliamentary control over the Army. Though the Opposition were beaten in the division in the House of Commons, independent Conservatives did not conceal the suspicions and the dislike with which they regarded a proceeding which appeared more in harmony with the policy of Rome in her decay, than of the British Empire in the full vigour of virility. Though the War Party were more noisy than ever in London, there grew up a strong feeling towards the end of May that the Congress would meet after all, and that the risk of war was over. Intimidated by the Peace demonstrations, the feeble vote of support on the motion for calling out the Reserves, and the suspicions with which many Conservatives viewed the employment of Asiatic troops to fight the battles of England in Europe, the Government adopted Lord Derby's plan, and entered into a secret agreement with Russia as to what was to be conceded in Congress. After that agreement it mattered little on what terms the two Powers met. The compromise between Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff pushed back the Bulgaria of the San Stefano Treaty from the Ægean Sea to the limit fixed by the Constantinople Conference, cutting it off from all possible contact with England, an arrangement not altogether disadvantageous to Russia. It divided Bulgaria into two provinces—one to be free, but tributary to Turkey, and the other to have an autonomous government under a Christian Pasha, appointed by the Porte with the sanction of the Powers. This weakened Bulgaria so as to give Russia a dominant influence in both provinces, which was not shaken till 1885, when their aspirations for union were realised by a Revolution, which it was Lord Salisbury's fate to sanction, perhaps, indeed, in some measure to encourage. Greek populations were excluded from the new Bulgarias, greatly to the satisfaction of Mr Gladstone and Lord Derby. Bayazid was restored to Turkey, but Batoum and Kars were to be taken by Russia, who thus had the Asiatic frontier of Turkey at her mercy. Russia was to take Bessarabia, and Turkey to cede Kolour to Persia—obviously to earn Persian gratitude for Russia. Subject to this compromise Lord Beaconsfield agreed not to make a *casus belli* of any Article in the Treaty of San Stefano, each one of which had been so fiercely condemned by Lord Salisbury's Circular of the 1st of April.

The intention of the Government was to keep the Salisbury-Schouvaloff compromise secret. The people were to be left to imagine that Ministers had won a diplomatic victory by forcing Russia into the Congress fettered, whilst England entered it free. All the points agreed on privately were to be fought over publicly by the representatives of England in the Congress as if no such agreement were in existence, and Englishmen were to be deluded into the idea that their diplomatic agents had, by superhuman efforts at Berlin, not by private huckstering in London, obtained enormous concessions from Russia. But when the *Globe* newspaper astonished the world by divulging the secret agreement, the people—more especially the enthusiastic Tories—refused to be

[illegible]. What, they asked, had Ministers made such a fuss about? Why had they passed war votes, brought Indian troops to Malta at the risk of violating the Constitution, and kept Europe in a fever of unrest, if they were prepared to accept a compromise with Russia, so fatal to the Turk as this? In fact, public opinion was so much excited that Lord Salisbury, on

PRINCE BISMARCK

(From the Photograph by Loescher and Petsch, Berlin.)

the 3rd of June, had the courage to deny that the secret compromise published by the *Globe* on the 31st of May was "authentic." Ministerial organs also tried to convince the world that it was a forgery which had been treacherously uttered from the Russian Embassy.* For a time this denial

* Lord Salisbury said, in reply to Lord Grey, in the House of Lords, that the statements in the *Globe* were "wholly unauthentic." Lord Grey said he could not have believed it to be true that Lord Salisbury had agreed to the retrocession of Bessarabia. "It appeared," he said, "to be too

lulled all popular suspicions. By way of enforcing it Sir Stafford Northcote, when pressed, on the 6th of June, as to what policy Ministers would pursue in Congress, referred the House of Commons to the drastic Circular of the 1st of April, which tore every Article in the Treaty of San Stefano to pieces. As a matter of fact that Circular became a bit of waste-paper when Lord Salisbury signed his secret agreement with Russia, the existence of which the Government were now denying.

Three days after this compromise was arrived at, Germany, on the 3rd of June, issued invitations to the Powers to meet in Congress at Berlin on the 14th.* Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury then proceeded to represent England at the conclave in the Radziwill Palace. Few will forget the almost breathless excitement with which the people of England watched what they believed would be a terrible diplomatic duel for the honour of their Queen and country between Lord Beaconsfield and Prince Gortschakoff, for all this time the country had accepted as true Lord Salisbury's denial of his secret compact with Count Schouvaloff.† But the tension of public feeling suddenly relaxed in the reaction of a ludicrous anti-climax. On the day after the Congress met (14th June) the *Globe* published the full text of the Secret Agreement. In vain did Sir Stafford Northcote and the Duke of Richmond repeat Lord Salisbury's equivocal denials of its authenticity. Lord Grey indignantly condemned the Government for their misleading disclaimers. Lord Houghton, a Liberal supporter of Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy, said "the effect of the document on the whole of Europe had been portentous,"

monstrous to be believed that her Majesty's Government could have made such a stipulation as was agreed to"—an observation which Lord Salisbury ratified by his silence.—Hansard, Vol. CCXL., p. 1061.

* The words of Bismarck's Circular were :—"While addressing this invitation to the —— Government, the Government of his Majesty [the German Emperor] supposes that the —— Government, in accepting the invitation, consents to allow free discussion of the contents of the Treaty of San Stefano in their totality, and that it is ready to take part in it." It is curious to notice how persistently Russia refused to yield even verbally, and after signing the Secret Agreement, to the English demand. As the Vienna correspondent of the *Times* said, "the formula of invitation is a compromise. While doing full justice to the full demand of England for free discussion of the Treaty of San Stefano in its totality, it contrives to spare the susceptibilities of Russia. Germany steps in and supposes that none of the Governments invited will object to a free discussion. In issuing invitations on this hypothesis, Germany gives a moral guarantee that it will be so; and Russia, who has hitherto objected to such a course, is not distinctly asked to withdraw this opposition, but only gives her consent, like the other Powers, to a Congress convoked by Germany for the purpose."—*Times* Vienna Correspondent, 4th June, 1878. The effect of this formula was to make Prince Bismarck absolute master of the Congress after acceptance of his invitation. He alone had given a guarantee that the Treaty should be fully discussed. He alone was therefore entitled at every stage to define what he meant by the phrase, "in its totality."

† Sir M. Hicks-Beach, on the 12th of June, gave his Party and the country further assurances on this head in a speech at Cheltenham, in which he said that the main points in Lord Salisbury's Circular of the 1st of April would be adhered to by the British representatives at the Congress. This statement, of course, recoiled on him in the most damaging manner when, on the 14th, it was found that what the Ministerialists considered to be main points had been bargained away to Russia in Lord Salisbury's Secret Agreement of the 30th of May.

and had lowered the dignity of the Government.* The theory of the Ministerial Press, that the document came from the Russian Embassy was refuted in a few days by the Ministry. They raised criminal proceedings against Mr. Charles Marvin, a writer in the Foreign Office, for surreptitiously copying the paper and sending it to the *Globe*.† The prevarication of Ministers and the revelations attendant on the disclosure of the Secret Agreement shocked the confidence of the nation in the Cabinet. Lord Salisbury and his colleagues earned for themselves at this time an evil reputation for mendacity, which did much to bring about the defeat of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration at the General Election of 1880. And yet it was difficult for them to be quite candid with Parliament in the circumstances. On the day after they had signed the Secret Agreement with Russia (which, it must be kept in view, bound her to encroach no further on Turkey in Asia) they began to negotiate a Convention with the Porte by which England promised to defend the Asiatic frontier of Turkey, on condition that the Sultan would reform the Government of Asia Minor, and permit the British Government to hold Cyprus as long as Russia kept Kars. It would have been inconvenient to divulge this scheme before Congress had decided the fate of Bulgaria. Hence Lord Salisbury was really within the mark in saying that the Secret Agreement with Russia did not "wholly" represent the Government policy. On the 8th of July it was announced that the Anglo-Turkish Convention had been signed on the 4th of June — most reluctantly, as it seemed, by Turkey. Her hesitancy, indeed, was not overcome till Lord Salisbury in the Congress abandoned, and Lord Beaconsfield actively opposed, the cause of the Greeks, whom they had buoyed up with delusive hopes. In an instant the scandal of the Secret Agreement was forgotten. The wildest tales of the wealth that was to be exploited in Cyprus flew from mouth to mouth. Englishmen saw with prophetic eye, "in a fine frenzy rolling," Asia Minor "opened up," under a British Protectorate, by the British prospector and pioneer. Indeed, it was not till the 9th of November, when the nauseous wines of Cyprus (of which such glowing accounts had been published) were served at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, that the truth dawned on the City. Then it was recognised that the country had been deceived as to the teeming riches of its new possessions and

* Lord Houghton, as a supporter of the Ministerial Foreign Policy, said:—"Even if the surrender which we are required to make according to this document is one to which the country would give its consent, it would have been better that the fact should have appeared at the Congress than that it should have been made known by this paper [the *Globe*]. It now stands before the world that England did not go into the Congress with free hands, but before going into it had made a contract, and had, in the main, abandoned some of the most important points which I and other Members of the House considered it was the duty of this country to insist upon."—Hansard, Vol. CCXL., p. 1569 *et seq*.

† The proceedings against Mr. Marvin were withdrawn. He pleaded that copying on paper did not amount to theft, and his legal advisers threatened a cross-examination of the Foreign Office officials (whose laxity of administration was obvious), which determined the Government to retreat.

positions in the East. Cool-headed men did not, however, at the outset conceal their opinion that the privilege of occupying Cyprus and of defending the Asiatic frontier of Turkey was a poor substitute for the occupation of Egypt as a means of restoring British influence in the East and safeguarding British communications with India. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington both denounced the Anglo-Turkish Convention as an "insane covenant," and the Opposition attacked it savagely in Parliament, but without success. Independent Members attributed less importance to the arrangement than Mr. Gladstone. They argued that, as the introduction of reforms into Asia Minor was the condition precedent of defending the frontier by arms, the Treaty, so far as England was concerned, would remain a dead-letter. Great commercial interests, if created in Asia Minor by English adventurers, might doubtless need defence. But, on the other hand, it was impossible to create those interests so long as Asia Minor was desolated by misgovernment, which the Sultan had not the power, even if he had the will, to reform. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury returned to London on the 15th of July, bringing with them, as they said, "Peace with Honour." Applauding crowds welcomed them with passionate enthusiasm. The Tories were delighted with the Anglo-Turkish Convention, for as yet the gilt had not been rubbed off their Cyprian toy. The Liberals, though indignant at the betrayal of Greece, were pleased that Lord Beaconsfield had come out of the Congress without involving England in war. They could say very little against a Treaty the net result of which was to free eleven millions of Christian Slavs from the direct rule of the Sultan, to render even divided Bulgaria practically autonomous, and to create Servia and Roumania into independent Kingdoms. On the 18th of July Lord Beaconsfield gave the House of Lords an apologetic explanation of the Treaty of Berlin, which was only the Treaty of San Stefano modified by the Salisbury-Schouvaloff Agreement, and by the concession to Austria of the right to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. The debate raised no point of interest, save Lord Derby's disclosure of the Ministerial decision in May, to send a naval Expedition to Syria, a project which was abandoned when he quitted the Cabinet. Lord Salisbury created a scene by comparing Lord Derby's revelations to those of Titus Oates, and he gave them a flat denial. But Lord Derby had spoken from a Memorandum which he had made of the decision to which he referred at the time it was arrived at. As Lord Salisbury's reputation for veracity had been sadly shaken by his statements about his Secret Agreement with Russia, the country paid little heed to his disclaimers, and Lord Derby's version of the facts has ever since been taken as correct.

Triumphant majorities endorsed the policy which had been adopted in the Congress, and at the end of the year Ministers went about predicting for the country halcyon days of peace. Domestic affairs gave them little trouble. Irish obstruction was bought off by the Irish Intermediate Education Bill,

which appropriated £1,000,000 to encourage secondary schools in Ireland, by prizes, exhibitions, and capitation grants. An attempt was made to pass a Bill, which, under the pretext of excluding diseased cattle from English ports, might have been so applied as to shut out foreign competition in the cattle trade. But when it was discovered that the effect of the measure would be to raise meat to eighteen-pence and two shillings a pound, the Tory borough members threatened to revolt, and after a long and obstructive struggle in Committee concessions were extorted from the Government which satisfied the Opposition. The Government and the Opposition agreed to pass a Bill consolidating forty-five Factory and Workshop Acts—a most useful measure which removed many legal ambiguities. But no other Bills of importance were carried, and no debates of much consequence raised, save on foreign questions.

The Budget was introduced on the 4th of April. But for the money spent under the Vote of Credit, Sir Stafford Northcote would have had a balance in hand of £859,000. As it was he had a deficit on the accounts of 1877–78 of £2,640,000. Supposing that no change either in taxation or ordinary expenditure occurred in the coming year, he admitted that he would also have a deficit in the accounts of the coming year of £1,559,000. But besides this, Sir Stafford Northcote contended that he must make provision for an "extraordinary expenditure" of £1,000,000, or perhaps £1,500,000, in addition to what appeared in the regular estimates for the Army and Navy for 1878–79. The ordinary income and expenditure he estimated at £79,640,000, but his attempt to introduce the vicious system of bankrupt or half-bankrupt States, whose Governments confuse their accounts by mixing up ordinary and extraordinary expenditure could not conceal one fact. Adding his extraordinary expenditure to his past and estimated deficits, the existing taxation of the country would fail to meet the expenditure of 1878–79 by at least £5,300,000. Hence it was necessary to impose new taxes. Sir Stafford Northcote therefore added 2d. to the income-tax, and 4d. per pound to the duty on tobacco, but even then he estimated a deficit of about £1,500,000, which he added to the floating debt.

Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of August, and, amidst optimist anticipations of peace, an end was put to a Session in which the House of Commons, for the first time in the century, had permitted itself to be treated by the Ministry like a Bonapartist *Corps Législatif.* When it adjourned many people wondered why it had been summoned. In the stirring crises of the year the Government had on every momentous occasion carried out their policy without consulting it. The legislative work that it was allowed to do might have been deferred for another year without serious inconvenience. It had been converted into a court of registration for the decisions of a Minister who treated it as an ornamental appendage to a new system in which the Monarch and the Multitude, under his guidance, were the only real governing forces. Ministers, however, when they went down to their constituents in the autumn, and told them to hope for peace, plenty, and

reduced taxation, did not apparently know that a cunning trap had been set for them by Russia. Before Parliament rose there were rumours afloat that the policy of the Indian Government was becoming restless and disquieting.

SHERE ALI, AMEER OF CABUL.

Lord Lytton had put the vernacular Press under a harsh censorship. The native Princes were threatened, or they expected to be threatened, with a demand for the reduction of their armies. A frontier policy of perilous adventure was mooted, greatly to the alarm of experienced Indian officials like Lord Lawrence.

It has been already stated that Lord Salisbury, when Secretary of State for India, had a scheme in view for covering Afghanistan with European residents, and that Lord Northbrook resigned office rather than further it. In 1878 Lord Lytton found an opportunity made for him by Russia for developing this scheme, and he hastened to seize it. He had already estranged Shere Ali, the Afghan Ameer, by his menaces, and this prince was perhaps not indisposed to intrigue with a rival Power. When Lord Beaconsfield brought the Indian troops to Malta, Russia not only made secret preparations for the invasion of India, but sent a Mission to Cabul for the purpose of securing the co-operation of the Afghans. It does not appear that Shere Ali entered into any bargain with the Russian Envoys, whom he sent away as soon as he could, because whilst they were in Cabul he seems to have been very nervous about their safety. But the Indian Government, hearing of what was going on, demanded that they too should send an Embassy to Cabul, urging that the reception of the Russian Mission showed that Shere Ali's apprehensions as to the safety of Europeans in his capital were groundless. A Mahometan official of rank, the Nawab Gholeim Hasan Khan, was entrusted with the task of conveying the demand to Shere Ali, and he did his work honestly, and with great tact and skill. The Nawab, on the 30th of August, left Peshawur, where the British Envoy, Sir Neville Chamberlain, and his escort of a thousand troops were waiting for the Ameer's reply. The Nawab apparently did not see Shere Ali till the 12th of September, who told him that he did not like the idea of the Mission being forced on him. The advice of the Nawab, who appears in these transactions as the only diplomatist who correctly appreciated the situation, was to delay the Mission, "otherwise some harm will come." By "some harm" Gholeim Hasan Khan meant an Afghan war, at all times a dire calamity for India, whether it ended in victory or defeat. The Nawab, as the result of further negotiations, reported that Shere Ali was willing to send for the British Mission, and clear up any misunderstanding that might have arisen about his reception of the Russian Envoys, if the Indian Government would give him time. The Russians had come to Cabul uninvited, and they had all been sent away, save some who were ill, and who were to be sent back whenever they recovered. As the Nawab sensibly said, Shere Ali did not want his people to suspect that the British Mission was thrust on him. "If Mission," said the Nawab, "will await Ameer's permission, everything will be arranged, God willing, in the best manner, and no room will be left for complaint in future." * But during September all these details—afterwards revealed in the Blue-books—were concealed from the British people. The Indian Government primed the correspondents of the Press with mendacious accounts of Shere Ali's insulting refusal to receive a British Envoy, whereas he had not only invited a Russian Mission to Cabul in violation of his pledges to us, but was loading them

* Afghan Correspondence I., pp. 242, 243.

with attentions, whilst Sir Neville Chamberlain was kept ignominiously waiting his pleasure at Peshawur. British *prestige*, it was said, rendered it necessary to coerce the Ameer, and so Sir Neville Chamberlain was ordered to enter Afghan territory without the Ameer's permission, with a force "too large," as Lord Carnarvon said, "for a mission, and too small for an army." When the advance guard of the Mission came to the fort of Ali Musjid the Commandant stopped it. At the time the country was told in the inspired telegrams in the newspapers that the Commandant, Faiz Muhammed Khan, was violent and insulting, and threatened to shoot Major Cavagnari. When the Blue-book appeared with Major Cavagnari's account of the affair it showed that the Khan behaved with the greatest courtesy, and though he said he must, in obedience to orders, oppose the advance of the Mission, he had actually prevented his troops from firing on Cavagnari and his men. What need to expand the story? The Mission returned. A pretext for a quarrel with Shere Ali, which Lord Salisbury had instructed Lord Lytton to find, was at last discovered. War was declared on Afghanistan, and Parliament was summoned on the 5th of December to hear the news.

Of course Parliament was called into consultation too late. The Viceroy of India had deliberately put himself into a position to invite and receive a blow in the face from a semi-barbarous Asiatic prince. The Government were therefore compelled either to recall Lord Lytton, and treat the whole affair as a blunder, or avenge the rebuff which he had received by war. They chose the latter alternative, and the hearts of Liberal wirepullers were lifted up, because manifestly even Lord Beaconsfield's Administration could not survive such an escapade as a third Afghan war. The debates on the policy of the Government were dismal reading for those who knew what Afghan campaigns meant. The Government shrank from resting their case on the transactions which caused the war. It could not be concealed that on the 19th of August Lord Salisbury asked Russia to withdraw her mission from Cabul, and that on the 18th of September he received a scoffing reply informing him that the Mission was only a temporary one of courtesy. As Sir Charles Dilke put it, Lord Salisbury was naturally dissatisfied with this reply, but being "afraid to hit Russia, yet determined to hit somebody," he "hit Shere Ali." Ministers, however, took up a broader ground of defence. They said that the Russian advances in Asia rendered it necessary for England to secure the independence of Afghanistan. All Indian statesmen were agreed that this could be done by guaranteeing his throne to Shere Ali, he on his side giving the Indian Government control over his policy. Shere Ali had been always willing to accept the guarantee and the pledge to defend him against foreign and domestic foes. But he would never consent to pay for it by putting his country under a diplomatic or military protectorate. On no consideration would he permit European agents to be stationed at Cabul, though he had no objection to receive Mussulman agents, and neither Lord Mayo nor Lord Northbrook thought it wise to press him on the point. They confined themselves to a

[illegible] of aid, reserving to themselves the right of determining when they should give it. Shere Ali was not satisfied with this arrangement, but he had to make the best of it. In 1875 Lord Salisbury urged Lord Northbrook to find some pretext for forcing European residents on the Ameer. Lord Northbrook refused and resigned. Lord Lytton took his place. Lord Lytton roused Shere Ali's suspicions at the outset by occupying Quetta. At a conference at Peshawur in 1876, between Sir Lewis Pelly and Shere Ali's representative, Mir Akbor, menaces were exchanged for persuasion, and even the conditional promise of support given by Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook to Shere Ali was withdrawn. This aggravated Shere Ali's suspicions, and it was while he was in this frame of mind that Lord Lytton attempted to force a British Mission upon him. The theory of the Government was that as diplomacy had failed to make the Ameer accept our protectorate, resort must be had to coercion. This had led to war, it was true. But war must end in victory, and victory in the occupation of the southern part of Afghanistan, which, as Lord Beaconsfield said, would give India a "scientific frontier." The objection to his idea was that to push our outposts farther north was to put ourselves at a disadvantage in defending India. Not only would the occupation of Afghanistan be ruinously costly, but it would lengthen and attenuate the line of our communications with our base—a line, moreover, which would run through the lands of wild and fanatical hill-tribes. The debates in both Houses perhaps served to render the war unpopular. But it had begun, and it was absurd to refuse supplies to carry it on, because such a refusal merely exposed British troops to disaster in the field. However, it was notorious that in the majorities who supported the Government were many who, like Lord Derby, felt forced to support in action a policy which in opinion they disapproved.

During the Session of 1878 only one matter personally affecting the interests of the Queen came up for discussion. On the 25th she sent to both Houses a Message announcing the approaching marriage of the Duke of Connaught with the Princess Louise, third daughter of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, the celebrated cavalry leader, popularly known as "The Red Prince." He was a man of large private fortune, and his daughter was described by Lord Beaconsfield as "distinguished for her intelligence and accomplishments, and her winning simplicity of thought and manner." As for the Duke of Connaught, Lord Napier of Magdala bore testimony to his efficiency as a soldier. In the House of Commons an addition of £10,000 a year was voted to the Duke's income, thus raising it to £25,000, of which [illegible] a year was to be settled on his wife in the event of her surviving him. The vote was passed without a division, the only protest made coming from [illegible] Dilke, who asserted that no good precedent could be cited for [illegible] provision for a Prince, when it was not manifestly a provision for [illegible] Crown.

[illegible] public function of the year in which the Queen took part

... the Review of the Fleet at Spithead on the 13th of August. The spectacle was marred by the storm of wind and rain, which too often spoils naval reviews, but it was one which had a special interest. It was designed to show the country what kind of naval defence could be organised on short notice, amidst rumours of war, when the Channel Fleet was absent in foreign waters. It represented a naval force which, but for its ordnance which was utterly obsolete and inefficient, would have been equal in strength to the navy of any of the Continental Powers, and the Queen saw for the first time the manœuvring of two malevolent-looking little torpedo boats, which astonished her by dashing about in all directions at the rate of twenty-one knots an hour. At noon the ships were dressed. At half-past three the Royal Yacht with the Queen on deck passed down the lines. Salutes were fired, and yards manned, and her Majesty, accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Wales, Princess Beatrice, and the Lords of the Admiralty, was enthusiastically cheered. When the Queen's vessel emerged from the lines it was followed by a gay flotilla of yachts. Those that were sailing craft luffed their wind and, headed by Mr. Brassey's *Sunbeam*, went round by starboard, the steamers going round by port, and with the Royal Yacht in the centre the brilliant pleasure fleet came back with the Squadron. All evolutions were countermanded on account of the weather, but at night the Fleet was illuminated.

At Paris, on the 12th of June, there died George V., ex-King of Hanover, Duke of Cumberland, grandson of George III. of England and first cousin of the Queen. Court mourning was ordered for him, though it was not very generally displayed. The old jealousy with which the people regarded English Princes, who had interests separate from England, accounted for their indifference to his death. Nor was there any strong family sentiment at Court to counteract this feeling. On the contrary, the sentiment of the Queen's family was as anti-Hanoverian as that of the nation. She had not forgiven the treasonable intrigues which his father, her uncle, King Ernest Augustus of Hanover—the most universally hated of all the sons of George III.—carried on with the Orange Tories to set up Salic law in England, and usurp her throne. She had unpleasant memories of his arrogance in persistently conferring the Guelphic Order on Englishmen, not only without asking her permission, but in defiance of her prohibition, as if in suggestive assertion of an unsurrendered hereditary right of English sovereignty. More recently the Queen had been still further offended by the pretensions of his son, her cousin George V., to sanction or veto the marriages of English princes and princesses, as male head of the House of Brunswick-Sonneberg. His attempt to treat the marriage of the Duchess of Teck (the Princess Mary of Cambridge) as a mere morganatic connection, and his refusal to let the Duke of Teck sit beside the Duchess at dinner, had also strained the relations between the Queen and her cousin. Still, in 1866, she had, in response

to his appeal, used her influence on his behalf with the German Emperor. She had even pressed Lord Derby and Lord Stanley to save Hanover from Prussian annexation, and though they refused, she had induced them to mediate on his behalf in order to secure for him a comfortable personal position as a dethroned monarch. His misfortunes roused her sympathies, and when he died, so far as the Queen was concerned, all feuds with the Hanoverian branch of the Royal Family were buried in his grave.

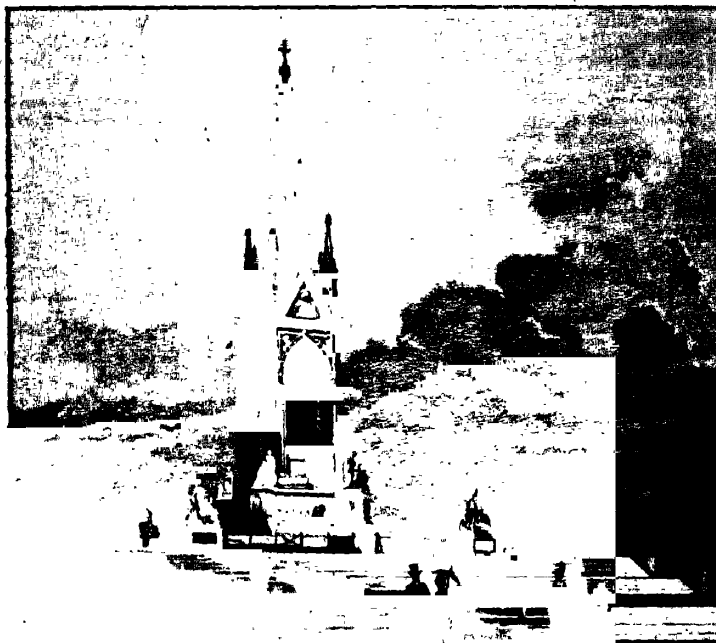
But the end of the year brought a more bitter sorrow to the Queen than the death of George V. The Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, died in extremely touching circumstances. She had spent the summer months with her children at Eastbourne, where she had endeared herself to the people by her sweetness of disposition, and by the personal interest she manifested in the poor of the town. She was usually to be seen visiting the cottages of the sick in the fishing quarter. She had taken a keen interest in studying the management of certain charitable institutions, evidently with a view to making use of her knowledge when she returned to Darmstadt, and a charming visit to Osborne completed a holiday that was for her full of happiness. Her life was uneventful at Darmstadt till the 8th of November, when her daughter, the Princess Victoria, was smitten with diphtheria. The Grand Duchess was herself a skilled and scientifically-trained nurse, and she tended her child personally. She was the first to detect the appearance of the diphtheritic membrane in the little Princess's throat, and she promptly attacked it with inhalations of chlorate of potash. In spite of careful isolation, the whole family, including the Grand Duke, with the exception of the Princess Elizabeth, caught the disease, and it need hardly be said that the strength of the Grand Duchess soon began to give way under the strain of mental anxiety and bodily fatigue. The Princess May died, but on the 25th of November the Grand Duke recovered. On the 7th of December the Grand Duchess went to the railway station to see the Duchess of Edinburgh, and next day she too was prostrate with diphtheria. Lord Beaconsfield, in his speech of condolence in the House of Lords on the 16th of December, described her, with ornate rhetoric, as receiving "the kiss of death" from one of her children, and he recommended the tragic incident as fit to be commemorated by the painter, the sculptor, or the artist in gems. There was no foundation for this histrionic flight. Nobody knew how the Princess caught the contagion, but her biographer states "it is supposed that she must have taken the infection when one day, in her grief and despair, she had laid her head on her sick husband's pillow."* Her sufferings were severe and protracted, and on the 13th of December it was seen that she must die. Still she lingered on. In the afternoon she welcomed her husband with great joy. She saw her lady-in-waiting, and even read two letters, the last one being

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. 375.

[illegible] the Queen, her mother. Then she fell asleep and never woke again. At half-past eight on the morning of the 14th, the anniversary of her father's death, she passed away, quietly murmuring to herself these words: "From Friday to Saturday, four weeks—May—dear papa!" All through her life she had worshipped her father's memory with passionate devotion, and in death his name was the last on her lips.

The grief of the Queen was only equalled by that of the Prince of Wales, who seems to have regarded the Grand Duchess as his favourite sister. As for the English people, they mourned for her with simple-minded sincerity. The character of the Princess Alice—so full of sense and enterprise, and high-spirited self-helpfulness—had been to them peculiarly attractive. She had won their gratitude by her devotion to her mother in the first hours of her widowhood, and to the Heir Apparent, when in 1871 his life hung in the balance. That her daily existence was clouded with sordid cares due to straitened means was not known to her countrymen till after her death. But they were well aware that much domestic sorrow had entered into her life. Her efforts to raise the condition of her sex in Germany procured for her many enemies in a country where it is deemed desirable to reduce the house-mothers to the position of upper servants in their families, who, however, do their work without claiming wages. Sticklers for Court etiquette were shocked by the unconventional activity manifested by the Princess in furthering the organisation of charitable and educational movements. Even the poor in most instances viewed her visits to their homes—visits which she ultimately found prudent to make *incognito*—with suspicious hostility. She had the character in fact of being bent on revolutionising the domestic and social life of Darmstadt by English ideas. She loved learning, and delighted in the society of men of letters and artists, who were always her most favoured guests. Hence it was bruited about that she was an infidel, and a foe to religion. Undoubtedly at one time, when she cultivated close relations with Friedrich Strauss, under whom she studied the works of Voltaire, her theological views ceased to be orthodox. But her musings on the mystery of life, the problem of duty, the conflict between Will and Law in the world, reveal a profoundly reverent and eagerly upstriving spirit, ever struggling towards the light. Some day the story of the spiritual conflict that went on in the still depths of this pure and gentle soul may be told. Here it is enough to say that personal influences played a great part in bringing it to a happy issue. Some time after her philosophical conclusions had crumbled away like dust, one of her most intimate relatives writes, "She told me herself, in the most simple and touching manner, how this change had come about. I could not listen to her story without tears. The Princess told me she owed it all to her child's death and to the influence of a Scotch gentleman, a friend of the Grand Duke's and Grand Duchess's," who was residing with his family at Darmstadt.* "I owe all

* The death of the child here alluded to was that of her little son Fritz, who accidentally fell from one of the palace windows on the 29th of May, 1873.

to this kind friend," she said, "who exercised such a beneficial influence on my religious views; yet people say so much that is cruel and unjust of him, of my acquaintance with him.'" * In Germany, her biographer † admits "her life and work were not easy," and she had not the intrepid intellect, the [illegible] temperament, the caustic wit and the soaring ambition, which enabled her sister the Crown Princess, to conquer for herself a position of dominant influence in the midst of an unsympathetic Court, and an antipathetic Society. Perhaps this explains why through life she had every year been drawn more close

THE ALBERT MEMORIAL, KENSINGTON

to the land of her birth, where her worth was more justly appreciated than the land of her exile. "How deep was her feeling in this respect," writes the Princess Christian in her touching preface to her sister's memoirs, "was testified by a request which she made to her husband, in anticipation of her death, that the English flag might be laid on her coffin; accompanying the wish with a modest expression of a hope that no one in the land of her adoption would take umbrage at her desire to be borne to her rest with the old English colours above her

* Alice Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. Biographical Sketch and Letters, p. [illegible].

† Dr. Sell, a good clergyman of Darmstadt, who was entrusted with her papers and her correspondence with the Queen, and who knew the Princess well during the greater part of her Darmstadt

CHAPTER XXII.

PEACE WHERE THERE IS NO PEACE.

Ominous Bye-Elections—The Spangles of Imperialism—Disturbed state of Eastern Europe—Origin of the Quarrel with the Zulus—Cetewayo's Feud with the Boers—A "Prancing Pro-Consul"—Sir Bartle Frere's Ultimatum to the Zulu King—War Declared—The Crime and its Retribution—The Disaster of Isandhlwana—The Defence of Rorke's Drift—Demands for the Recall of Sir Bartle Frere—Censured but not Dismissed—Sir Garnet Wolseley Supersedes Sir Bartle Frere in Natal—The Victory of Ulundi—Capture of Cetewayo—End of the War—The Invasion of Afghanistan—Death of Shere Ali—Yakoob Khan Proclaimed Ameer—The Treaty of Gundamuk—The "Scientific Frontier"—The Army Discipline Bill—Mr. Parnell attacks the "Cat"—Mr. Chamberlain Plays to the Gallery—Surrender of the Government—Lord Hartington's Motion against Flogging—The Irish University Bill—An Unpopular Budget—The Murder of Cavagnari and Massacre of his Suite—The Army of Vengeance—The Re-capture of Cabul—The Settlement of Zululand—Death of Prince Louis Napoleon—The Court Martial on Lieutenant Carey—Its Judgment Quashed—Marriage of the Duke of Connaught—The Queen at Baveno.

From the bye-elections it was clear, when the New Year (1879) opened, that the *prestige* of the Ministry was waning. The spangled robe and gaudy diadem of Asiatic Imperialism began to sit uneasily on Constitutional England. The Treaty of Berlin had not brought Englishmen much "honour." But it had not even brought Europe "peace." Austria had to make good her hold of Bosnia and Herzegovina by war. Albania was in the hands of a rebel League that executed "Jetdart justice" on Turkish Pashas of the highest rank. Bulgaria and Thrace were only saved from anarchy by the Russian army of occupation. Eastern Roumelia was the scene of daily conflicts between the Turkish troops, and the people of Greece were clamorous to know when Turkey would respond to the invitation of the Conference, and rectify the Hellenic frontier. The discovery that Cyprus was a poor pestilential island, infinitely less valuable than most of the Ionian group, which Englishmen had given to Greece as a gift, was a profound disappointment to popular hopes, and led to an undue and exaggerated depreciation of its value as a place of arms. The Anglo-Turkish Convention was already seen to be a farce. The Sultan, after the resources of diplomatic menace had been well-nigh exhausted, conceded to the agents of England in Asia Minor a few illusory rights of surveillance. But he set on foot no reforms, and he made it plain that he would resist to the death any attempt to "open up" his Asiatic provinces under a British Protectorate to the enterprise of the British projector and pioneer. The Afghan War was unpopular, and though victory did not prove, as was feared, inconstant to our arms, the people seemed convinced, from the history of the first and second Afghan Wars, that a triumph would be almost as disastrous in its cost to India as a defeat. It was impossible now to conceal the fact that when the Indian troops were brought to Malta, the country was placed in a position of far greater peril than had been imagined. While Ministers were wasting their energies in protecting more or less imaginary

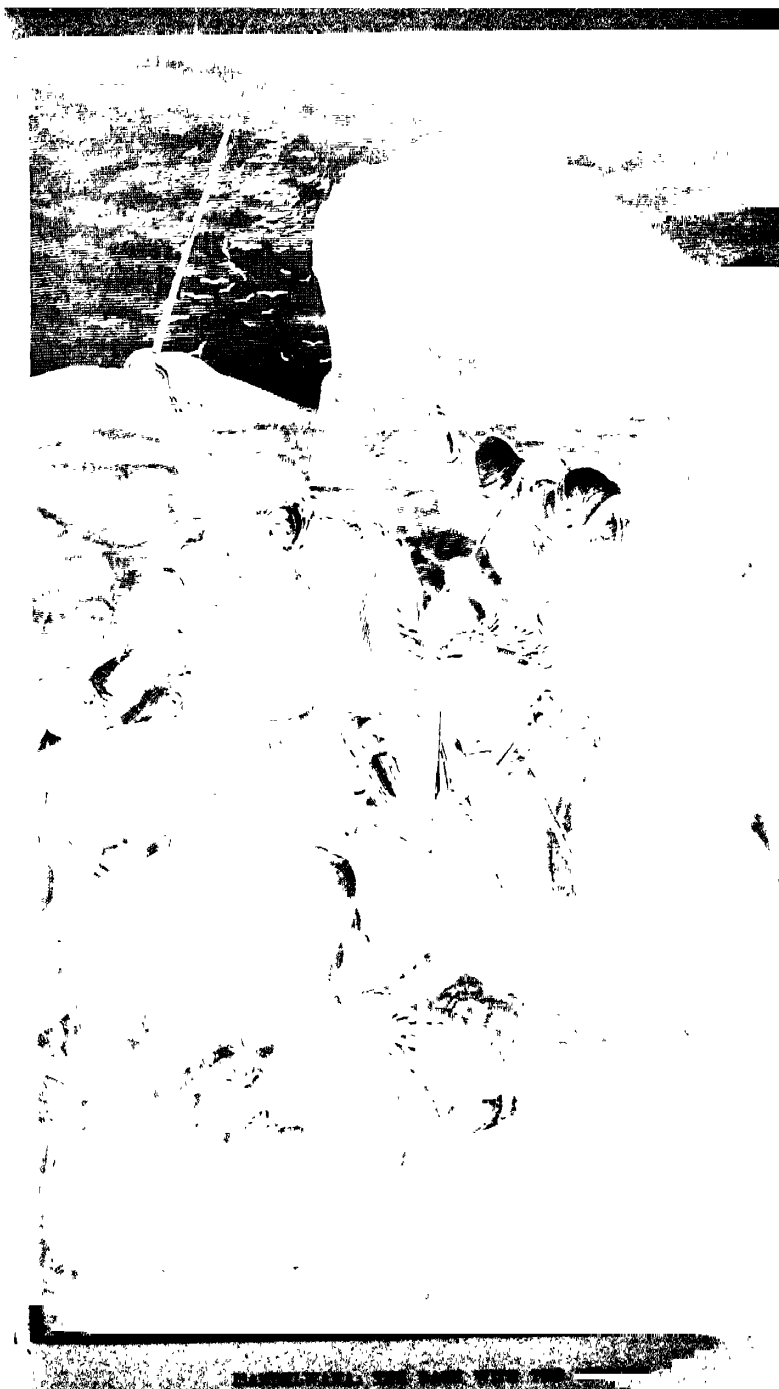
interests in Eastern Europe, they were apparently quite ignorant that their policy had exposed the vital interests of the Empire to attack in Asia. When it was seen that their policy of irritating and menacing the Afghan Ameer, and of terrifying the Native Princes with enforced disarmament, had rendered it easy for Russia, without doing more than giving our enemies and discontented feudatories merely some unofficial support, to shake the fabric of Indian Empire to its very centre. To put the Imperial Crown of India down among the stakes in Lord Beaconsfield's game with Russia in Europe was magnificent. But men of sense and prudence now began to suspect that it was not good business or good diplomacy. Never was England less restful or less easy in mind. Abroad Lord Beaconsfield, as was said, had created a situation which was neither peace with its security, nor war with its happy chances. At home the classes were groaning over the collapse of their most remunerative investments, and the masses writhing under a fall of wages, which, in many trades, amounted to fifty per cent. To complete the popular feeling of depression, it was plain that the Government were fast drifting into another Kaffir War. On the 3rd of February, 1879, in fact, it was officially announced that hostilities with the Zulus had begun.

There is no difficulty in understanding the causes of the Zulu War. The Zulu king (Cetewayo) had ever been a staunch ally of England. But he had a blood-feud with the Boers of the Transvaal, and he claimed part of their territory as having been originally stolen by them from his race. When England in an evil moment annexed the Transvaal, she found that she took over with it the quarrel of the Boers with the Zulus. Cetewayo pressed his claims all the more confidently that a friendly Power now held the land which had been taken from him. In every colony there is a clique of land-speculators, who also, as a rule, form the War Party, and, by a singular coincidence, net most of the profits that are to be derived from a colonial war waged at the expense of the British taxpayer. This Party in Natal ridiculed the notion of giving Cetewayo his land. They also stirred up a war panic, vowing that the Zulus were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to pounce upon Natal and exterminate the Europeans. Sir Bartle Frere—"a prancing pro-consul," as Sir William Harcourt called him—was High Commissioner at the Cape, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces there was Lord Chelmsford. A more ominous combination could hardly be imagined. Sir Bartle Frere even in India had been a hot annexationist. He had the restless brain to devise schemes of conquest, whilst his military colleague had neither the brain nor nerve to carry them out. The Blue-books indicate that Sir Bartle Frere had been preparing beforehand a grand project of conquest in South Africa.* Unfortunately, Sir M. Hicks Beach was not sharp enough to detect and blight this scheme in the bud, and it is doubtful if he even suspected its existence till he was ...

* See South African Correspondence (C 2220), pp. 13[illegible]–2[illegible].

[illegible] by the startling ultimatum which Sir Bartle Frere suddenly [illegible] to the Zulu king. The award of the British Boundary Commissioners [illegible] dispute between the Zulus and the Boers had been in favour of the [illegible]. It was given in June, 1878. Yet it had been kept back by Sir Bartle [Fr]ere, apparently to stimulate the War Party among the Zulus with the pro[vo]cation of delay. Then when it was communicated to King Cetewayo, [th]ere was tacked on to it an irrelevant and menacing demand that King [Ce]tewayo should immediately disband his whole army. "To make the case [ou]r own," wrote Lord Blachford, one of the highest living authorities on [C]olonial Policy, "it is as if the Emperor of Germany, in concluding with [us] a Treaty of Commerce, suddenly annexed a notice that he would make [w]ar on us in six weeks unless before the expiration of that time we burnt [ou]r Navy."* And the ultimatum was not only a crime, but a hideous [b]lunder. To annihilate instead of utilising the Zulu power was to relieve [t]he Boers of the Transvaal from the pressure on their flank that alone pre[v]ented them from throwing off the British yoke. But it was of no use to [a]rgue the case on the grounds of justice or common sense. "The men who [h]ad been in the country"—who always come forward to defend every act of [f]olly that is about to be perpetrated in a distant colony—dinned their defence [o]f Sir Bartle Frere into the ears of Englishmen, who were at last half persuaded [t]hat it must be the duty of England to exterminate the Zulus, when a satrap [l]ike Sir Bartle Frere was eager to annihilate them in the interests of [C]hristianity. Moreover, as in the case of the Afghan War, the people were [k]ept in utter ignorance of the arrogant ultimatum by which Frere had gone [o]ut of his way to fix a quarrel on King Cetewayo.

But if the crime was rank, the retribution by which it was avenged was [s]wift and stern. Chelmsford's advance guard crossed the Tugela on the 12th of [J]anuary. A petty success was recorded at Ekowe on the 7th, and then on [t]he 22nd of January the English column at Isandhlwana was smitten as with [t]he sword of Gideon. Our troops were beaten not only in the actual conflict, [b]ut they were out-manœuvred and out-generalled. The barbarians under [Ce]tewayo had fought like lions, and they had inflicted on a British army a [de]feat so disgraceful that the history of half a century supplies no parallel [t]o it. Frere, like a reckless gambler, had staked everything on this cast of [th]e die. Neither he nor Chelmsford had made provision for a disaster, and [the] result was that the rout of Isandhlwana left the whole colony of Natal, [[illegible]] then discounting the spoils of victory, open to invasion. Nothing, in fact, [[illegible]] between the Europeans in Natal and extermination, save the little post [of] [illegible] Drift. There Lieutenants Bromhead and Chard, with a handful of [[illegible]] the tide of invasion, and redeemed the honour of England [[illegible]] smirched by the political incapacity of Frere, and the mili[tary] [illegible] of Chelmsford. In vain did the Queen and the Duke of

* *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1879.

[illegible] send sympathetic messages to the seat of war. It was reinforcements that were needed, if the English in South-East Africa were [illegible] to be driven into the sea. Parliament, when it met on the 8th of February, was as wrathful as the country. The Government had let Sir Bartle Frere drag the country into a war, which in a few days the disaster of Isandhlwana showed they were incompetent to conduct with credit to the Empire. If Ministers were not able to emerge, without ignominy, from a conflict with the Zulu king, what must have happened had they been allowed to challenge the Czar of Muscovy to mortal combat? Criticism was felt to be futile, in view of the pressing need to retrieve the disgrace of a defeat, none the less ignominious that the Government and their agents had courted it. But a stern demand was heard on all sides for the recall of Frere and Chelmsford, a demand which, like a vote of censure that was proposed in the House of Lords by Lord Lansdowne on the 25th, and in the Commons by Sir Charles Dilke on the 11th of March, Ministers evaded by administering a strong rebuke to the High Commissioner. As a man of spirit, Frere would have naturally resigned after this rebuke. But he held on to his place, and this was so discreditable, that to account for his conduct a strange theory was mooted. It was said that private letters were sent to him by high personages, some of them connected with the Government, assuring him that the censure of the Secretary of State was not meant to be taken as real, but had been penned merely to save Ministers from a Parliamentary defeat.* Sir M. Hicks-Beach's despatch with the censure ended with these words: "But I have no desire to withdraw the confidence hitherto reposed in you." Such was the feeble manner in which the Government dealt with a satrap who had virtually usurped the prerogative of the Sovereign to declare war. Soon after the Ministry had warded off the vote of censure in Parliament, the country was again agitated by tidings of further reverses in Zululand, and it was not till the 21st of April that the Government could announce that Pearson's column, which had been locked up at Ekowe since the outbreak of the war, had been able to save itself by retreat. The indignation of the country grew apace, and at last it was found necessary to allay it by superseding Sir Bartle Frere's authority in Natal and the Transvaal. Sir Garnet Wolseley was accordingly sent to take supreme command at the scene of action. Ere he could arrive Chelmsford, stimulated into action by Colonel [illegible] Wood, had however taken a decisive step. He gave the Zulus battle at [illegible] on the 3rd of July, and won a victory which put an end to the war. [illegible] was taken prisoner on the 28th of August, and, despite the efforts [illegible] Sir Garnet Wolseley and others to set up another Government for

* [illegible] censured Frere for not sending his ultimatum home for approval before [illegible] Frere's claim was virtually that a Colonial Governor had the right to declare [illegible] the Crown or Parliament. The majority that supported the Government in [illegible] the Commons Sir C. Dilke's motion was defeated by a majority of [illegible]

the one which had been destroyed, Zululand lapsed into the confusion anarchy in which it has since remained.

The Afghan War had been more skilfully managed. The British overcame all resistance, and when Parliament assembled General was in possession of Candahar, and Shere Ali had fled from Soon afterwards he died, and his heir, Yakoob, came with his submission the British camp at Gundamuk. There, on the 25th of May, he signed Treaty which bound the Indian Government to give him a subsidy of £60, a year and defend him against his enemies, in return for which he ceded "scientific frontier," and agreed to manage his foreign policy in accordan with the advice of a British Resident who was to be received in Cabul. T gleam of success neutralised the effect of the reverses in South Africa, both Houses voted their thanks to the Indian Viceroy and to the Gener who had carried out the expedition. The Government had no difficulty persuading Parliament to sanction a loan of £2,000,000 without interest India, to enable her to pay the expenses of the campaign. In fact, when Session closed Ministers were jubilant at having upset the predictions of experienced Anglo-Indians, who had declared that it was impossible to k a British Resident at Cabul. They assured the nation not only that British Resident was there, but that the Cabulees were delighted to rece him.

The severe winter of 1879 aggravated the distress which had settled a blight on the labouring and trading classes, and the existence of wh Ministers attempted to ignore. They were, indeed, so ill-advised as to p pose a grant of money for the relief of the Turks, who were enduring gr sufferings in the Rhodope district. But some of the Tory borough Memb threatened to rebel if this project were persisted in, and it was withdra The programme of domestic legislation was long and ambitious, and Minist very properly began the Session by an attempt to guard against obstructi They carried a rule which prevented any amendment from being made the motion that the Speaker of the House of Commons leave the Chair going into Committee of Supply on Monday nights. This enabled a Minis who came to explain his Estimates to do so at once, because it prevent private Members from interposing, between him and the Committee, w long and irrelevant debates on real and imaginary grievances. The measure of the Session was a Bill to consolidate the Mutiny Act and Articles of War—a measure which still further extended the Parliament control of the Army by incorporating these Articles into an Act of liament. It was read a second time on the 7th of April; but when it w into Committee it attracted the attention of Mr. Parnell and his follow

Mr. Parnell now appeared in the character of a British patriot philanthropist who took an absorbing interest in perfecting the the Army and in ameliorating the condition of the private

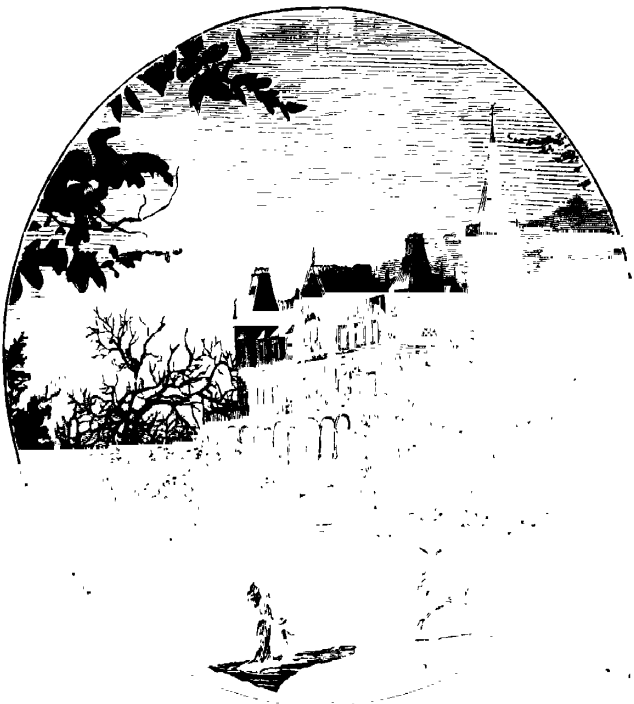
the case of the Prisons Bill, he had mastered every detail of the subject, only he had become a much more formidable personage than he had been in 1877. He had deposed Mr. Butt from the leadership of the Irish party, and, for all practical purposes, he had taken his place.* He had shown Ireland that he had been able to procure for her, by one short year's obstruction in 1877, not only the endowment of her secondary education, but even the release of several Fenian convicts in 1878—a year, said the *Times*, marked by the cessation of obstruction, and the good relations which

BAVENO, ON LAGO MAGGIORE.

obtained between the Government and the Home Rulers. In March he had discussed the Army Estimates with an ability and knowledge which even the Minister for War recognised; and when the Army Discipline Bill was sent before the House in Committee Mr. Parnell was conspicuous for his cleverness in exposing its anomalies, its obsolete applications of the principles of martial law, and its prevailing bias in favour of the officers and against the rank-and-file. When the 44th clause was reached, Mr. Parnell and his friends made a stand against the continuance of flogging in the Army, and at this stage Liberals vied with Ministerialists in denouncing their obstructive tactics. But Mr. Parnell persisted. He had foreseen that he was raising a popular

* Mr. Parnell was not formally elected leader. After Mr. Butt's retirement, in 1878, the Irish party elected, not a leader, but a Sessional Chairman. The office was filled by Mr. Shaw during 1879.

cry. A General Election was at hand, and he knew that the moment it was discovered that he had touched the heart of the constituencies, it would be a question with the Liberals and Conservatives who were then storming at him as to who should be the first to fall into line with him. Mr. Parnell's cynical prevision was justified by events.

Both parties, to do them justice, held out manfully night after night against

THE VILLA CLARA, BAVENO

the pressure of this appeal to the sordid side of their political character. But the longer the game of obstruction on the flogging question was played, the stronger grew the feeling among the populace against flogging, and night after night Mr. Parnell was at his post with cold malice giving an additional turn to the electoral screw. The first to succumb to the torture was Mr. Chamberlain, and something like a faded smile flitted across Mr. Parnell's stony visage when that successful and practical politician scurried into his camp. Mr. Chamberlain's unexpected speech against flogging fell like a bombshell in the House of Commons, where it was understood that Englishmen of all parties had entered

into an honourable understanding to meet Mr. Parnell's obstructive policy with a firm and united resistance. It was a speech which, as Sir Robert Peel very justly said, "entirely upset the calculations of the Government," * a fact which was forgotten or concealed by those critics of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration who afterwards vilipended them for their weak and vacillating attitude to this question. No sooner had Mr. Chamberlain deserted to the Irish ranks than he found himself the object of unsparing obloquy which Liberals and Conservatives impartially bestowed on him. Of course other Radicals, if they desired to save their seats in a General Election, were forced to follow him, and as soon as Mr. Parnell found that he had lured nearly the whole Radical party into his net, he and the Irish Members suddenly vanished from the scene as leaders in the struggle. They were never absent from their posts, and they never failed to support the cause they had espoused by their votes. But they thrust the work of obstruction and of speaking on the Liberal and Radical Members who had tardily become their allies. The advantage they gained was soon apparent. Mr. Chamberlain speedily lost his temper, and not only publicly quarrelled with Lord Hartington, but one evening he even insulted him amidst furious cries of protest from the Liberal benches, by describing him as "the *late* Leader of the Liberal Party." † Nothing could be more complete than the disintegration of the Liberal Party which Mr. Chamberlain thus produced, unless it were the perplexity of the Ministry. The Tories did not dare to stand by the lash as a British institution unless they got what they had been promised—the loyal support of the Opposition. Yet under Mr. Chamberlain's obstructive agitation, and under popular pressure from the constituencies, it was clear that the Opposition was going over piecemeal to the opponents of flogging. What wonder, then, that Colonel Stanley, the Minister of War, temporised, when Mr. Chamberlain extorted from him a damaging schedule, giving a list of the offences for which a soldier could be flogged?

Debates instinct with a strange kind of fierce frivolity raged as to the sort of "cat" that should be used in flogging a soldier. Infinite time was wasted in discussing whether the word "lashes" should be used instead of "stripes" in the Act, Mr. Chamberlain being beaten in his effort to get the word "stripes" inserted. Endless discussions arose as to the maximum number of lashes that should be sanctioned. When there was any sign of hesitancy Irish obstructionists were always ready to join in the fray, and not only screw Mr. Chamberlain up to the "sticking point," but ironically suggest that Liberal and Conservative leaders would alike find it profitable to go to the country in the coming election, with a "new cat and an old Constitution," as a taking "cry." Colonel Stanley at last gave way, and offered to reduce the *maximum*

* Hansard, Vol. CCXLVII, p. 53.

† It must be mentioned that Lord Hartington had in a previous speech haughtily repudiated all responsibility for the action of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Hopwood, and other Radicals who had now allied themselves with the Parnellites.

number of lashes from fifty to twenty-five, whereupon Mr. Chamberlain showed that he was as dangerous to run away from as Mr. Parnell. Indeed, all through these debates Mr. Chamberlain fought the battle of obstruction with an amount of courage and fertility of resource that placed him in the front rank of Parliamentary gladiators. Friends and foes alike admitted that but for his asperity of temper he might have disputed the palm of success even with Mr. Parnell himself. The fight was virtually won when Colonel Stanley proposed to reduce the number of lashes from fifty to twenty-five. Even Lord Hartington then made haste to go over to Mr. Chamberlain whilst it was yet time, just as Mr. Chamberlain had made haste to desert to Mr. Parnell.

On the 17th of July Lord Hartington accordingly proposed that corporal punishment should be abolished for all military offences. Though on a division he was beaten by a majority of 106, it was felt that the "cat-o'-nine-tails" was doomed whenever a Liberal Government came into power. It was foreseen that at the next election many Conservative Members would be driven from their seats, because they had been forced to vote in the majority, and the Ministerialists denounced Lord Hartington's surrender to Mr. Parnell and Mr. Chamberlain with exceeding bitterness. As Lord Salisbury said in addressing a Tory meeting in the City of London, Lord Hartington was like the Sultan, because, though he had a group of political Bashi-Bazouks in his party, whom he could not control, and whose conduct he politely deprecated, yet his motion showed he would not hesitate to profit by their misdeeds, when the conflict of parties was fought out at the polls. As it was, the Government were only able to obtain their majority by agreeing to restrict corporal punishment to those offences which were then punishable by death.

The only other Bill of importance passed during the Session was one dealing with Irish University education. It abolished the Queen's University, and substituted for it the Royal University of Ireland, an examining body like the University of London, empowered to grant degrees, except in Theology, to all qualified students who might present themselves.

The Budget, as might be expected, was by no means a popular one. Since 1878 extraordinary expenditure, incurred on account of an adventurous Foreign Policy, had simply been treated as a deferred liability. On the 3rd of April Sir Stafford Northcote, in explaining his Budget, admitted that the revenue, which he had estimated at £83,230,000, had fallen short of that sum by £110,000. As for his expenditure, it had exceeded his estimate by £4,388,000. He had therefore no money in hand with which to meet the deferred liabilities of 1878-79; in fact, he was face to face with a fresh deficit. Comparing his actual revenue with his actual expenditure, the deficit was seen to amount to £2,291,000. The position, then, was this. In 1878 he had paid off £2,750,000 by bills, which he thought he would have been able to meet in 1879. Now he found he could not meet them. These he renewed

for another year, adding to them a fresh set of bills for the new deficit, which transferred to the future a lump sum of debt equal to £5,350,000. Leaving this item out of account, and ignoring the cost of the South African War, he estimated the expenditure of 1879-80 at £81,153,000. The revenue, he hoped, would amount to £83,000,000, so that the estimated surplus he

THE DUCHESS OF CONNAUGHT.

expected would suffice to cover the cost of the operations in Zululand. It was a dismal statement, at best. But ere the Session ended it was discovered that the real position of affairs was even worse than Sir Stafford Northcote had admitted. In August he had to inform the House that the Zulu War was costing the country £500,000 a month, and that he must get a Vote of Credit of £3,000,000. This, with an addition of £64,000 to the ordinary Estimates, raised the original estimate of expenditure to £84,217,000. Thus the estimated surplus of £1,847,000 vanished, and in its place there stood a deficit of £1,217,000 for 1879-80, which might probably be increased. The

plan of evading the payment of debt, so as to render a costly policy palatable to the electors, was thus a failure. The longer the payment of the debt was deferred the more it grew, and it was clear that the finances of the country were drifting into inextricable confusion.

Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August, and it had hardly risen

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

when the predicted calamity in Afghanistan arrived. As experienced Anglo-Indians had anticipated, Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British Envoy at Cabul, was murdered, and his suite massacred (3rd September), by the fanatical soldiers of the Ameer. During the short period of his residence, Cavagnari had justified the arguments of those who averred that a European Envoy would never be able to furnish his Government with any valuable information from Cabul. The only intelligence worth having that was received by the Indian Government came from native sources, and it had consisted of warnings

that Cavagnari's life was in grave peril.* It was necessary to order an Arm of Vengeance to enter Afghanistan, and this was done. But, in England, t verdict of public opinion was that Lord Beaconsfield's Afghan policy ha proved an irredeemable failure. It was no longer possible to dream c avoiding the costly and harassing annexation of Afghanistan, by extendin over it a veiled British Protectorate, to be administered by a British Envo at Cabul as Political Resident. There was no alternative but a militar occupation, which meant that England must be ready to hold down by th sword a country as large as France, as impracticable for military movement as Switzerland, and inhabited by wild fanatical tribes as fierce, lawless, an savage as the hordes of Ghengis Khan.† The Army of Vengeance under Si Frederick Roberts, after much toil and many struggles, fought its way throug the Shutargardan Pass, and captured Cabul on the 12th of October. Th Ameer, Yakoob Khan, was forced to abdicate, and he was deported t Peshawur, and in the meantime Roberts governed the country by sword an halter. The hillmen attacked his communications. The attitude of th Cabulees was, from the first, threatening, though General Roberts disregarde the warnings of the Persian newswriters, who told him that Afghanistan wa going to rise about his ears. On the 14th of December the insurrection brok out in Cabul, and Roberts had to leave the city and fight his way round t the cantonments at Sherpore, where his supplies were stored, and where h took refuge, and was soon besieged. In fact, in the middle of December th public learnt with extreme anxiety that every British post in Afghanista was surrounded by swarms of fierce insurgents, and that a rescuing arm must be organised at Peshawur without delay. Cabul itself was in the hand of Mahomed Jan, the victorious Afghan leader. Bitterly did Englishme recall Lord Beaconsfield's speech a month before at the Lord Mayor's Banquet in which he assured his audience that the operations in Afghanistan "ha been conducted with signal success," that the North-West frontier of Indi had been strengthened and secured, and that British supremacy had bee asserted in Central Asia. Fortunately, ere the year closed, General Gough who had advanced from Gundamuk, was able to join hands with Roberts who again made himself master of Cabul.

In South Africa affairs began to assume a more hopeful aspect toward the end of the year. After the victory of Ulundi the Zulu chiefs one afte another submitted to the British Government. Cetewayo—who, as we have seen

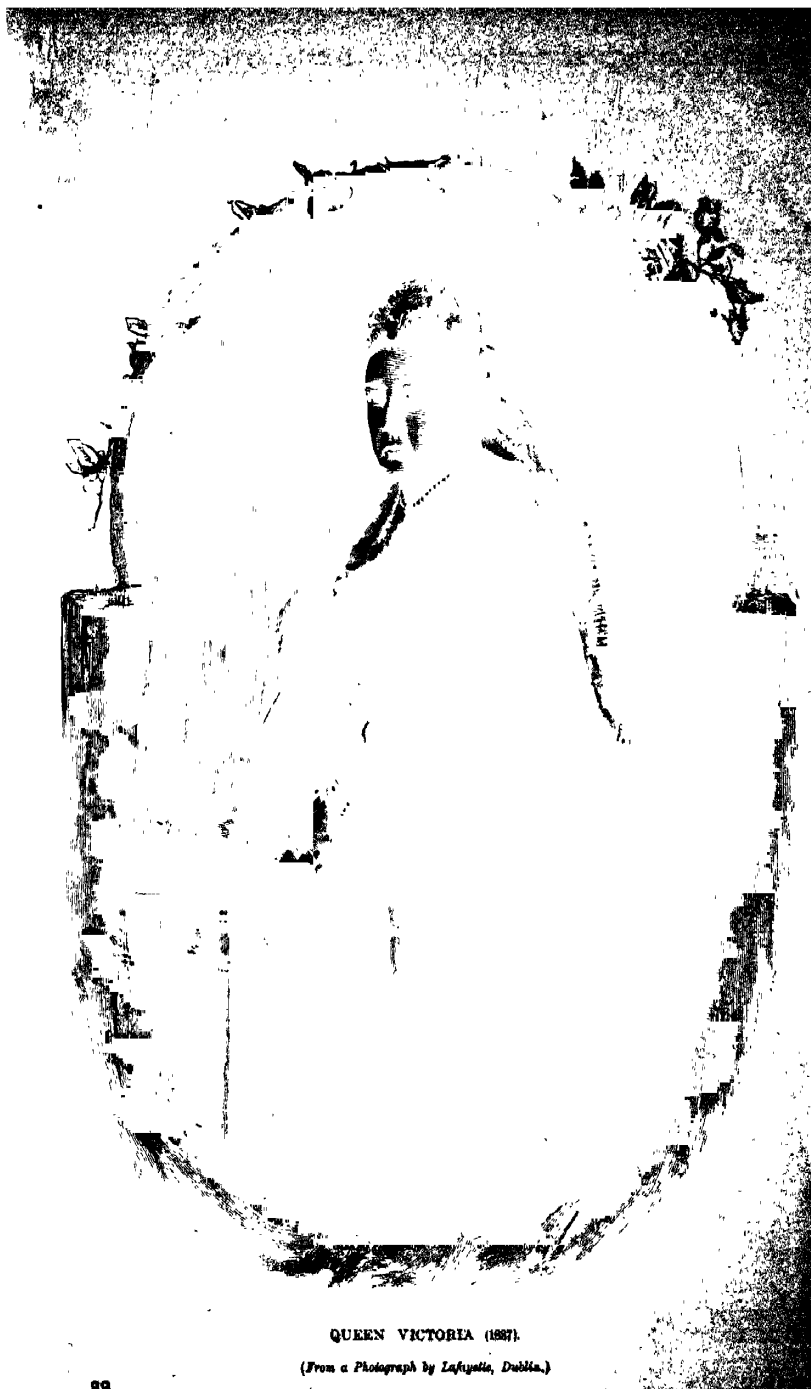
* These warnings were published at Lahore from Persian newswriters in Cabul. They showe that even as far back as the 16th of August the Ameer had implored Cavagnari not to ride abou the streets, as he ran the risk of being murdered. At this time Lord Lytton was assuring th Government, on the authority of messages which he alleged he had received from Cavagnari, that al was going on well in Cabul.

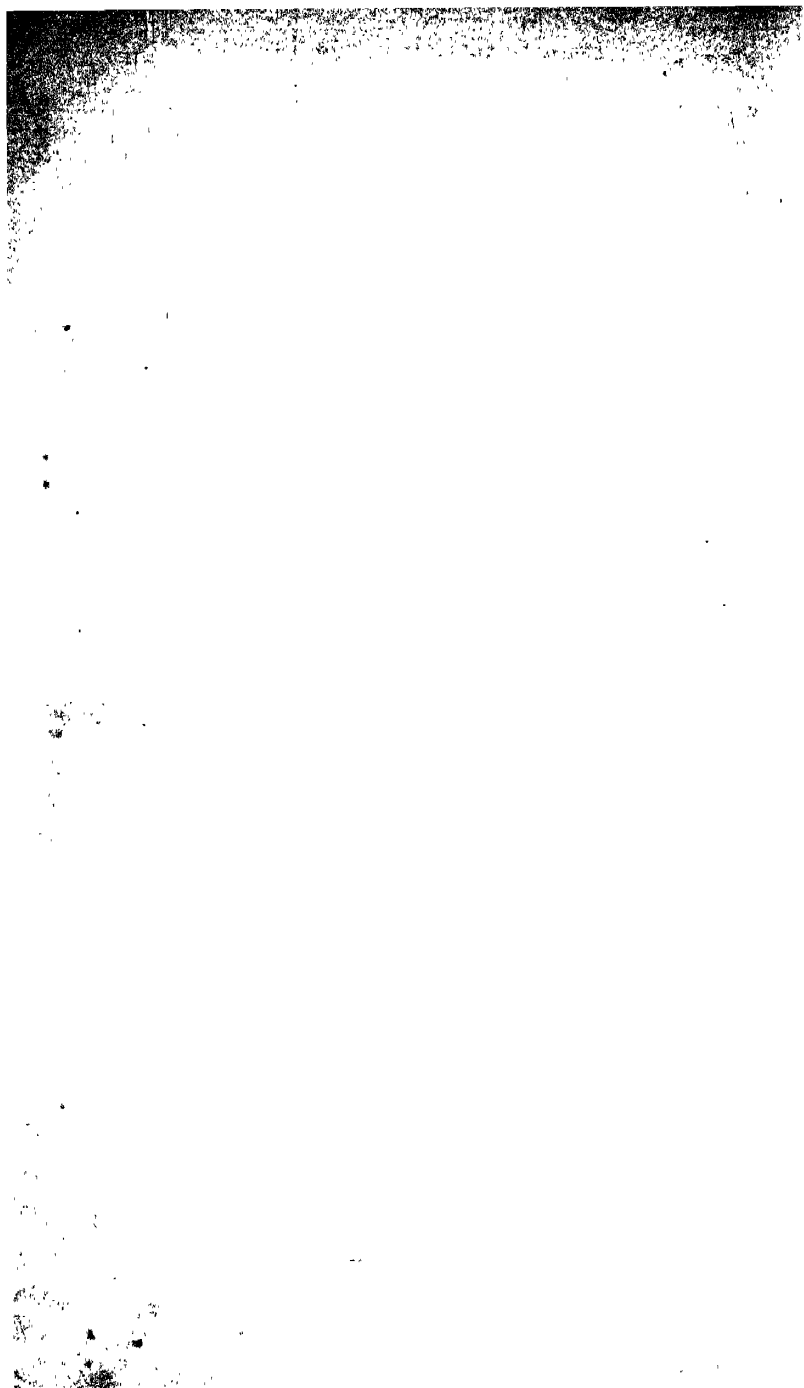
† Colonel Osborn, in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1879, estimated that a British army 40,000 strong would be needed to occupy Afghanistan.

had been captured on the 28th of August—was sent as a State prisoner to Cape Town, and Sir Garnet Wolseley made peace with the Zulu chiefs and people.* The Kaffir chief, Secocoeni, who had defied the Government before the Zulu War broke out, was attacked and subdued. He had been secretly aided by the Boers, who had warned Sir Bartle Frere that they did not accept the annexation of the Transvaal. At Pretoria Sir Garnet Wolseley, however, told the Boer leaders that the annexation which they were resisting was irreversible, and the Boers for a time confined themselves to obstructing the judicial and fiscal administration of the British Government.

The Zulu War was marked by one incident that powerfully influenced the destiny of Europe: it cost the heir of the Bonapartes his life. The young Prince Louis Napoleon—or the "Prince Imperial," as the Bonapartists insisted on calling him—had resolved to serve with the British Army in Zululand. His object was to acquire a military reputation that might be useful to him as a Pretender. A proud and self-respecting Government, however hard pressed, cannot accept the services of a foreign mercenary, however high his rank might be. But, in deference to Courtly influences, the Prince was permitted to proceed to the seat of war in an ambiguous position. He held no commission, but he was treated like a junior officer of the General Staff and the Duke of Cambridge requested Lord Chelmsford to let the Prince see as much of the war as he could. Lord Chelmsford issued instructions to the military authorities, which made the Prince a burden—perhaps, in some degree, a nuisance—to them. When he joined Lord Chelmsford Prince Louis seems to have been attached to the Quartermaster-General's Department. But he was not to be allowed to go out of the camp without Lord Chelmsford's permission, and even then he was to be guarded by an escort under an officer of experience. On the 1st of June Colonel Harrison allowed the Prince to make a reconnaissance for the purpose of choosing the site of a camp, but without obtaining Lord Chelmsford's sanction. The Prince's party was to consist of six troopers and six Basutos, and though no officer was sent to accompany him, Lieutenant Carey, an accomplished and intelligent soldier, happened, by an accident, to join the band. Carey had been employed to survey and map out some of the adjoining ground, and he asked leave to go with the Prince to clear up a doubtful topographical point on which he and Lord Chelmsford differed in opinion. Carey merely went for his private convenience. He was not told to look after the Prince; in fact, he was told that, if he went, he was not to interfere with him, because his Imperial Highness, eager to re-gild the tarnished Eagles of his House, desired to have all the credit of conducting the

* His "settlement" of Zululand organised the country into thirteen provincial governments, a British Resident controlling them all. Native rights, laws, and customs were to be respected, and Europeans prohibited from emigrating into native territory.

MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.

QUEEN VICTORIA (1887).

(From a Photograph by Lafayette, Dublin.)

Expedition. The Prince was in command of the party,* and in a fit of boyish impatience, and in defiance of Carey's advice, ordered it to march without waiting for the six Basutos, who were late of putting in an appearance. He led his little troop on for some distance, and then, without taking the most ordinary precautions against surprise, he halted — again against Carey's counsel — for a rest in a deserted kraal surrounded by a field of

THE MAUSOLEUM, FROGMORE.

tall Indian corn. This was a fatal blunder, for the cover of the cornfield rendered the place eminently convenient for the concealment of an ambuscade. Here the Prince waited an hour, whilst the Zulus surrounded him. Then he gave his men the order to move. The Zulus sprang from their hiding-places and fired on the little band, whose startled horses were difficult to mount. It was impossible to see what was going on in the cornfield, and it was not till

* This is clear from the censure passed by the Duke of Cambridge on Colonel Harrison, Assistant Quartermaster-General. The Duke blamed Harrison for not impressing on the Prince "the duty of deferring to the military orders of the officer who accompanied him." Of course, if Carey had been in command, there would have been no need to have impressed on the Prince (who had graduated in the military school at Woolwich) the necessity for obeying the orders of Carey, who would, in that case, have been his superior officer.

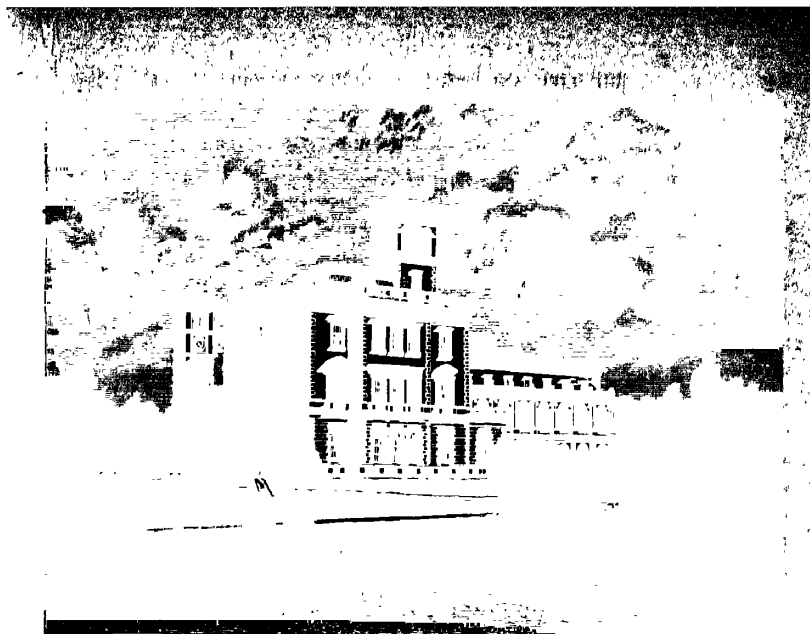
the troopers had retreated for some distance that Lieutenant Carey and his comrades discovered that the Prince was missing. To have made a stand in the cornfield would have been to court instant death. It appeared that the Prince had been unable to mount his horse, which was frightened and restive, and that the Zulus overtook him and stabbed him with their assegais. Thanks to Carey's knowledge of the ground, the rest of the party, with the exception of two troopers, were saved, and Carey was able to give Colonel Wood's force the valuable intelligence that the enemy, contrary to the general belief, were infesting the country in front.

The indignation of the French Bonapartists at the death of the Prince Imperial was without limit. The ex-Empress, who had encouraged her son to go to South Africa, was prostrated with sorrow and remorse. Even the tender sympathy of the Queen could not console her for the loss of one whose life was necessary for her ambition, and whose death shattered the last hopes of Imperialism in France. It was thought desirable that somebody should be sacrificed to appease the ex-Empress, and Lieutenant Carey was accordingly tried by Court-martial and promptly condemned for "misbehaviour in front of the enemy" while in command of a reconnoitring party. There were only two reasons for attacking Carey. He was the officer of lowest rank who had any connection with the Prince's ill-fated reconnaissance, and he had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the command of that expedition, or with the Prince's mismanagement of it. In fact, all that Carey could be blamed for was for saving, by his superior knowledge of the ground, four of the six troopers whom the Prince had led into a fatal ambuscade. It need hardly be said that, on review, the finding of the Court-martial was set aside by the Duke of Cambridge, and Lieutenant Carey restored to his rank. The Duke laid all the blame on Colonel Harrison, who, however, was not tried by Court-martial. But he also complained that Carey made a mistake in imagining that the Prince was in command of the party, a mistake which was not only natural but inevitable, and which was shared by all his comrades. The melancholy and stubborn imprudence of the Prince obviously led the expedition to disaster. The Duke of Cambridge argued that Colonel Harrison should have warned the Prince to be guided by Carey. Having blamed Harrison for not giving Carey sufficiently definite instructions as to the command of the expedition, he made Carey responsible for the defects in Harrison's instructions. Carey, according to the Duke, should have provided that military skill which the Prince lacked. The truth was that Carey was warned not to meddle with the Prince, who from first to last took command, and who, when advice was tendered to him, rejected it in a manner that did not encourage a spirited and self-respecting officer to press it on him.

The family life of the Court in 1879 was brightened by a Royal wedding. On the 13th of March the marriage of the Duke of Connaught with the Princess Louise Marguerite of Prussia was celebrated with some display. The

ceremony took place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. At noon the four processions—those of the Queen, the Princess of Wales, the bride and the bridegroom—quitted the quadrangle. The Queen drove in her own carriage, drawn by four ponies, the remainder of the Royal Family occupying the gilded State coaches, driven by the Royal coachmen in their liveries of scarlet and gold. The display of decorations and uniforms and costumes among the august guests was seen to be very brilliant as the Royal party took their places round the Communion rails, where were assembled the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, and the Dean of Windsor. As Mendelssohn's march from *Athalie* resounded through the sacred building the Queen was observed to take her place, dressed in a complete Court dress of black satin, with a white veil and a flashing coronet of diamonds. The Princess Beatrice had discarded Court mourning, and appeared in a turquoise blue costume with a velvet train to match. The bridegroom, wearing the uniform of the Rifle Brigade, was supported by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh. The bride was accompanied by her father, Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, better known as the "Red Prince," and the German Crown Prince, who wore the uniform of the 2nd or Queen's Cuirassiers. The German Crown Princess and the King of the Belgians were also present. The Red Prince gave his daughter away. At the close of the ceremony the Queen and Royal Family returned to the Palace amidst a salute of twenty-one guns.

On March the 25th the Queen and Princess Beatrice, attended by General Sir H. F. Ponsonby, Lady Churchill, Sir W. Jenner, and Captain Edwards, left Windsor Castle for the North of Italy. The Royal departure took place in very wintry weather, snow and sleet falling heavily. In spite of this the railway platform was crowded by visitors, who offered many loyal salutations as the train steamed out of the station at 9.40 a.m. Portsmouth was reached at noon, and the Royal party embarked on board the *Victoria and Albert*, the yacht sailing at once for Cherbourg, which was reached early in the evening. The Queen slept on board, and left for Paris. When she arrived in Paris she found that though crowds had collected at the station, no one was admitted to the platform except the British Ambassador, Lord Lyons. The Queen, who was dressed in deep mourning, though almost invisible to the people as she drove to the English Embassy, was, nevertheless, greeted with cheers and waving of hats all along the way. On the 27th her Majesty left Paris for Arona. Prior to starting, she was much affected by the receipt of a message announcing the death of her grandson, Prince Waldemar of Prussia. She, however, went through the appointed tasks of the day with her customary self-possession, and received President Grévy and M. Waddington, both visits being brief and formal. The Duc de Nemours also paid her a friendly visit, accompanied by Prince and Princess Czartolyski. On the 28th the Queen, preserving the strictest incognito, arrived at Modane, and after a

short interval continued the journey to Turin and Baveno on Lake Maggiore, which was her final destination. On reaching the Italian frontier the Queen received a despatch from the King and Queen of Italy welcoming her Majesty upon Italian soil. The Queen sent a reply immediately, expressing her thanks in cordial terms. On March 31st Prince Amadeus, brother of the King of Italy, arrived at Baveno and had an audience of the Queen. During her stay in Italy her Majesty assumed the title of the Countess of Balmoral, and occupied the Villa Clara, which was placed at her disposal by M. Henfrey, the owner. At first the weather was bad, but in spite of that the Queen made many excursions to places of interest, and as her incognito was respected, her holiday was not burdened with the wearisome formalities of Court etiquette. Alike in France and Italy she was received with hearty good wishes by the people. Garibaldi and the Pope vied with King Humbert in welcoming her with congratulatory messages. On the 17th of April King Humbert and Queen Margherita and the members of their household left Rome for Monza, and on the 18th proceeded to the railway station to meet the train which was to bring the Queen and her suite from Baveno. Punctually at the time arranged the Queen arrived, and, on alighting from her carriage, warmly greeted the King and Queen of Italy. The party then drove to the Royal Castle, where lunch was served, after which the Queen returned to Baveno, which she left on the 23rd of April, arriving in Paris next day. Her return was clouded, as her setting out had been, by the shadow of death. On her arrival at Turin she received the painful intelligence of the death at Genoa of the Duke of Roxburghe, the husband of one of her valued friends. She left Paris on Friday, the 25th, and before her departure she gave away memorial tokens to several of the members of the Embassy. She arrived at Windsor on the 27th, where the German Empress came to spend some days with her in May. During this visit both Royal ladies became great-grandmothers, for the Queen's first great-grandchild was born on the 12th of May. This was the first-born daughter of the Princess Charlotte of Saxe-Meiningen, the eldest daughter of the German Crown Prince and Princess.

OSBORNE HOUSE, FROM THE GARDENS

(From a Photograph by J. Valentine and Sons.)

CHAPTER XXIII.

FALL OF LORD BEACONSFIELD.

General Gloom—Fall of the Tay Bridge—Liberal Onslaught on the Government—The Mussulman Schoolmaster and the Anglican Missionary—The Queen's Speech—The Irish Relief Bill—A Dying Parliament—Mr. Cross's Water Bill—"Coming in on Beer and Going out on Water"—Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget—Lord Beaconsfield's Manifesto—The General Election—Defeat of the Tories—Incidents of the Struggle—Mr. Gladstone Prime Minister—The Fourth Party—Mr. Bradlaugh and the Oath—Mr. Gladstone and the Emperor of Austria—The Naval Demonstration—Grave Error in the Indian Budget—Affairs in Afghanistan—Disaster at Maiwand—Roberts's March—The New Ameer—Revolt of the Boers—The Ministerial Programme—The Burials Bill—The Hares and Rabbits Bill—The Employers' Liability Bill—Supplementary Budget—The Compensation for Disturbance Bill—Boycotting—Trial of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon—The Queen's Visit to Germany—The Queen Presents the Albert Medal to George Oatley of the Coastguard—Reviews at Windsor—The Queen's Speech to the Ensigns—The Battle of the Standards—Royalty and Riflemen—Outrages in Ireland—"Endymion"—Death of George Eliot.

If 1880 opened cheerfully, it was solely because men felt a sense of relief at getting rid of what they called "the bad old year." It had begun with bitter frosts, varied by black fogs. Its spring was a prolonged winter. Cold gloom marked its dog-days. There was no summer worth recording, and as for autumn, October and November saw the crops rotting in the fields. Farmers and squires, like Sheridan, were striving "to live on their debts." Two great bank failures—that of the City of Glasgow Bank and that of the West of England Bank—had shaken the fabric of credit and reduced thousands of

well-to-do middle class to penury, while trade seemed going from bad to worse. Even science and invention appeared to be in a conspiracy to ruin people, for Edison's contrivance of the electric lamp frightened investors in gas shares into a panic, which seriously depreciated the value of their property. Disasters in war, which are courteously called blunders, were followed by catastrophes by flood and field, which it is customary to call accidents. The ghastly tale of misfortunes was completed by the frightful hurricane that swept over the country on the last Sunday of the old year. At half-past seven of the evening of that day a furious gust swept down the Firth of Tay and cut a section out of the great railway bridge that spanned the estuary. A train crossing at the moment was blown, with the wreckage of the bridge and its precious freight of human life, into the surly waters of the Firth.* Very promptly did the Queen instruct Sir Henry Ponsonby to telegraph from Osborne a sympathetic message from her to the relatives of the dead.† Her Majesty had herself crossed the bridge on her way to Balmoral, and the shock of the disaster struck her to the heart.

It was when the people were moodily pondering over the evil fate of England under the Government that was to have given it rest and prosperity, that Lord Beaconsfield's opponents became unusually active. Mr. Gladstone reprinted his speech on Finance which he had delivered in Edinburgh in November (1879), and reminded the electors how Lord Beaconsfield, after promising to repeal the Income Tax in 1874, had raised it; how in bad times he had increased expenditure, whereas in good times the Liberals had reduced it; how he had imposed £6,000,000 more taxes than he remitted, whereas the Liberals remitted £12,500,000 more than they imposed; how he had transformed a surplus into a deficit, and kept on rolling up debt, instead of paying off the nation's liabilities as they were incurred. There was a stroke of high art in publishing this sombre speech when the New Year opened. Sir Stafford Northcote had, at Leeds, essayed a mild and apologetic reply to it. Mr. Gladstone thus considered it necessary, when men were beginning to suspect that they were ruled by a Government of bad luck, to answer Sir Stafford in an appendix to the November speech, which tended to deepen the prevailing depression of spirits. Sir William Harcourt, in his New Year orations at

* The gap torn out of the bridge—the whole length of which was 10,612 feet—measured 3,300 feet. Of the eighty-five spans, the first twenty-seven from the Fife coast were left intact. Then came thirteen of which only the stonework remained, everything else being swept away. This left forty-five spans on the northern side standing. The bridge had been tested and certified as safe by Government inspectors. An inquiry was ordered into the disaster, which showed that the bridge was, in the words of Mr. Rothery, one of the Court of Inquiry, "badly designed, badly constructed, and badly maintained." For the mishap the engineer—Sir Thomas Bouch—was held "mainly to blame." The bridge, which from a distance looked like a long plank set up on pipe-shanks, cost £500,000. It was opened on the 20th of May, 1878.

† There were seventy-five adults, and from ten to fifteen children. The bodies were nearly all washed away by the tide.

Oxford, on the other hand, dealt with the Government from a comic point of view. He touched with caustic wit on their incongruities and inconsistencies, and by contrasting their swelling words with their small deeds, their affluence of promise with their poverty of performance, contrived to create an impression that Ministers were making the country the laughing-stock of the world. When Mr. Gladstone showed that the nation was being ruined, Sir William Harcourt immediately followed up by declaring, in speeches which everybody read, because they were amusing and personal, that it was being ruined by a group of mountebanks. To him succeeded Mr. Bright, who, at a Liberal banquet at Birmingham (20th of January), elaborately explained how that which had happened was only what might have been looked for. He exhibited, from the treasure-house of his memory, an interminable series of examples to illustrate one simple thesis. It was that the history of England had ever been a tragic conflict between the Spirits of Good and Evil—the Tory Party representing the Spirit of Evil. His political Manichæism would not have influenced the country if it had not been downhearted. Inasmuch as it manifestly affected public opinion, it ought to have warned Lord Beaconsfield that the people were out of humour with him. The Tories, however, had eyes and ears for nothing, save Sir William Harcourt's jokes and gibes, and flouts and sneers. These were not highly refined or polished, but they were just what was wanted to make the average voter laugh at Imperialism. The Imperialists being sensitive, not to say short-tempered persons, instead of pleading their own case rationally before the country, spent their force in vituperative attacks on Sir William Harcourt. It was also the misfortune of Lord Beaconsfield, that at this juncture he became nervous over the growing hostility of the clergy of all denominations to his foreign policy, the tone of which they deemed anti-Christian.

A desperate effort which was made to counteract this impression, displayed Sir Henry Layard at Constantinople—an Envoy who was supposed to be more Turkish than the Turks—figuring as a champion of the Cross against the Crescent. People, in fact, were startled at the beginning of the year to learn that the Government had suspended diplomatic relations with Turkey, because the Turkish authorities had threatened to execute a Mussulman schoolmaster for helping an Anglican missionary to translate the Bible.* Sir Henry Layard had been unmoved by the massacre and judicial murder of thousands of Christian subjects of the Sultan in Epirus, Macedonia, and Armenia, in defiance of Treaty law. It was, therefore, amazing that he should have suddenly burst into a convulsion of diplomatic wrath because a Turkish Court

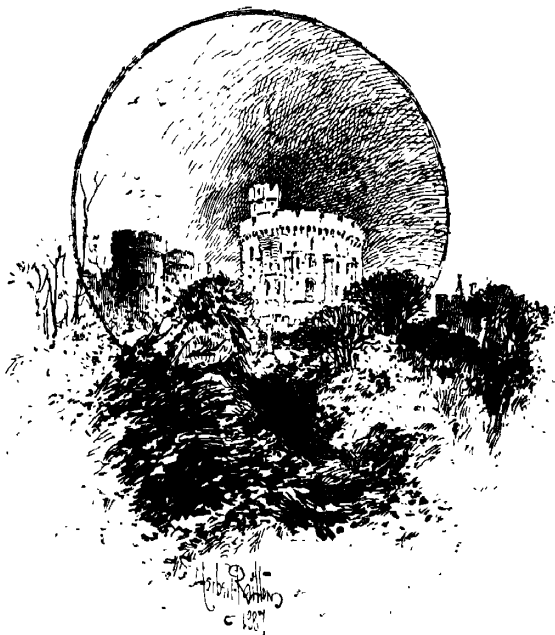
* Dr. Köller, a Church of England clergyman, employed by the Church Missionary Society in Constantinople, had engaged Ahmed Tewfik, a Mohammedan schoolmaster, to help him to translate the Scriptures into Turkish. Ahmed and the MSS. were seized, and the former adjudged worthy of death by the Sheik-ul-Islam. For three months Sir Henry Layard had vainly demanded his release and the dismissal of the Minister of Police, Hafiz Pasha, from his post.

passed on a Turkish Mussulman the sentence appointed by the law of his race and creed for an act which, when done by him, was legally a crime. Still, from the point of view of the practical statesman on the eve of a General Election, the step taken by Sir Henry Layard would not have been open to criticism merely because of its inconsistency and injustice. The fatal objection to it was that, whilst it failed to conciliate the religious world, it made the Government seem ineffably ridiculous to the electors. The foreign policy that was to give England ascendency in the councils of Europe, had reduced her to such a poor pass that, at Constantinople, Sir Henry Layard had to threaten war ere the Porte would even listen to his appeal for clemency to the obscurest ot offenders against the letter of a

THE FIRST TAY BRIDGE, FROM THE SOUTH.

harsh and obsolete law. Nor was the situation improved as the quarrel developed. The Turks resolutely refused even to deliver up Dr. Köller's MSS., which they hardly had any right to keep, and it was not till the German Ambassador interfered on behalf of the English missionary that they were restored. When Sir Henry Layard pressed for the dismissal of Hafiz Pasha, he was foiled by the Sultan averring that he, and not the Minister, had ordered the arrest of Ahmed Tewfik. After Lord Beaconsfield's Guildhall eulogies on the Sultan, Ministers were seriously embarrassed by this new turn in the affair. Ultimately the intervention of Germany and Austria induced the Sultan, who listened to the menaces of the British Government with imperturbable serenity, to offer concessions. He still refused Sir Henry Layard's demand for the annulment of the sentence of death on Ahmed Tewfik. But he offered to commute it by exiling Ahmed to a remote Turkish island with a Christian population. He also ordered Hafiz Pasha, the Minister of Police, to apologise.* The commutation of Ahmed's sentence meant that, though

* Hafiz was one of the savages, whose share in the Bulgarian atrocities was so patent, that Lord Derby had demanded his punishment. The answer to this demand by the Turks was the appointment of Hafiz as Minister of Police at Constantinople, where he and Sir Henry Layard suddenly fell out.

England had saved him from the gallows, "Kismet!" had destined him for a premature grave. The apology from Hafiz was immediately converted into a further insult to the British Government, for, as soon as it had been delivered, the Sultan decorated him with the Grand Cordon of the Medjidie. Nor was this act quite atoned for by the issue of an Imperial edict forbidding the Mohammedan Press to laugh at the British Ambassador. It was,

WINDSOR CASTLE A PEEP FROM THE DEAN'S GARDEN.

therefore, easy to predict that the Queen's Speech would be demure, if not actually meek in tone, when it touched on Foreign Affairs.

Parliament was opened on the 5th of February, and her Majesty's Speech was read by the Lord Chancellor. Events, according to the Royal Message, still tended to safeguard the peace of Europe on the basis of the Berlin Treaty, and the Sultan had signed a Convention for the suppression of the Slave Trade. The abdication of the Ameer rendered it impossible to recall the army of occupation. But the Government, in their dealings with Afghanistan, merely desired to strengthen their Indian frontier and preserve the independence of that State. The success of Sir Garnet Wolseley's policy in South Africa was touched on. It was stated that the Irish authorities had been instructed to make special provisions for coping with distress in Ireland, which would

necessitate an Indemnity Bill; and a Criminal Code Bill, a Bankruptcy Bill, a Lunacy Bill, and a Conveyancing Bill were promised. Mr. Cross had, at the end of the previous Session, also promised a Bill to transfer the Metropolitan Water Companies to the ratepayers of London. The debates on the Address were uninteresting. The Tories tried to discredit their opponents by proving that in election contests they angled for the Irish vote by promising to support an inquiry into the demand for Home Rule. The Liberals retorted by proving that though Lord Beaconsfield was ever ready to pass sentence of political excommunication on Home Rulers, he was equally ready to confer honours on Home Rulers,* that the Home Rule movement was started by Tories, and that it was a rich Tory who found the money for the Fenian candidature of O'Donovan Rossa in Tipperary.

The Irish Relief Bill was introduced on the 7th, and read a second time on the 23rd of February. It granted loans to the amount of £1,092,985 without interest for two years and a half, but bearing 1 per cent. interest after that time, to landlords and sanitary authorities for works of improvement; it also permitted the Baronial Sessions to start such works, and relaxed the law of out-door relief. Most of the Irish members complained that as a measure of relief, the Bill was inadequate. Some, like Mr. Synan, objected to the loans being taken from the Irish Church surplus. Others wished Boards of Guardians to be able to give out-door relief in money, and to take up loans for improvements. The Bill was passed on the 15th of March, and Major Nolan also passed a Seed Bill which enabled poor farmers to get seeds on loan. It is now clear that the Government had no true conception of the state of Ireland. They had been satisfied with the jaunty assurances of the Chief Secretary, Mr. Lowther, in the previous year, that there was no exceptional agrarian distress in that country. Yet, as a matter of fact, a famine was imminent, and at the beginning of 1880 the Duchess of Marlborough, wife of the Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. E. Dwyer Gray, Lord Mayor of Dublin, were compelled to start Relief Funds to avert that dreadful calamity.

Even with this evidence before them, the Tory Ministry in 1880 fell into a blunder worthy of the Whigs in 1847-9. They adopted the fatal Whig principle, that the best way to relieve the Irish peasant's distress was to vote the relief money to be doled out in wages by his landlord, who, by rack-renting and evictions had aggravated that distress, and who, though in most cases an absentee, was yet for some inexplicable reason supposed to be the best almoner the State could find in Ireland.† That this mistake was made can only be accounted for by the fact that Lord Beaconsfield's advanced age, and his absorption in Foreign Affairs, rendered it possible for his less competent colleagues to control his policy.‡

* He had given the Lord-Lieutenancy of a county to Colonel King-Harman.

† Loans to Baronial Sessions for improvement works were virtually loans to the landlords.

‡ Nobody knew better than Lord Beaconsfield, from his experiences of 1846, that the potato is the

However, all Englishmen were predisposed to believe that Mr. Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 had averted famine for ever from Ireland. They did not know that it had broken down because it made no provision against rack-renting, and, therefore, no real provision against unjust eviction. It permitted eviction in cases where a tenant was unable to pay rent; so that, in order to evict, a landlord had merely to put up his rent to the point at which the tenant could not pay it, the tenant's claim for improvements on eviction being in such a case usually swallowed up in long out-standing arrears. It was quite obvious to those who looked beneath the surface that the coming question was the agrarian difficulty in Ireland. And yet the Ministry treated it as a matter of trivial importance, a blunder which, however, was also committed by the majority of Liberals, who were convinced that Mr. Gladstone's Land Act had brought content to Ireland.

Still, the Session was quiet and business-like, and the Liberal leaders were studiously polite to Ministers. They helped to pass a Standing Order checking obstruction, hinting that it was not strong enough. By these tactics they artfully neutralised the insinuation that they were fishing for the Home Rule vote.* But it was clear that Parliament was moribund and quite "gravelled for lack of matter." It could not legally survive another year; in fact, since the sixteenth century only four Parliaments had existed as long. Naturally public opinion was pressing for a dissolution, and it merely remained for Ministers to select the "psychological moment" which was most advantageous to themselves for going to the country. Lord Beaconsfield suddenly resolved in spring not to exhaust his mandate, and on the 8th of March Sir Stafford Northcote intimated that the Budget would be brought in before Easter, and that, after taking formal and necessary business, Parliament would be dissolved. Lord Beaconsfield was guided to this step by three considerations. He thought that the glamour of his Asiatic Imperialism still blinded

barometer of Famine in Ireland, and it is impossible to suppose that he would have been satisfied with Mr. Lowther's Bill if he had looked into the facts. For these all pointed to a dreadful failure of the potato crop. In 1876 its value was £12,464,382 In 1878 it was only £7,579,512. In 1879 it fell to £3,341,028. In England a crisis like this would have compelled the Government to take strong measures of relief, and yet in England such a state of affairs is always eased by the landlords abating or wiping out rent. But the distress in Ireland was aggravated because the worse it grew the fiercer became the demand of the landlords for rent. "Evictions," writes Mr. J. Huntley McCarthy, "had increased from 463 families in 1877 to 980 in 1878, to 1,238 in 1879; and they were still on the increase, as was shown at the end of 1880, when it was found that 2,110 families were evicted." Moreover, the Irish peasantry paid part of their rent out of wages earned as migratory labourers during part of the year in England and Scotland. But English and Scottish farmers were themselves cutting down their labour bills, and the loss to the Irish on migratory labour alone in 1877 was £250,000 (Hancock). See Healy's "Why is there a Land Question?" pp. 71, 72; O'Connor's "Parnell Movement," pp. 166-7. J. H. McCarthy's "England under Gladstone," p. 103.

* The new Rule was to the effect that a Member "named" by the Speaker or Chairman for obstruction might be suspended for the rest of the sitting on a motion voted without debate; and if he repeated the offence three times, he might be suspended for an indefinite period till the pleasure of the House.

[illegible] of the nation to the disasters in Afghanistan and South Africa. He imagined that, because the returns from three bye-elections were favourable to the Tory Party, public opinion was still with him.* He trusted that Mr. Cross's Water Bill would consolidate the popularity of the Ministry, not only in the Capital, but among municipal reformers all over the country. This last forecast was most untoward. When Mr. Cross produced his Water Bill on the 2nd of March, the *Standard*, which was the organ of the Ministry in the Press, suddenly deserted its Party and its leaders, and assailed Mr. Cross's scheme with astounding ferocity.† The opposition of the *Standard* at the critical moment not only depressed the spirits of the Tories, but also forced the hand of the "independent" newspapers, who had up till now supported Lord Beaconsfield loyally. They could not be more royalist than the King, so they, too, poured forth their invective on Mr. Cross's Bill. The effect of this sudden attack of the whole metropolitan Press was to paralyse a vast body of metropolitan opinion that up till then had run in favour of the Ministry. "It came into power on beer," said a malicious Liberal one afternoon in the Tea-room of the House of Commons, "and it will float out on water." A more cautious statesman would have postponed dissolution till a happier moment; but Lord Beaconsfield persisted in appealing to the people, and the Government passed an Electoral Bill repealing the law which prohibited candidates from paying for the carriage of voters to the poll. It was obvious that in the coming struggle the Tories were at least resolved to give the rich men on both sides all the advantages of their opulence.

When the Budget was produced Sir Stafford Northcote had a sad tale to tell. His revenue for the past year, instead of yielding £83,055,000, only yielded £80,860,000, showing a deficit of £2,195,000, to which had to be added

* These were Barnstaple, Liverpool, and Southwark. At Barnstaple the Liberal (Lord Lymington) increased the Liberal majority by 60 votes. But Sir R. Carden increased the Tory minority by 99. In Liverpool Mr. Whitley was returned by a majority of 2,221, though Lord Ramsay, the losing candidate, polled 3,000 more votes than the winning candidate had ever polled before. Southwark (vacated by the death of Mr. Locke, a strong Radical) was carried by Mr. Edward Clarke, a strong Conservative, by a large majority. Lord Beaconsfield's calculations were here faulty. The verdict of Barnstaple, being a corrupt constituency, went for nothing on either side. In Liverpool the Tories maintained their ascendency, but not at all with the proportionate majority they obtained in 1874. Southwark was dominated by the publican vote, and the Liberal candidate (Mr. Dunn) was not only a bad speaker, but especially hateful to the working-class, because he had, by insisting on standing at a former election, ruined the candidature of Mr. Odger, and, by splitting the Liberal vote, had handed over the second seat in Southwark to Colonel Beresford, the Conservative candidate. The bye-elections to which Lord Beaconsfield trusted afforded no true guidance as to the drift of opinion.

† Mr. Cross created a Water Trust, partly representative and partly nominated, for taking over the business of the water companies. He had in the previous Session promised Mr. Fawcett that he would not give the companies a "fancy" price for their property. He now proposed to hand over a Three and a Half per Cent. Stock to the companies as compensation for their property. The actual value of that property was about £19,000,000; but the *Standard* and the critics of the scheme complained that Mr. Cross gave the companies £30,000,000 compensation. Water shares rose [illegible] per cent. when Mr. Cross's Bill was produced.

AFTER THE MIDLOTHIAN VICTORY: MR. GLADSTONE ADDRESSING THE CROWD FROM THE BALCONY OF LORD ROSEBERY'S HOUSE, GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH. (From the Picture in "The Graphic.")

supplementary estimates for South Africa, bringing it up to £3,340,000. For the coming year, however, he estimated, supposing there were no changes of taxation, a revenue of £81,560,000, and an expenditure of £81,486,472. But it was no longer possible to postpone payment of past deficits. These had accumulated to a sum of £8,000,000. He proposed to pay this off by creating £6,000,000 of annuities terminable in five years, and meeting the yearly charge for them by adding £800,000 a year to the service of the National Debt. As this would relieve the Government from its existing payments for interest on Exchequer Bonds, the fresh revenue needed to meet the payments for the new annuities in reality came to £589,000, and not £800,000. As to the remaining £2,000,000 of deficits, Sir Stafford Northcote seemed to trust to luck for their payment. The additional revenue he proposed to get by a revision of the Probate Duty. As he increased the Succession Duty on personal property, and left that on land untouched, the Budget was extremely unpopular with the landless class. But even his scheme as it stood, with its £6,000,000 added for five years to the National Debt, and its £2,000,000 of postponed deficits, involved the sacrifice of his Sinking Fund for paying off the debt. Virtually the Government told the electors that they had brought Britain to such a pass, that she had to abandon for five years her scheme for paying off her National Debt, in order to clear off £6,000,000 of their deficits.

On the 24th of March Parliament was dissolved, and the new writs were made returnable on the 29th of April. Lord Beaconsfield's Manifesto, however, had been issued in the shape of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, on the 8th of March. In this letter he called on the people to support the Ministry in order to give England an ascendency in the councils of Europe, and check the Home Rule movement in Ireland, which was "scarcely less disastrous than pestilence or famine." This movement had been patronised, he declared, by the Liberal Party, whose "policy of decomposition" was meant to destroy the Imperial character of the realm. On the other side, the leaders traversed all Lord Beaconsfield's insinuations. They scoffed at his Foreign Policy, asserted that it was pretentious, futile, and costly; they denounced his restless turbulence and his bankrupt finance, and, though they declared against Home Rule, they promised to give Ireland equal laws and equal rights with England. When the struggle began it was predicted in London that Lord Beaconsfield's majority would be so vastly increased that the Liberals would be ostracised from power for a generation. As the contest proceeded it was noticed that at Liberal meetings no man could mention Mr. Gladstone's name without being stopped by prolonged outbursts of cheering. That had happened in 1868, and it was a bad omen, whereupon it was said that the Tories would come back with only a slight reduction in their majority. Finally it was admitted, when the first day's returns came in, that Lord Beaconsfield's majority had vanished, and that he himself had fallen from power. The incidents of the struggle were curious. Mr. Gladstone's

campaign in the North was a marvellous achievement, and the sustained passion and energy of his attack on the policy of the Government, alike in principle and detail, seemed to paralyse the Tory leaders. Lord Hartington's political duel with Mr. Cross in Lancashire completed the wreck of that Minister's reputation, already damaged by his abortive Water Bill. Lord Derby's letter to Lord Sefton (12th March) intimating his inability to support the Ministry and his adhesion to the Liberal Party, was a cruel blow, struck at the Tory Party in their most formidable stronghold. Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Lowe vied with each other in rendering Ministers ridiculous. Mr. Bright roused the conscience of the nation against their warlike policy. Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke stirred the latent socialistic sympathies of the masses. As for the Irish vote, it was cast solidly against the Tories, in order to avenge the passage describing Home Rule in Lord Beaconsfield's letter. Looking back on this historic election, it is amazing to find how few Ministerial speeches of importance were made. Lulled into a false sense of security by the support of the London Press and the gossip of Pall Mall clubs, Ministers seem to have permitted their opponents to talk them down. As for the result, why dwell on it? The first day's Borough elections destroyed Lord Beaconsfield's majority. The Counties deserted him in the most unaccountable manner. In Scotland the Tory Party was almost obliterated.* In Ireland two-thirds of the Members elected were Home Rulers. The net result was, that when the Election was over, there were returned 351 Liberals, 237 Tories, and 65 Home Rulers. The verdict of the country, therefore, was this: the electors were more afraid of Lord Beaconsfield's Foreign Policy than of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Nationalist sympathies. The sweeping reforms which he was pledged to demand and support by his Midlothian speeches did not displease the country so much as Lord Beaconsfield's manifest reluctance to pledge himself to a strong programme of domestic legislation.

While the elections were taking place the Queen was abroad. Little dreaming that the verdict of the people would destroy Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry, she had arranged to visit Hesse-Darmstadt to be present at the confirmation of the daughters of the late Princess Alice, and after that ceremony to spend a brief holiday at Baden. Her Majesty returned to England on the 17th of April, and on the 28th of April Ministers resigned office. Lord Beaconsfield was not present on the occasion. He had bade farewell to the Queen on the previous day. After the results of the Election were known strenuous efforts were made to prevent Mr. Gladstone from

* The contest in Midlothian excited the keenest interest. When the poll had been counted it was found that Mr. Gladstone had obtained the seat by a majority of 211 votes, the figures being Gladstone 1,579, Dalkeith 1,368. As soon as the result became known the utmost enthusiasm was aroused [illegible] the country. In Edinburgh the excitement was intense and Mr. Gladstone had to address the [illegible] crowd, under a fall of snow, from the balcony of Lord Rosebery's House in George Street.

becoming Prime Minister. The general opinion, however, was that, as Lord Beaconsfield's fall from power was due mainly to Mr. Gladstone's energetic and persistent criticism of his policy, Mr. Gladstone ought to take the responsibility of forming a Government. His own views on the subject can be gleaned from two letters which he wrote to Mr. Hayward. In one he seems to resent the idea of taking any office lower than that of the Premiership, supposing he took office at all.* In another he tries to explain away a statement he was alleged to have made to a reporter of the *Gaulois*, who asked him in November, 1879, if he would resume office, and to whom he replied, "No; I am now out of the question." He (the reporter), says Mr. Gladstone, "rejoined, '*Mais vos compatriotes vont vous forcer.*' I said, '*C'est à eux à déterminer, mais je n'en vois aucun signe!*' I meant by these words to get out of this branch of the discussion as easily as I could. My duty is clear: it is to hold fast by Granville and Hartington, and try to promote the union and efficiency of the Party led by them."†

In the ordinary course it was the duty of the Queen to send first for the actual Leader of the Opposition, who was Lord Granville. On the contrary, the first Liberal statesman summoned to Windsor was Lord Hartington, who, when he arrived there on the 22nd of April, it was remarked, declined the use of one of the Royal carriages, and strolled in a leisurely manner to the Castle. He informed her Majesty that a Liberal Ministry which was not headed by Mr. Gladstone could not command the confidence of the country. Next day the Queen sent for Lord Granville, who went to Windsor, accompanied by Lord Hartington. His advice was to entrust Mr. Gladstone with the formation of a Cabinet. They returned to London, and, after an interview with them, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to Windsor and received the Queen's commission to organise a Government. Whenever Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister the Whigs (who had secretly done their utmost as a Party to prevent his return to office) swarmed round him like a cloud of locusts. The Whigs and moderate Liberals were, as of old, to have all the comfortable places.

As for the Radicals, they would, it was suggested, be amply repaid for their services by a few of the minor offices under the Government, by including Mr. Bright and Mr. Forster in the Cabinet, and by offering a seat to Mr. Stansfeld, whose health prevented him from accepting it. That, however, was not the view of the Radicals. North of the Humber they constituted the bulk of the Liberal Party. Their system of representative Party organisation, invented in Birmingham and popularised by Mr. Chamberlain, had enabled them to consolidate the opposition to the Tories, to prevent double candidatures, and to win seats that, under a looser form of discipline, it would have been hopeless to contest. If Mr. Gladstone was the Napoleon,

* Mr. Hayward's Letters, Vol. II., p. 307.

† Mr. Hayward's Letters, Vol. II., p. 308.

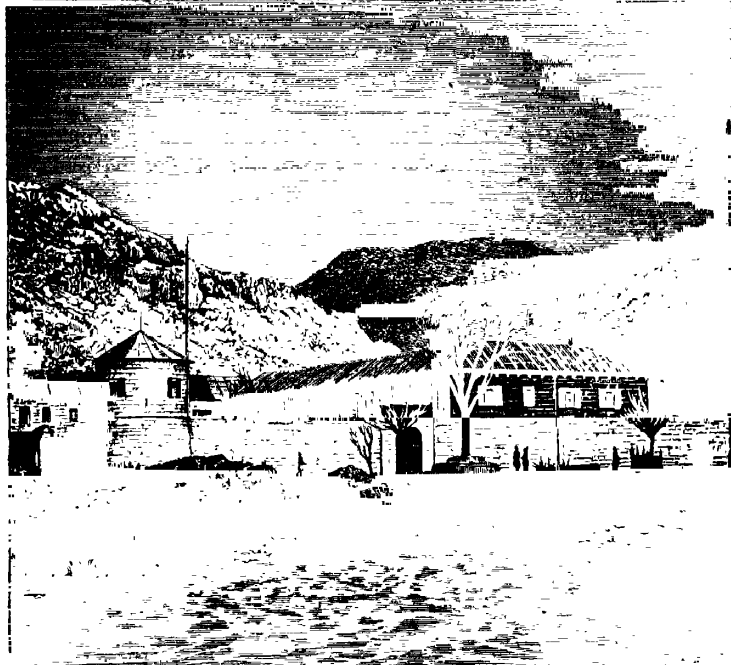
... study of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Gladstone's chief objection to Mr. ...amberlain was that he had no official training. Lord Hartington (who ...new, to his cost, that his obstructive opposition in the House of Commons ...uld be most embarrassing), on the other hand, was in favour of including ...r. Chamberlain in the Cabinet. So was Lord Granville, who probably ...ought that there was no surer way of muzzling a dangerous Republican ...an that of making him a Cabinet Minister. Still, the Whig antagonism ... Mr. Chamberlain was too strong to be ignored, and a compromise was ...rived at when office was offered to Sir Charles Dilke. He, however, refused ... take any place unless one advanced Radical, at least, was included in the ...binet, and he said that Mr. Chamberlain should be chosen. After much ...triguing Mr. Gladstone yielded, and Mr. Chamberlain became President of ...e Board of Trade. At the end of April the Cabinet was complete. Mr. ...adstone combined the two offices of Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer; ...rd Selborne was Lord Chancellor; Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary; Sir ...illiam Harcourt, Home Secretary; Lord Hartington, Indian Secretary; Mr. ...ilders, War Secretary; Lord Northbrook, First Lord of the Admiralty; ...rd Kimberley, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Bright, Chancellor of the Duchy of ...ncaster; Mr. Forster, Chief Secretary for Ireland; the Duke of Argyll, ...rd Privy Seal; Mr. Dodson, President of the Local Government Board; ...rd Spencer, Lord President of the Council. Outside the Cabinet, Mr. ...wcett became Postmaster-General; Sir Charles Dilke, Under Secretary for ...reign Affairs (the office which he specially desired, and for which he was ...cially qualified); Sir Henry James, Attorney-General; Sir Farrer Herschel, ...licitor-General; Mr. Mundella, Vice-President of the Council; Mr. Adam ...e famous Whip), First Commissioner of Works; and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, ...cretary to the Admiralty. Mr. Lowe was sent to the Upper House with a ...erage as Lord Sherbrooke. Mr. Goschen (whose opposition to any extension ... Household Franchise to the counties rendered him impossible as a Cabinet ...nister) was sent as a Special Ambassador to Constantinople. Sir H. A. ...yard was not recalled, but he was granted an indefinite leave of absence. ...rd Lytton having resigned the Indian Viceroyalty, Lord Ripon was appointed ... his place.

No sooner had Parliament met, on the 29th of April, than it was apparent ...t one gentleman had read aright the lesson to be derived from Mr. Cham...lain's successful career. To prove that one's capacity for obstruction was ... inferior to that of Mr. Parnell, to reform on a popular basis the organi...ion of one's Party, and to flout openly on fitting occasions the authority ... one's leader, these, argued Lord Randolph Churchill, are the keys that ... the doors of the Cabinet. He, together with Sir H. D. Wolff, Mr. A. J. ...four, and Mr. Gorst, organised a small band of Tory obstructionists called ... Fourth Party, who hoped, by their unscrupulous tactics in embarrassing ... Gladstone, that their gibes at Sir Stafford Northcote's prudent leadership

would be forgiven. Their first opportunity for wasting the time of the House arrived when Mr. Bradlaugh, the Member for Northampton, came forward to be sworn on the 3rd of May. Mr. Bradlaugh was notoriously an Atheist, and he claimed to make an affirmation. At first the Fourth Party did not move in the matter, but the Speaker doubted if he could affirm, and a Select Committee appointed to consider the question, reported that he could not. Lord Frederick Cavendish had, in nominating the Committee, included several members who being Ministers would have to stand for re-election, and Sir Drummond Wolff and his friends raised an acrimonious debate by objecting to the names of gentlemen who were not technically members of the House being appointed to the Committee. On the 21st of May Mr. Bradlaugh came forward and claimed to take the oath. This the Fourth Party opposed as revolting to their consciences, for had not Mr. Bradlaugh publicly declared that as he was an Atheist the religious sanction in the oath was to him meaningless? There was no precedent for refusing to swear a member. The law seemed to be that it was his duty to his constituents to get himself sworn. But the point was referred to another Committee, and they reported that Mr. Bradlaugh could not be sworn. The absurdity of this proceeding is easily illustrated. In the Parliament of 1886, Mr. Bradlaugh was allowed to take the oath without a word of protest from the conscience-seared pietists of the Fourth Party. But by that time most of them had become Ministers, and were not anxious to encourage the obstruction of public business. On the 21st of June Mr. Labouchere, the senior member for Northampton, moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be allowed to affirm. The motion was rejected on the 22nd of June by a vote of 275 to 230, and when Mr. Bradlaugh, after speaking in his defence, refused to leave the bar, Sir Stafford Northcote carried a motion that he be imprisoned in the Clock Tower. This step made the House the laughing-stock of the nation, and the Tories promptly released Mr. Bradlaugh from his luxurious retreat. On the 1st of July Mr. Gladstone moved and carried a resolution allowing Mr. Bradlaugh to affirm at his own risk, and subject to any penalties he might incur by doing so, if it were found by the Courts that he had broken the law. Three points had been gained. Lord Randolph Churchill and his friends had forced Sir Stafford Northcote to follow their lead. They had blocked Government business. They had, to some extent, disseminated an impression abroad that the Cabinet was a champion of Atheism—and no doubt there were many good people who looked with suspicion on Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright for endeavouring to prevent Northampton from being disfranchised by a combination of faction and bigotry in the House of Commons.

During the interval between the appointment of the Ministry and the reading of the Queen's Speech, a last attempt was made by the [illegible] of Lord Beaconsfield—and yet without some success—to [illegible] Government. One of the strange incidents of the Election [illegible]

appearance every morning in the London papers of extracts from the Continental Press urging the English people to vote for Lord Beaconsfield's supporters. Lord Beaconsfield, as the candidate of the foreigner, was pressed on the constituencies with abject servility by Tory speakers, who, if they had reflected for a moment, must have seen that they were deeply offending the insular instincts and prejudices of Englishmen. But the zenith of imprudence was attained when one morning a semi-official telegram purporting to emanate from the British Embassy at Vienna, appeared in a Ministerial organ informing Englishmen that it was the august desire of the Emperor of Austria that Mr. Gladstone should be defeated in Midlothian. No Englishman will tolerate, even from a foreign Emperor, any interference between him and his constituents during a contested election. Mr. Gladstone accordingly treated the Emperor of Austria as if he had been an interloper from the Carlton Club, who had come down to Midlothian to give extraneous aid to Lord Dalkeith, the Conservative candidate. He snubbed the successor of the Cæsars mercilessly, and greatly to the delight of the British Democracy. This called forth a denial from Sir Henry Elliot that the Emperor of Austria had ever used the words attributed to him, though Sir Henry did not explain how the correspondent of the *Standard* had come to publish them. Mr. Gladstone retorted that the interest of Austria in preventing his election lay in his known determination to upset her plans for absorbing the heritage of the rising nationalities in Turkey. Austria had always shown herself to be an incompetent tyrant in dealing with subject races, and his warning to the Austrian intriguers, who hoped, if Lord Beaconsfield were returned to power, to make a dash for Salonica, was "Hands Off." When Mr. Gladstone became Premier this speech was brought up for dissection. Would his Ministry quarrel with Austria? Would Count Karolyi ask for his papers? Then two long telegrams from Vienna were published in the *Times*, of date 28th of April and 6th of May, semi-officially denying that Austria was conspiring to make a dash for Salonica. Her sole desire now was to stand by the Treaty of Berlin. Count Karolyi had some interviews with Lord Granville on the subject, and in return for assurances of Austrian loyalty and goodwill, he pressed for some expression of opinion from Mr. Gladstone that would allay irritation in Vienna. Mr. Hayward seems to have been asked to use his influence over Mr. Gladstone to get him to make this explanation. Mr. Gladstone accordingly, in a letter to Count Karolyi (4th of May), declared that since he had become a Minister he had resolved not to defend by argument polemical language which he had used in a position of "greater freedom and less responsibility." He wished Austria well. He had threatened to thwart her policy solely because the evidence at his command indicated that she was hostile to the freedom of the rising nationalities of Turkey. But he accepted the assurances of Count Karolyi that Austria had no designs against that freedom, and added, "Had I been in possession of such an assurance as I have

now been able to receive, I never would have uttered any one of the words which your Excellency justly describes as of a painful and wounding character." The moment this letter was published, the Austrian organs in England, indeed, every Tory speaker and writer, made political capital out of it. The Premier was held up to odium for having humiliated England by an apology which was, undoubtedly, somewhat too exuberant. The people

OLD PALACE OF THE PRINCE OF MONTENEGRO, CETTIGNE.

would have been better pleased if Mr. Gladstone had replied that an explanation should have been sought when it was possible for him to give it as the candidate for Midlothian. To ask for it now was to assume that a foreign potentate had a right to expect the Prime Minister of England to apologise for what he might choose to say, as a private person, fighting a contested election.

Difficulties of a more serious character soon gathered round the Ministry. The Turks refused to make those concessions of territory to Montenegro and Greece which had been recommended by the Treaty of Berlin. Lord [illegible] succeeded in uniting the European Powers in a vain attempt to [illegible]

fulfil her obligations. The Porte was warned that, unless Dulcigno was given up to Montenegro by a certain date, the Powers would resort to coercion. When that date arrived the European Fleets assembled at Ragusa, under the command of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, to make a naval demonstration against Turkey, but, as the captains of the ships were prohibited from firing a shot, the naval demonstration amused rather than alarmed the Porte. At this point Mr. Gladstone hit on a happy expedient for bringing the Sultan to reason. He threatened to send a British fleet to Smyrna, and, though France refused to join in the scheme, Russia and Italy were willing to act with England. The mere threat was sufficient. The customs dues of the port of Smyrna supplied the only ready money on which the Sultan could depend for the payment of his household expenses. Mr. Gladstone's intention plainly was to intercept or impound these moneys till Turkey fulfilled her obligations; and the Sultan, alarmed at the prospect, instructed Dervish Pasha to hand over Dulcigno to the Montenegrins. The Greeks were less fortunate. Finding that they could get no concessions from Turkey by diplomacy, they threatened war. But, under pressure from the European Powers, they were held down, and the diplomatists again undertook to reconsider their claims.

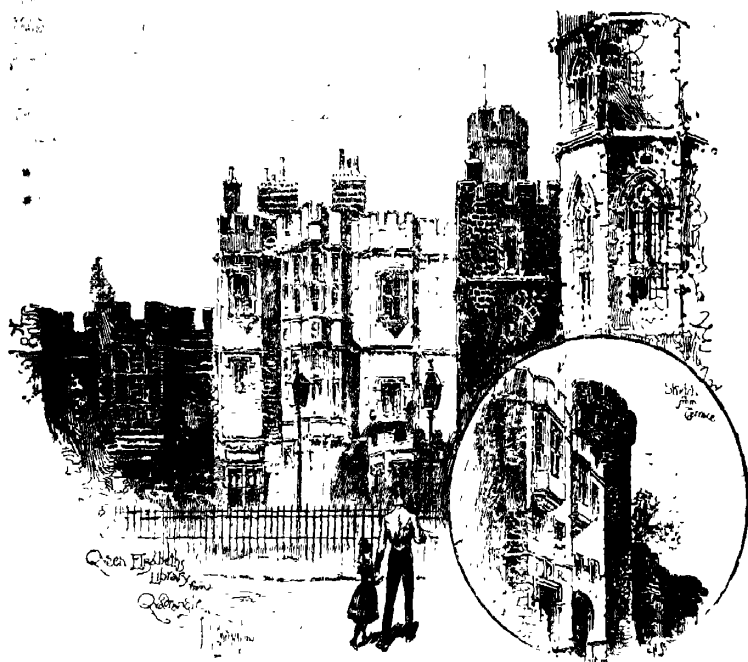
In India Lord Lytton resigned. One of his last acts was to deliver a contemptuous speech refuting Mr. Gladstone's suggestion that the finances of that Dependency were in a state of confusion. To the very last Lord Lytton endeavoured to persuade the English people that the Afghan War had cost only six millions of money, and his Finance Minister (Sir John Strachey) produced a most comforting "Prosperity Budget." It had, however, one defect. As Lord Hartington discovered when he went to the India Office, a trifling sum of £9,000,000 sterling had been dropped out of the expenditure side of the Afghan War accounts; in other words, a mistake which would have been called by a very ugly name indeed had it been made in the office of a bank or of a railway company, had been made at the expense of the British taxpayer by the Indian Government. While Lord Lytton was assuring England that the war was costing £200,000 a month, it was costing £500,000. Nay, for two years he had been paying away this excess of expenditure over estimates without knowing it, or getting from the Treasury a monthly statement of the money spent on the war! But the position of affairs in Afghanistan was rapidly becoming unendurable. England held Cabul as the Emperor Augustus held Rome—like a man who had a wolf by the ear. Lord Lytton recognised Shere Ali Khan as independent Wali of Candahar, and the ex-Ameer Yakoob was a prisoner in India. But Abdurrahman Khan (a grandson of Dost Mahommed, and an exile in Russia) was a pretender for the throne; and so was the warlike Ayoob Khan, a son of the ex-Ameer, Shere Ali. Ayoob was, moreover, marching from Herat against the British at Candahar with a force of fierce irregular troops.

When Mr. Gladstone's Government took office they began by trying to

discover a Prince who could take Afghanistan off their hands, and for that purpose they tried to treat with Abdurrahman Khan. Unfortunately, Candahar was not only held by a weak force under General Primrose, but it had been decided by the Indian authorities to still further weaken it by sending General Burrows with a moiety of its garrison—some 2,000 men—to meet Ayoob Khan, and co-operate with the troops of the Wali of Candahar in checking the advance of the Heratees. The troops of the Wali, however, deserted to Ayoob Khan, and on the 27th of July Burrows and his small force were overwhelmed by the Heratees at Maiwand. The line of their retreat was covered with the bodies of those who perished by the way, and comparatively few survivors arrived to tell the tale of their terrible disaster. Of course Candahar was now at the mercy of Ayoob Khan, and it was known that the fall of that stronghold would shake the foundations of the British Empire in India. At this critical moment Sir Frederick Roberts saved the situation. He set forth from Cabul with a picked force of 10,000 men, and by a marvellous series of forced marches he arrived in time to defeat Ayoob Khan and rescue Candahar. Ere this crowning victory was won, it had been settled that Abdurrahman was to be the new Ameer of Afghanistan, and as the year closed the British Army of occupation had quitted Sherpore on its homeward march to India.

The mischievous policy of annexation which had been pursued in South Africa was now bearing fruit. When the Transvaal Republic was annexed Englishmen were told that the Boers desired annexation. As a matter of fact, the Boers never meant to submit to the loss of their independence. When the Boers in the Transvaal asked for the restoration of their rights, they were told by Sir Bartle Frere that England would never concede their claims; though, as a matter of fact, no sane Englishman had ever dreamt of holding the Transvaal Republic by an army of occupation against the will of its people. The effect of these misrepresentations was somewhat neutralised by Boer deputations who visited England, by Radicals like Mr. Courtney, and Home Rulers like Mr. Parnell and Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, who warned Englishmen that the Boers were discontented, and that they would rise in insurrection. Mr. Gladstone, too, in his election speeches kept alive Boer aspirations for independence, by condemning their enforced subjection to a British Colonial bureaucracy. The Boers ultimately rebelled, the occasion of the revolt being the refusal of a citizen at Pretoria to pay an illegal claim made on him by the Treasury. On the 13th of December, 1880, at Heidelberg, they proclaimed a Republic under the Triumvirate of Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius. A collision between the insurgents and British troops under Colonel Anstruther occurred at Bronkhorst Spruit, which ended in the defeat of the latter; and as the year closed, General Sir George Pomeroy Colley was making a futile effort to quell the rising and reconquer the Transvaal.

The Ministerial programme of domestic legislation was popular, but it

... a long time to carry it out. At the end of July business was seriously in arrear, and yet Ministers said that they were determined to push on all their Bills. Towards the end of August no great progress had been made, and the proposal of a Session which might be prolonged into October was seriously discussed. The obstructive strategy devised by Mr. Parnell in Lord Beaconsfield's Parliament was now developed with great success by the little

WINDSOR CASTLE: QUEEN ELIZABETH'S LIBRARY, FROM THE QUADRANGLE.

band of Tories called the Fourth Party, under the leadership of Lord Randolph Churchill. Their method differed from Mr. Parnell's in one point. He obstructed great measures in mass, so to speak. The Fourth Party organised persistent and systematic obstruction in detail, that is to say, they wasted small scraps of time all through a sitting at odd moments, the cumulative effect of which was most serious. Nor did they on this account refrain from obstruction on the system practised by Mr. Parnell when occasion served, only they carried it on without raising the clamant scandals that spring from prolonged and melodramatic sittings. At the end of August their efforts provoked Lord Hartington into revealing the fact that in the course of the Session Mr. Gorst had made 105 speeches and asked 18 questions, that Lord Randolph Churchill had made 74 speeches and asked

21 questions, that Sir H. Drummond Wolff had made 68 speeches and asked 34 questions, while three Irish Members had delivered 189 speeches and asked 90 questions. In fact, six Members (Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Gorst, Sir H. D. Wolff, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Connor, and Mr. Finigan) had delivered during the Session 407 speeches. Still, the Government persevered and, after Lord Hartington's exposure of the tactics of the Opposition, business progressed more rapidly. A Burials Bill, allowing Dissenting ministers to hold services in parish churchyards at the burial of their dead, was passed. Sir William Harcourt passed a Bill giving farmers an inalienable right to kill hares and rabbits. Mr. Dodson's Employers' Liability Bill was fiercely obstructed, but it passed and gave great satisfaction to the working classes. It made employers responsible for accidents to their workpeople where the accident was traceable to the conduct of the master's representative, or any workman or person who might reasonably be supposed to be his representative. In the House of Lords, it is true, Lord Beaconsfield succeeded in limiting the operation of the Bill to two years, but this period was extended to seven years by the Commons. The Supplementary Estimates had devoured the small surplus which Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget showed in March. Hence on the 10th of June Mr. Gladstone brought in a Supplementary Budget, in which he abolished the Malt Tax, substituting for it a Beer Duty, reduced the duties on light foreign wines, increased and readjusted the licence duties on the sale of spirits, and added a penny to the Income Tax. The general result was that a final surplus of £381,000 could be shown on the year's accounts.

Nothing could be more embarrassing than the condition of Ireland when Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister. The Home Rulers returned sixty-eight members to the House of Commons, and, though a few of them were lukewarm Nationalists, they had organised themselves into a separate Party, under the leadership of Mr. Parnell. He plainly indicated that they would make use of the feuds between the Opposition and the Government to further their own cause. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster first of all decided to rule Ireland without coercive legislation. But during the debates on the Address to the Crown it was made manifest that they had no clear idea of the extent to which agrarian distress prevailed in Ireland; that they ignored the alarming increase of harsh evictions, which were certain to excite the peasantry to savage deeds of retaliation; that they failed to understand how famine had been averted solely by the charitable funds raised during the previous year; and that they accordingly did not mean to reopen the Land Question. The Irish Party, therefore, at the outset ranged themselves with the Opposition, and even sat beside the Tories below the gangway on the left side of the Speaker's chair. They began operations by bringing in a Bill to suspend evictions for non-payment of rent, which the Government opposed. But the case presented by the Irish Members seemed too serious to be put aside.

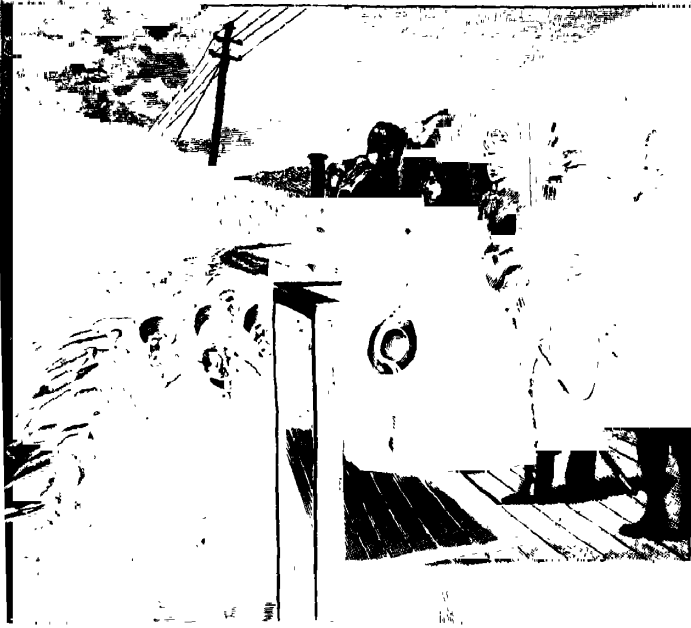
It was at last admitted that there was a crisis in Ireland to be dealt with, and Mr. Forster therefore introduced a short Bill, which so far amended the Act of 1870 as to make disturbance for non-payment of rent, where the tenant was too poor to pay, a case for compensation. The Bill passed through the House of Commons after violent recriminatory debates, in the course of which Mr. Gladstone declared that in the distressed districts eviction was "very near to a sentence of death." * The measure was promptly rejected by the House of Lords. Ministers acquiesced in this rebuff, and from that moment they lost their hold over rural Ireland. They had publicly declared that 15,000 persons were to be evicted that year, in circumstances which rendered eviction tantamount to a sentence of death. They had publicly admitted that it was wicked to extort rack rents from these persons by threats of eviction, and that, unless they were protected from the rapacity of their landlords, the peace of Ireland would be imperilled. And then they permitted the Peers to reject the protective Bill, which Mr. Forster had pressed forward as necessary for the preservation of tranquillity! Either the Government was wrong in introducing the Bill, or it was wrong to remain responsible for the peace of Ireland after the Bill had been rejected. All that Mr. Forster did in this crisis was to promise a new Land Bill next year, and appoint a Commission to inquire into Irish distress. Rural Ireland had by this time been completely organised into a Land League by Mr. Michael Davitt, and this Land League was really a gigantic trades-union, to promote a strike against rack rents. Incidentally, its organisation was also used to further the Home Rule cause. The leaders of the League advised the people to resist eviction, and Mr. John Dillon used words to which Sir W. Barttelot called attention in the House of Commons on the 17th of August, that seemed to advise a general strike against rent. Acrimonious debates followed day after day, in the course of which the hostility between the Parnellites and the Ministry deepened with every turn. Mr. Parnell's cynical argument that as Ministers could not, because of a Parliamentary defeat, carry the Disturbance Bill, which they admitted was essential for the good government of Ireland, they ought, as men of honour, to free Ireland from the mischievous interference of the Imperial Parliament, seemed to cut Mr. Forster to the quick. At last, in Committee of Supply on the 16th of August, it was clear that an organised attempt to coerce the Government by obstruction was to be made. On the motion for going into Supply, Lord Randolph Churchill raised an irrelevant and discursive debate on the Irish policy of the Government, which had already been under bitter discussion for the best part of a fortnight. This set the Parnellites and the Ministerialists by the ears, and consumed a great part of the sitting. Then, when the vote for the Irish Police was moved, Lord Randolph Churchill and the Fourth Party vanished into the background, and left the work of obstruction to the

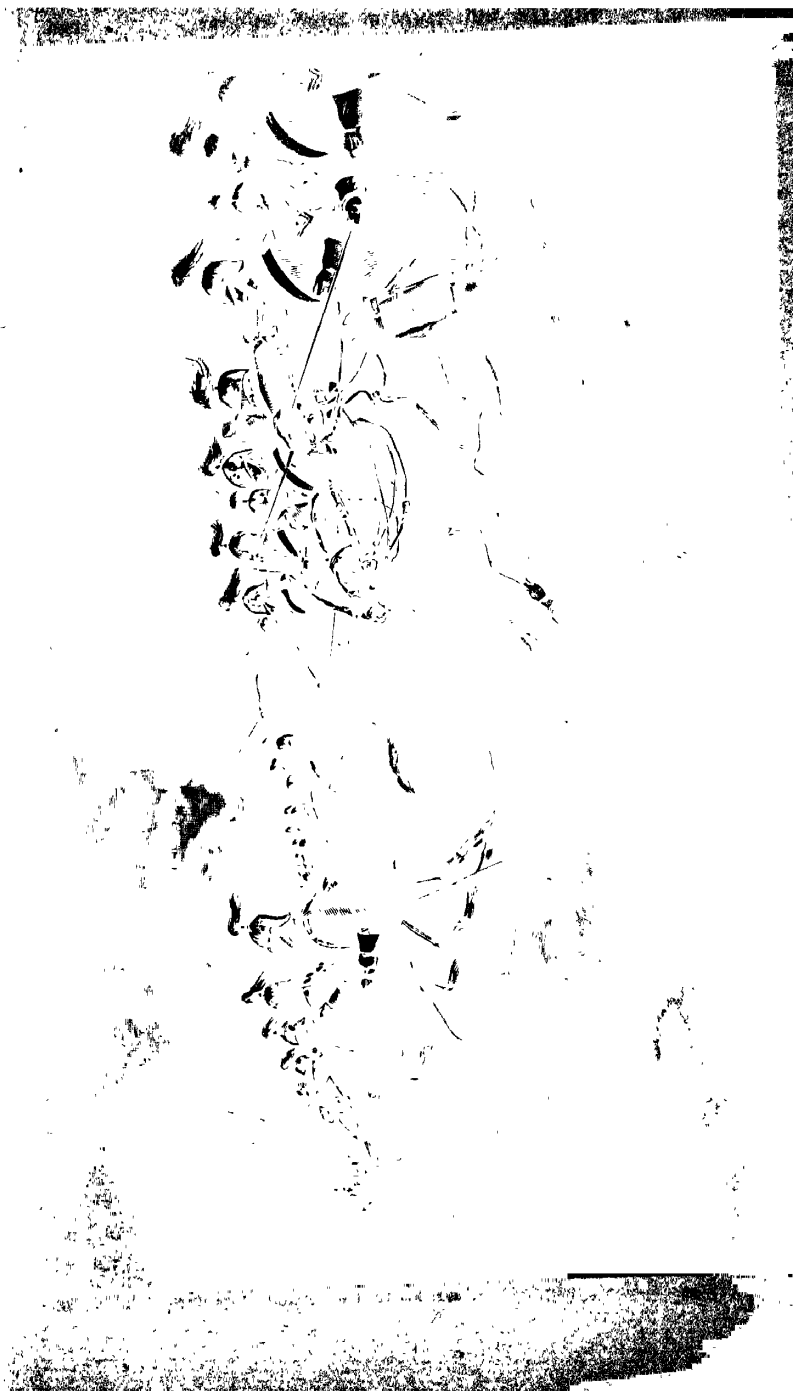
* Hansard, Vol. CCLIII., p. 1663.

Parnellites, who kept it up till one o'clock in the afternoon of the following day (Friday, the 27th of August). The debate was at this stage adjourned till next Monday, when, after further discussion, the vote was carried. During these exciting and troublous scenes Mr. Gladstone was absent from the House of Commons. He had fallen ill on the 4th of July, and had gone for a cruise in one of Sir Donald Currie's steamers, the *Grantully Castle*, to recover his health. During his absence his duties were taken up by Lord Hartington, who led the House till Mr. Gladstone was able to reappear on the 3rd of September. On the 6th of September Parliament was prorogued. But during the recess the condition of Ireland grew worse and worse. The landlords, dreading the forthcoming Land Bill, pressed on evictions. The Land League urged the people to refuse to pay rack rents, and the League had by this time become so powerful, that it could enforce its decrees almost as surely as if it had been the regular Government of the country. Its favourite weapon of coercion was to pronounce against bailiff or landlord, land agent or "land grabber"—*i.e.*, a man who offered to take a farm from which the tenant had been unjustly evicted—sentence of social ostracism. The victim of this sentence was not assaulted or outraged, but he was treated as if he were a leper by his neighbours, and the system came to be known as "boycotting."* Boycotting was indignantly assailed in England, and yet it was in itself a mark of progress. Just as slavery in primitive warfare was an improvement on cannibalism as a means of disposing of prisoners, so boycotting, carefully carried out within the law, was an improvement on assassination as a means of agrarian coercion. But the demand for retaliatory measures against the Parnellites was loud and strong among the upper and middle classes. Mr. Forster at last yielded to it, and it was in vain that Mr. Bright protested in one of his speeches that "force was no remedy." Outrages increased in Ireland. The ladies of the Tory aristocracy, and some of the great Whig families, made arrangements for devoting their *salons* during the coming Session, to a social campaign against Mr. Chamberlain and the Radical section of the Cabinet. On the 2nd of November, 1880, the Irish Attorney-General filed an indictment of nineteen counts, against Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and various leaders of the Land League, for conspiring to incite tenants not to pay rent or take farms from which the occupiers had been

* The origin of the term was as follows:—Captain Boycott, an agent of Lord Earne, and a farmer at Lough Mask, had served notices of eviction on the Earne tenantry. Suddenly he found himself "marooned," as it were, on his farm. Nobody would work for him, speak to him, do business with him, or even supply him at any price with the necessaries of life. Police guards watched over him and his family whilst they did their own farm and household work. At last some of the Orange lodges in the North sent down a gang of armed labourers to help him out of his difficulties. These were called "Emergency men." Subsequently the dispute between Lord Earne and his tenantry was arranged, and all of a sudden Captain Boycott found that the leper's ban had been removed from his household, and he himself treated as if he had been all his life the most popular man in the neighbourhood.

... but the trial, after lasting for twenty days, broke down, because the jury could not agree on a verdict. Ere the year ended it was known that the Cabinet, though it had nearly been broken up by the decision, had at last consented to let Mr. Forster bring in a strong Coercion Bill next Session.

The year was not an eventful one in the family life of the Court. Before

THE QUEEN PRESENTING THE ALBERT MEDAL TO GEORGE OATLEY, OF THE COASTGUARD.

...liament was dissolved the Queen arranged to visit her relatives in Germany. ...e time had come when her granddaughters, the Princesses Victoria and ...abeth of Hesse, were to be confirmed, and she desired to be present at ... ceremony. Her Majesty and the Princess Beatrice (travelling as the ...tess of Balmoral and the Countess Beatrice of Balmoral), attended by Sir ... Ponsonby, Viscount Bridport, and Lady Churchill, left Windsor Castle the 25th of March, and embarked at one o'clock on the royal yacht ... and *Albert*. It was intended that the Queen should proceed to ... to visit the Grand Duke of Hesse and the tomb of Princess Alice. ... the Queen would be joined by the Prince and Princess of Wales. On ... the Queen and her suite landed at five o'clock at Cherbourg, and ...red their special train. The public were excluded from the stations on

[illegible], and every effort was made to respect the Queen's incognito. The Royal party arrived at Baden-Baden at half-past three in the afternoon of the 27th, and the Queen drove immediately to the Villa Hohenlohe, which was to be her residence during her stay. As for her suite, they were lodged at the Hotel Europe. On the 30th her Majesty, the Princess Beatrice, and suite, left Baden-Baden by special train for Darmstadt, where they were received by the Grand Duke and the elder Princesses of Hesse. A carriage drawn by four horses was in waiting to convey the Royal party to the Castle, where the Queen occupied the Assembly Chamber, whilst apartments were allotted to the Princess Beatrice in the Clock Tower. The Prince and Princess of Wales, who had left Marlborough House three days before, arrived at Darmstadt on the 29th. On the 31st the Queen and Princess Beatrice, accompanied by the Grand Duke of Hesse, proceeded at half-past four to the mausoleum on the Rosenhöhe, where Princess Alice was buried. On the morning of the same day the Queen, with the Prince and Princess of Wales, and Princess Beatrice, the German Crown Prince, the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess, and the Hereditary Grand Duke of Baden, attended the confirmation of the Princesses Victoria and Elizabeth, daughters of the Grand Duke of Hesse. The Queen and Princess Beatrice then returned to Baden on the 1st of April. On April the 16th, on her return from Baden, her Majesty arrived at Laeken, and was received at the railway station by the King and Queen of the Belgians and Mr. Lumley, the British Minister. After visiting the park and grounds of the Palace, and partaking of luncheon, the Queen left for Flushing. On April the 17th her Majesty and suite left Flushing for Queenborough, *en route* for Windsor, where she arrived in safety, to find the station thronged with residents, who had gathered to welcome her on her return, while crowds of kindly spectators lined the way to the Castle. She returned just as the electoral crisis was over, to find the Ministry she had thought so stable overthrown, and public opinion not only clamouring for the dismissal of Lord Beaconsfield from office, but for the return of Mr. Gladstone to power. On the 27th of April she gave Lord Beaconsfield his farewell audience, and for the next fortnight was deeply absorbed in transacting the business incidental to the formation of a new Ministry amidst distracting intrigues which were not altogether friendly to the new Ministers.

On the 20th of May the Queen and the Princess Beatrice left Windsor for Balmoral, and the Prince and Princess of Wales discharged her Majesty's social duties during her absence. On her way to her Highland home the Queen took part in a ceremony of which she was, in fact, the promoter. During a terrific storm on the 16th of February, a Swedish ship had been thrown on the rocks near Peterhead. The Coastguard succeeded in flinging a rocket over the wreck, but the crew were apparently unable to understand the working of the apparatus. And so, in all human probability, the vessel

would have been lost with all souls but for the bravery of George [illegible] one of the Coastguard. Oatley, disregarding every appeal to the [illegible] resolved to swim out to the distressed ship. After a fierce conflict with the angry waves he gained the vessel, fixed the rocket appliance, saw the [illegible] safely conveyed ashore, and was himself the last to take his place in the cradle. The Duke of Edinburgh having recommended him for the [illegible] Medal of the First Class, her Majesty presented it in person on the [illegible] of May. The interesting ceremony took place at Ferry Hill Junction, where a platform had been erected for the occasion along the side of the line. The Queen and Princess Beatrice were greeted with the heartiest cheers as they left the saloon. Captain Best, R.N., Commander of the coastguard division to which the hero of the day belonged, having introduced him to her Majesty, the Queen attached the medal to Oatley's breast, and expressed the pleasure it afforded her to decorate him for his gallant conduct. She then resumed her seat in the train, and her journey was continued. The Court returned to Windsor on the 23rd of June.

On the 13th of July a General Order was issued by the Duke of Cambridge, by command of the Queen, conveying her congratulations to the Volunteers on the completion of the twenty-first year of their existence, and expressing her regret that she was unable to hold a review of the citizen soldiers in Windsor Great Park. On the afternoon of the following day her Majesty reviewed 11,000 regular troops in Windsor Great Park. This was a brilliant affair, the 5th and 7th Dragoon Guards winding up the display with a most dashing charge. On the 19th of July the Queen and the Princess Beatrice left Windsor and took up their quarters at Osborne where, on the 28th, her Majesty received a party of eight officers and men of the 24th Regiment, who brought with them the colours of that corps, which had been rescued from the hands of the Zulus by two ensigns at the cost of their lives. Her Majesty inspected the colours, and spoke with brief and simple eloquence of the bravery and loyalty of the regiment, touching with manifest emotion on the death of the ensigns who had sacrificed their lives for their standards. Curiously enough, Indian telegrams published about this time in the newspapers showed that at the battle of Maiwand the majority of the officers of the 66th Regiment were killed in the vain attempt to defend their colours; in fact, the regiment lost 400 out of its strength of 500 in this action. The attention of military men was thus drawn to the practice of carrying colours into action, and it was argued that it was one more honoured in the breach than the observance. History hardly records a case where a regiment has been rallied on its colours. On the other hand, a hundred fights besides Isandhlwana and Maiwand testify that many valuable lives have been lost in defending them. Nor are colours necessary as [illegible] tives to bravery, for the Rifle regiments (whose record is one of [illegible] glory) never carried any colours, though they fought fully as [illegible]

[illegible] that encumbered themselves with flaunting banners.* On the [illegible] [illegible] August the Queen crossed over to Portsmouth, and inspected the [illegible] Battalion of the Rifle Brigade previous to its departure for India. The regiments were not drawn up in line in spick and span order, but were visited by her Majesty as they sat at mess in undress uniform on board the troop-ship, and, as she made a minute inspection of their quarters, the novelty of the scene apparently interested and amused her very much. The exceptional honour thus conferred on the Riflemen was due to the close connection of the corps with the Royal Family.†

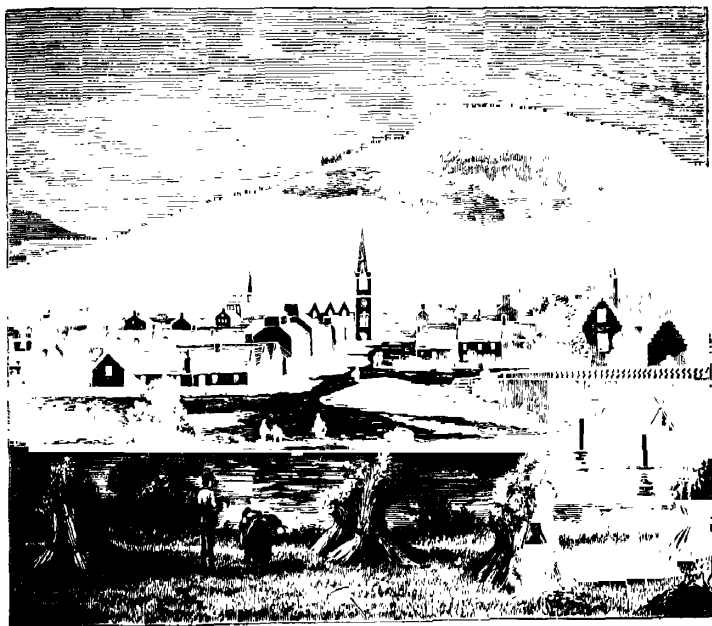
On the 26th of August the Court went to Balmoral, from whence, just before Parliament was prorogued, she addressed to the Ministry a strong Memorandum drawing attention to the frequency with which railway accidents were occurring, and urging that steps should be taken to provide travellers with better security for safety. In October she held many anxious consultations with Lord Granville and Lord Hartington on the state of Ireland, where the increase in outrages, such as the savage murders of Mr. Boyd and Lord Mountmorres ‡ gave her great pain. The result was that Lord Hartington, when he arrived in London from Balmoral on the 11th of October, was immediately visited by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, and in political circles it was soon rumoured that the Irish Government was about to prosecute the leaders of the Irish Land League. On the 10th of October the Queen and Princess Beatrice went to spend a few days amidst the snowdrifts of the Glassalt Sheil. The Court returned to Windsor on the 17th of December, to find the world—for a time at least—talking of something else besides Irish outrages.

Lord Beaconsfield had just published his last brilliant and audacious political novel, "Endymion," in what one of its characters describes as "the

* The Rifle regiments were not supplied with colours, because in the old days they were supposed to fight in more extended order than the Infantry of the Line. Now there is no difference in this respect between the rifleman and the line-man. Of the cavalry, only the heavy dragoons carried colours, but they always left them at home when they went to war.

† The Rifle Brigade was originally formed out of detachments from fourteen different line regiments, and was long known as "Manningham's Sharpshooters" From 1800 to 1802 it was known as the Rifle Corps. Down to 1816 it got the name of the "Old 95th," after which year till now it has been called the Rifle Brigade. The Prince Consort was its colonel, and in his portraits he is often seen wearing its sombre green heavily-braided uniform. Hence it got the title of the Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade. The Prince of Wales became its Colonel-in-Chief till he was appointed Colonel of the Household Cavalry. He was succeeded by the Duke of Connaught, who began his meritorious though modest career as a lieutenant in the 1st Battalion.

‡ Mr. C. D. Boyd was shot by a gang of men with blackened faces whilst driving on the 8th of August from New Ross to Shanlough. He was the son of the agent to Mr. Tottenham, and there was reason to suppose that it was his father (who was with him) who was aimed at. Lord Mountmorres was waylaid near Clonbur and shot on the 25th of September. He had only [illegible] tenants, had evicted only two of them, and his household was boycotted. He lived [illegible] people, and was fairly popular with them, so that his murder is to this day somewhat of [illegible]

Corinthian style, in which the Mænad of Mr. Burke was habited in the last mode of Almack's." The town was in raptures over a burlesque of Society, which blended together into amusing personalities such opposite characters as Cardinal Wiseman and Cardinal Manning; Lord Palmerston and Sidney Herbert; Poole the tailor, and Hudson the railway king; which made Prince Bismarck tilt with Napoleon III. at the Eglinton Tournament; which idealised the author as Endymion, Lady Beaconsfield as Imogen, and Napoleon III. as

BALLATER.

Prince Florestan; which travestied Lady Palmerston as Zenobia, caricatured Thackeray cleverly but spitefully as Mr. St. Barbe, and George Smythe cleverly but not spitefully as Waldershare.

The year closed with a more serious event in the world of literature, the death (on the 22nd of December) of George Eliot, whose novels were ever a perennial source of pure enjoyment to the Queen. George Eliot was, at her death, the first of living novelists, and the womanhood of England in the Victorian period produced no genius that in culture, strength, tenderness, spiritual insight, and humour, could be compared with hers. The sombre fatalism of the Greek tragedians overshadows her "Mill on the Floss." The humour of Shakespeare ripples through the taproom scenes in "Silas Marner." In "Romola," [illegible]

it not overweighted with psychological analysis, she would have defeated Scott in the glowing field of historical romance, and did defeat the author of "Esmond" in an arena in which he was supposed to be peerless among his contemporaries. In "Adam Bede," which has probably been read more widely than any other story of our time by the English-speaking race, she revealed all the grace, sweetness, delicacy of feeling, nobility of intellect, and purity of heart, that formed her fascinating and sympathetic personality.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COERCION.

Lord Beaconsfield Attacks the Government—The Irish Crisis—The Coercion Bills—**An All-night Sitting—The Arrest of Mr. Davitt**—The Revolt of the Irish Members—The Speaker's *Coup d'État*—Urgency—**New Rules of Procedure**—**The Speaker's** *Clôture*—End of the Struggle against Coercion—Mr Dillon's **Irish Campaign**—**Mr. Forster's First Batch of** "Suspects"—The Peers Censure the Ministry—Mr. **Gladstone's "Retort Courteous"—Abolition of the** "Cat"—The Budget—Paying off the National Debt—The Irish **Land Bill—The Three "F's"—Resignation** of the Duke of Argyll—The Strategic Blunder of the **Tories—The Fallacy of Dual Ownership—Conflict** between the Lords and Commons—Surrender of the **Peers—Passing the Land Bill—Revolt of the** Transvaal—The Rout of Majuba Hill—Death of Sir George Colley—**The Boers Triumphant**—Concession of Autonomy to the Boers—Lord Beaconsfield's Death—**His Career and Character**—**A "Walking Funeral" at** Hughenden—The Queen and Lord Beaconsfield's **Tomb—A Sorrowing Nation—Assassination of the Czar**—The Queen and the Duchess of Edinburgh—Character of the **Czar Emancipator—Precautions for the Safety** of the Queen—Visit of the King and Queen of Sweden to **Windsor—Prince Leopold becomes Duke of Albany—Deaths** of Dean Stanley and Mr Carlyle—Review of **Scottish Volunteers—Assassination of President** Garfield—The Royal Family—The Highlands—**Holiday Pastimes—The Parnellites and the Irish Land Act—Arrest** of Mr Parnell—No-Rent Manifesto.

THE year 1881 confronted the Government with four difficulties. The Irish Question was growing more serious every day. With a heavy heart England not only saw herself committed to a war of reconquest in the Transvaal, but heard her most sanguine Imperialists admitting that Sir Bartle Frere's scheme for a South African Confederation had utterly broken down. The Parliament of the Cape Colony would not even seriously discuss it, and Sir Bartle Frere had been recalled at the end of 1880. Victory had crowned British arms in Afghanistan, but Lord Beaconsfield's policy of holding Candahar, and controlling the rest of the country by British Residents, was obviously impossible. Lord Lytton, who now called it an "experiment," admitted that the murder of Cavagnari had proved it to be a failure. The claims of Greece to an increase of territory and a better frontier, had been admitted to be just by the Powers, but Turkey still refused to accept any compromise which Europe suggested, and Greece pressed her demands with growing impatience. The nation was therefore relieved to find that Parliament was to meet earlier than usual, and when it assembled on the 6th of January it was soon seen that the Session would be a stormy one. Among the upper and upper middle classes the Government was denounced with a bitterness

that had no parallel, for permitting Ireland to fall into "anarchy" under the dominion of the Land League.

In the debate on the Address in the House of Lords, Lord Beaconsfield, appealing to the prevailing sentiment of disappointment, sought to show that all these difficulties were due to Mr. Gladstone's sudden reversal of the Conservative policy when he came into office. The speech was pitched in a strange, shrewish note of anger, and it failed to produce much effect. Men could not forget that only a few months before Lord Beaconsfield had taunted the Ministry with meekly and slavishly carrying out his policy. It was not easy to forget that Lord Beaconsfield had abandoned the Coercion Act and allowed the Land League to fix its grip on Ireland, that the troubles in Afghanistan were entirely due to his desire to govern that country without being at the expense of occupying it, that the alternative policy adopted by him after the murder of Cavagnari—that of detaching Candahar and putting it under a Wali, who was to be friendly and independent—ended in the fall of the Wali and the desertion of his troops to the enemy which produced the disaster of Maiwand. As for South Africa, even the *Times*, which had supported Lord Beaconsfield's policy in that region, now wrote, "what a miserable business our whole connection with the annexation of the Transvaal has been from first to last. The original annexation of the country was a mistake, and it has been the parent of all the rest." Knowing that Englishmen would never sanction a war for the conquest of a free European people who objected to come under British rule, Lord Beaconsfield's agents supplied Parliament with no information on the subject, save that which indicated that the Boers would welcome absorption in the British Empire as the surest means of deliverance from native difficulties. The Greek difficulty obviously was an evil inheritance from the Treaty of Berlin by which Lord Beaconsfield conferred on England "Peace with Honour."

But the domestic crisis in Ireland was far too serious to permit men to indulge in party recriminations, and Lord Beaconsfield showed his sense in urging his followers not to do anything to weaken the Government. Unfortunately, neither he nor Sir Stafford Northcote had much control over the aggressive Tories who were led by the Fourth Party, and the Fourth Party, when the Session opened, cemented more strongly than ever their alliance with the Parnellites for purposes of obstructive opposition. The Tory Party were ably led on two distinct lines of attack. One wing did what it could to goad the Ministry into scourging Ireland with coercive legislation. Another wing gave the Irish members all the help it dared give them publicly in obstructing the domestic legislation, and embarrassing the Foreign Policy of the Ministry. Coercion Bills were announced on the first day of the Session, and the consequence was that it was not till after eleven days' wearisome wrangling that the debate on the Address ended on the 20th of January. On the 24th, Mr. Forster introduced his Protection of Persons and Property

(Ireland) Bill, giving the Lord-Lieutenant power to arrest by warrant persons suspected of treasonable intentions, intimidation, and incitement to violate the laws. If he had this power, said Mr. Forster, he could put under lock and key the "village ruffians" and outrage-mongers who attacked people that were obnoxious to the Land League, and then Ireland would be at peace.

The violence with which the Irish Members obstructed this Bill provoked Mr. Bright to attack them in a speech on the 27th of January, which rendered him and them enemies for life. Mr. Gladstone followed in the same vein, and on Monday, the 31st of January, a scene that became historic was enacted. The debate was prolonged all day and all night, and on through the dull, grey hours of the morning of the 1st of February, and still on all night without ceasing, till the enraged and exhausted House found itself at nine in the morning of the 2nd of February still in session and with no prospect of release. Then the Speaker interfered, saying that it was clear to him the Bill had been wilfully obstructed for forty-one hours. In order to vindicate the honour of the House, whose rules seemed powerless to meet the difficulty, he declared his determination to put the main question without further debate. This was done amidst loud shouts of "Privilege" from the Irish Members, who left the House in a body, and the motion for leave to bring in the Bill, a motion rarely obstructed by any debate, was carried by a vote of 164 to 19. For the first time in the history of Parliament, a debate had been closed by the personal authority of the Speaker.

Mr. Gladstone having announced that the Second Reading of the Bill would be taken that day at noon, the Irish Members returned to the charge. They attempted to challenge the action of the Speaker, and moved the adjournment of the House; but in spite of the support which they received from Lord Randolph Churchill, they were beaten on a division, though they succeeded in wasting the whole of the sitting. Next day (Thursday, the 3rd of February) the Irish Members began the attack by asking if it were true that Mr. Davitt had been arrested. "Yes, sir," was the answer of Sir William Harcourt. Then, when Mr. Gladstone rose to move the adoption of the new Rule of Procedure, Mr. Dillon rose to a point of order. The Speaker requested him to be seated, but he refused. He was then "named" for wilfully disregarding the authority of the Chair, and, in conformity with the Standing Order, Mr. Gladstone immediately moved his suspension for the rest of the sitting. The motion was carried by a vote of 395 to 33, and, as Mr. Dillon declined to withdraw, he was removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms. After a futile attempt on the part of Mr. Sullivan to dispute the legality of the Speaker's action, Mr. Gladstone again rose, whereupon The O'Donoghue moved the adjournment of the House. The Speaker ruled that Mr. Gladstone should proceed. Mr. Parnell now moved that Mr. Gladstone be not

heard.* The Speaker "named" Mr. Parnell, who was then suspended and removed like Mr. Dillon. Mr. Finigan next repeated Mr. Parnell's offence, and was removed in the same manner. On this occasion twenty-eight Irish Members were reported as refusing to leave their seats when

MR. PARNELL.

(From a Photograph by William Lawrence, Dublin.)

the Speaker ordered the House to be cleared for a division. The Speaker "named" them all, and though Mr. Balfour and Mr. Gorst, on behalf of

* This antiquated form of silencing a Member had not been heard of for two centuries, [illegible] Gladstone had himself revived it in the previous Session, for the purpose of silencing Mr. O'[illegible] when he attempted to make a personal attack on M. Challemel-Lacour, who had come to [illegible] as the Ambassador of France.

the Fourth Party, feelingly remonstrated against the vote for their suspension *en bloc* being put, the Speaker ruled that this was a question not of order but convenience, and the vote was carried by 410 to 4. Then the Speaker ordered them one by one to be removed. Five others, who were not included, procured their expulsion, and, after a struggle of three hours and a half, "the Speaker's *coup d'état*," as the Nationalists called it, ended.*

Mr. Gladstone now, pale and worn out with the excitement, delivered his speech in support of the new Rules of Procedure. Sir Stafford Northcote showed that he still shared the hostility of the Tory Party to any scheme for effectively crushing obstruction; but the conduct of the Irish Members had so incensed the House, that he had to limit his opposition to an amendment which but slightly weakened the force of Mr. Gladstone's proposal. The Rule finally adopted declared that, when a Minister moved, after notice, that the state of public business was urgent, the Speaker was to put the question without debate. If this motion were carried by a majority of not less than three to one in a House of 300 Members, then the powers of the House for the regulation of its business should be transferred to the Speaker, who could enforce such rules as he pleased for its management, till the state of public business should be declared by him to be no longer urgent. A motion could be made by a Member to terminate urgency, but it must be put without debate. On the 9th of February the Speaker laid before the House the new Rules which he had drawn up for the state of urgency in which public business was now declared to be. They adopted the principle of the *Clôture*, which Sir Stafford Northcote deprecated and the Fourth Party abhorred, and gave the Speaker power, when supported by a three-fourths' majority, to close a debate by putting the question without further discussion. No debate on a motion to go into Committee, or on postponing the preamble of a Bill under urgency, was to be allowed. Opportunities for moving adjournments were curtailed, and the Speaker was to have power to order a Member to stop talking when he became guilty of "irrelevance or tedious repetition." In Committee the *Clôture* was not to be applied, but no Members (except those in charge of Bills or those who had moved amendments) were to be allowed to speak more than once to the same question.

Even under urgency the debate on the Coercion Bill in Committee went on slowly, and at one time (owing to Lord Randolph Churchill, who supported the Bill "with reluctance and distrust," and Sir John Holker, who contended that "liberty was more precious than coercion," displaying much sympathy with the opponents of the measure) it was feared that Ministers would lose the support of a large section of the Opposition. This fear was baseless, but the debate went on till the 21st of February, when the Speaker, on a motion summarily moved by Lord Hartington, suddenly terminated it under

* See Hansard, Vol. CCLVIII., p. 68 *et seq.*

the new Rules. All amendments not disposed of after seven o'clock on the 22nd were put and divided on without debate. The measure received the Queen's assent on the 2nd of March. A Bill giving the Irish police power to search houses for arms was introduced by Sir William Harcourt on the 1st of March, read a third time on the 4th, and passed by the House of Lords on the 18th of March. The struggle against coercion thus lasted nine weeks, and the violence with which the Irish Party conducted it is defended by Mr. T. P. O'Connor on the grounds that it consolidated the Nationalist Party, and that the scenes in the House so roused the temper of the Irish people that the Peers were afraid to reject the Land Bill of 1881, as they did the Compensation for Disturbance Bill of 1880.* On the other hand, they permanently alienated from the Irish Party the sympathies of a large class of moderate Liberals in England, who were anxious to legislate for Ireland in a sympathetic spirit.

After the Coercion Bill had passed, Mr. Dillon carried on a passionate agitation against the Government in Ireland, and Mr. Forster retaliated by imprisoning him and several other Land Leaguers as "suspects" in May. Mr. Finigan was sent down to Coventry, where an election was taking place, to canvass the constituency on behalf of the Tory candidate, Mr. Eaton, a tangible expression of gratitude for the occasional sympathy that had been extended to the Parnellites by Lord Randolph Churchill, and some other Conservatives during the Coercion debates. There was a lull in the storm, however, during which the Peers censured the Government for refusing to occupy Candahar. A vote of the House of Commons on the 25th of March reversed this censure, for the House rejected by 336 to 216 a motion of Mr. Stanhope's, blaming the Government for withdrawing from Candahar "at the present time." When the Tories refused to commit themselves to the proposition that it was the duty of the Government to hold Candahar permanently, and merely demanded its occupation "at the present time," their attack assumed the complexion of a party demonstration. If England were to leave Candahar at all the sooner she left it the better, for the longer her troops stayed the more difficult it would be to establish the native government of Abdurrahman in the Province. The Army Discipline Bill, abolishing flogging, passed through the House of Commons without much opposition from the Tories, and was read a third time by the House of Lords on the 7th of April. The Budget was introduced by Mr. Gladstone on the 4th of April, and on an estimated expenditure of £84,705,000, and an estimated revenue of £85,900,000, he showed a probable surplus of £1,195,000. This was reduced by £100,000, consumed in paying off a loan for building barracks. Mr. Gladstone, therefore, reduced the Income Tax to 5d. in the pound, and converted the deficit thereby incurred of £275,000, into a surplus of £295,000, by levying

* The Parnell Movement, by T. P. O'Connor, M.P., Chapter XI.

an uniform surtax of 4d. a gallon on foreign spirits, in accordance with the test of standard strength applied to wines, and by minor changes in the Probate, Legacy, and Succession Duties. The most important part of his statement was that, during the past year, the National Debt had been reduced by £7,000,000. He also foreshadowed a great scheme for the extinction of £60,000,000 of debt, by the conversion of one-third of the short annuities terminating in 1885 into long annuities terminating in 1906. As this would make Consols scarce, it would put up their price, and enable him or his successor, in the course of ten years, to reduce the interest on the National Debt.

The long-expected Irish Land Bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone on the

GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

7th of April. It gave tenants the right to go before a Land Court and have "fair rents" fixed for fifteen years, a fair rent being one that would let the tenant live and thrive. During these fifteen years eviction, save for non-payment of rent, was to be impossible. If a tenant wished to sell his tenant-right or goodwill, the landlord had the pre-emptive right of buying at the price fixed by the Court. The Court was to have power to advance to tenants desirous of buying their farms three-fourths of the purchase-money, or even the whole if need be, and these advances were repayable on easy terms. Advances could also be made to promote emigration. The Bill was well received on the whole by the country, but the landed gentry denounced it as an act of socialism and confiscation, and the Duke of Argyll resigned his office. On the 24th of April long and stormy debates on the Second Reading began, and it was not till the end of July that the Bill was sent up to the House of Lords. The Tory Party made a mistake in basing their opposition to the measure on the ground that it was socialistic, confiscatory, and

contrary to the laws of political economy. The principle of arranging the business relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland by Act of Parliament having been accepted by the country, the only practical method of attacking the Bill was to have shown that it would not arrange them to the mutual satisfaction of the parties interested. The theory of the measure was, that

LORD BEACONSFIELD'S LAST APPEARANCE IN THE PEERS' GALLERY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(From a Drawing by Harry Furniss.)

every Irish farm is owned by two persons—by the farmer, who owns the improvements he has made on the soil, by the landlord who owns everything else. The Bill gave the tenant additional means for protecting his share of the land from being devoured by the landlord. Did it do this effectively, and if effectively, in such a manner as to work no injustice to the landlord? From the Tory point of view, it would have been easy to argue that no system of dual ownership, which forces persons with hostile interests into partnership in husbandry, can work smoothly. If prices rise the landlord's fixed rent will not rise with them. If prices fall the tenant will refuse to

pay the fixed rent, because it is no longer fair; and then the old weary path of agrarian warfare has again to be trod. A great scheme for establishing peasant proprietorship all over Ireland with the help of the State might have saved the Irish landlords at this juncture. But the Tories were led not by a Stein, but a Cecil, and the golden opportunity was lost. From the Irish point of view, the Bill bristled with weak points. It did nothing for leaseholders. It left tenants loaded with arrears, and therefore still exposed to eviction. Although Mr. Healy inserted a clause prohibiting the Courts from taking a tenant's improvements into the valuation on which a fair rent was fixed, the Judges, by a decision in the case of Adams *v.* Dunseath, virtually nullified the clause.

It was not till the 29th of July that Mr. Gladstone carried the Third Reading of the Bill after a desperate struggle. The House of Lords mutilated it, so that it became worse than useless, and then there came a deep cry of indignation from the country. Mr. Gladstone sent the Bill back practically unaltered, and as the tempest of anger in the country rose the Peers surrendered and let the measure pass. The Ministry, however, had to drop all their other Bills, except those abolishing flogging in the Army and Navy. The only private Members who carried Bills of public interest were Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Roberts. Mr. Hutchinson's Bill protected newspaper reports of lawful meetings from prosecution for libel, and made it necessary to obtain the Attorney-General's sanction before criminal proceedings for libel could be asked for. Mr. Roberts passed the Act closing public-houses during Sundays in Wales.

Mr. Bradlaugh's case, however, again vexed the angry sea of political strife at intervals during the Session. The law courts ruled that he could not legally make an affirmation, and so Mr. Bradlaugh resigned his seat, and again got elected for Northampton. This time he presented himself on the 26th of April to be sworn as a new Member. Sir Stafford Northcote objected, and though no precedent exists for preventing a new Member from being sworn, the Speaker referred the matter to the House, which decided against Mr. Bradlaugh. Thereupon ensued a shocking scene, and Mr. Bradlaugh had to be removed by force. Nothing strikes the reader now as more absurd than the protestations of the Tories, that to concede this claim was to sanction sacrilege. The course they objected to was precisely the one which Mr. Bradlaugh adopted when they were in office in 1886, and which they and the Speaker found it expedient to permit. A Bill was now brought in to allow all Members to affirm who could not conscientiously take the oath. This was opposed and so successfully obstructed that it had to be dropped. After that Mr. Bradlaugh, on the 3rd of August, cheered by an immense crowd of sympathisers, attempted to enter the House in defiance of an order which Sir Stafford Northcote had carried excluding him from its precincts. There were some of his Radical sympathisers — Mr.

Fawcett was among the number—, who did not quite approve of this proceeding. At all events Mr. Bradlaugh gained nothing by it, for he was flung into Palace Yard by the police hatless, dishevelled, and with his coat torn in the fray.

The recall of Sir Bartle Frere did not settle the South African difficulty. Sir G. P. Colley, in trying to avenge the defeat of Bronkhurst Spruit, was early in the year beaten by the Boers at Laing's Nek and Ingogo. On the 26th of February, reinforced by Sir Evelyn Wood, he let the Boers outmanœuvre him, and spring upon the oddly variegated and composite force with which he had rashly occupied Majuba Hill. Though the enemy's troops only consisted of raw levies of irregular sharpshooters, they soon dispersed the British host. It was a shameful rout, in which a kind fate doomed the luckless Colley to death. The unfortunate thing was that this fray should have happened at all. Negotiations were actually going on between the British and the Boers for a peaceful settlement.* Were they to be broken off? After admitting by opening up these negotiations, that the war was unjust, was a great and powerful Empire to go on with it for the sake of *prestige?* And was it, after all, British prowess that would be vindicated by victory? Was it not rather the fame of Sir George Pomeroy Colley that had alone been sullied? In other words, was England justified in slaughtering a few hundred Boer farmers, because Sir George Colley had let them beat his heroic but mismanaged troops in battle? It is impossible to say how the nation answered these difficult questions. But Mr. Gladstone's reply was an emphatic "No," although he had unfortunately declared, immediately after coming into office, that he would not grant the demands of the Boers, till they laid down their arms. The end of it was, that the Boers were allowed to set up an autonomous Republic under a British Protectorate, British interference being limited to controlling their foreign policy. It is curious to observe that this was the only act ever done by Mr. Gladstone which the European and American Press, with cordial unanimity, declared enhanced the *prestige* of England, as a State so confident of its giant's strength, that it deemed it ignoble to use it like a giant.

In the spring the shadow of mourning fell over the nation. On the morning of the 19th of April Lord Beaconsfield, who had been ailing for some days, passed away peacefully to his last rest. Mr. Gladstone at once telegraphed to his relatives offering a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, but the executors were compelled to decline the honour. Lord Beaconsfield's will directed that he should be buried beside his wife, and there were also legal obstacles that even the Queen's personal wishes could not overcome.† His life,

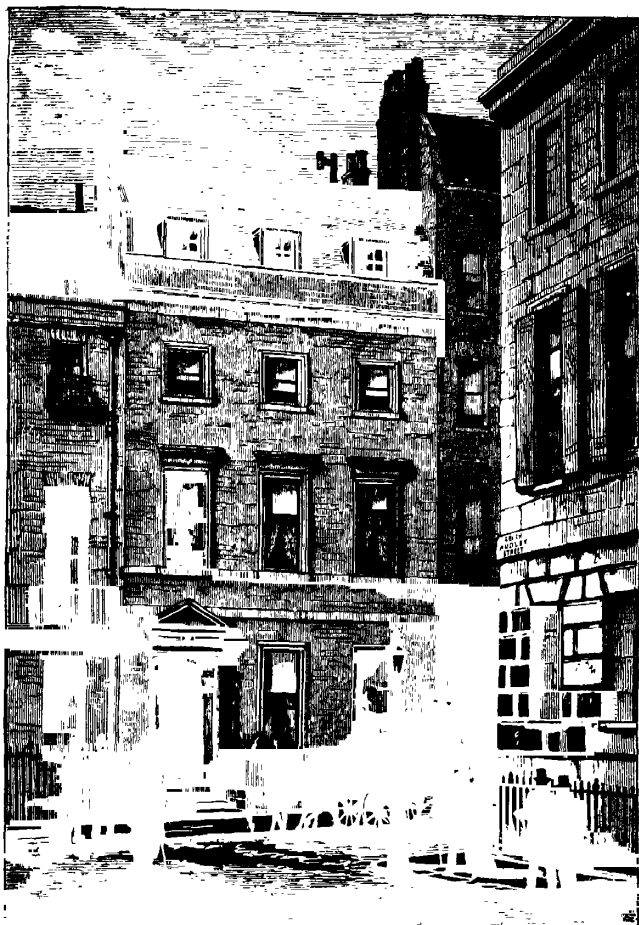
* Colley's friends allege that Kruger's letter of reply to him was delayed so long, that he thought he might usefully expedite matters by attacking.

† It was said that the late Mrs. Brydges-Williams, an eccentric Cornish lady of Jewish extraction, had left Mr. Disraeli a legacy on condition that she should be buried with him, and on this condition,

[to use] a favourite phrase of his own, was "really a romance," and his career a long and brilliant adventure. His strength lay in his freedom from prejudices, in his intellectual detachment from English insularity, in his consummate knowledge of the foibles of the lower middle class whom he enfranchised. He achieved success by skilfully avoiding the mistake of Peel, who led his Party without educating it. Lord Beaconsfield did both. His fame as a writer of sparkling political burlesques, his command of invective, his wit, and his audacity won for him the ear of a Senate which loves men who can amuse it. The defection of the Peelites left the Tory Party, in 1846, intellectually poverty-stricken, and though a proud aristocracy long refused to recognise their most brilliant swordsman as their leader, they had to accept him at last.

At this period of his career the chief obstacle in Mr. Disraeli's path was believed to be the hostility of the Queen, who, however, nobly atoned for it by subsequently loading him with favours. With the exception, perhaps, of Lord Aberdeen, no Minister of the present generation has been more sincerely beloved as a friend by his Sovereign than Lord Beaconsfield. He had the subtle tact and the delicate refinement of a woman, with the stubborn courage and iron will of a man. As for his policy and his principles, the time has not yet come to judge them fairly. He was no more to blame for bringing his generous democratic impulses to the service of the Tory Party than the eldest son of a Whig Peer is to blame for limping after the Radicals on the crutch of Conservative instincts. In the one case it is the tyranny of chance and opportunity, in the other the accident of birth, that determines the choice. All through life Mr. Disraeli had to fight his battle from false positions, and this gave his efforts an air of gladiatorial insincerity. Not till 1874, when he came to power with a large majority, was he entirely a free agent; and then it was seen that, though comparatively indifferent to questions of administration and questions involving the mere forms of Government, he took an eager and practical interest in social reform. For nearly two years he was at the zenith of his power. The House of Commons he managed with bright urbanity, easy grace, conciliatory dexterity, and a light but firm touch which had never been seen before. Suddenly and without the least warning his spell seemed broken. His fine tact disappeared; his touch grew hard and was felt to be a little irresolute; faint traces of irritability ruffled the clear surface of his serene intelligence; and in a sudden emergency he seemed to grow maladroit. The change first became obvious when he attempted to deal with Mr. Plimsoll's case in 1875, and, as it grew, his personal ascendency over the House of Commons slowly decayed. He seemed to live more and more in dreams, and to grow less and less sensitive to the pulse of popular opinion. It was in this mood that he fell into the two disastrous blunders of his life

the legacy was accepted. Perhaps the executors were afraid that claims might be made on them if the condition were violated.

He tried to solve the Eastern Question by applying to it the obsolete ideas of Palmerston. When this mistake led him from one embarrassment to another, he tried to retrieve the situation by applying his own ideas to it.

LORD BEACONSFIELD'S HOUSE, 19, CURZON STREET, MAYFAIR.

Unfortunately, when he went to find them he looked, not into the depths of his own clear intelligence, but into a romance written by one whom he had known in his youth, and who was styled "D'Israeli the Younger." "Yes," he said to a friend who put the question to him in those days, "I sometimes do read

'[illegible]cred' now—*for instruction.*" Because the stolid English people grew sick of vainly trying to shape their destinies according to the Tancredian scheme of the universe, Lord Beaconsfield fell from power at the moment when he was most fully persuaded that monarch and multitude were alike under the spell of his picturesque personality. Had he been ten years younger when he obtained the majority of 1874, the crash of 1880 would probably have been averted. There is a strange pathos in the close of this dazzling career. According to Sir Stafford Northcote, the last words he was understood to utter were these: "Is there any *bad* news in the *Gazette?*"*

On the 26th of April a spectacle, at once affecting and beautiful, took place in the church at Hughenden, where Lord Beaconsfield's funeral was solemnised. His body had been transferred from London to High Wycombe, and thence conveyed to Hughenden Manor, without the slightest pomp or display of any kind. He, on whose accents the world was wont to hang breathlessly at supreme moments in its fate, received what is known in Bucks as "a walking funeral." Nothing was to be seen of the ghastly mummery of undertakers. Only one feature in the simple obsequies gave any hint as to the place which the deceased had filled in the State. Before the bier walked his faithful servant, carrying on a cushion of crimson velvet an Earl's coronet and the insignia of the Order of the Garter. Thus was he laid, as he wished, beside his wife. Notwithstanding his desire for privacy, nothing could prevent vast numbers of persons of wholly unofficial position, and in many cases indifferent to political partisanship, from attending to pay the illustrious dead the last homage of affection and respect. Uninvited guests in serried masses swarmed around the churchyard, and lined the road to Hughenden Manor. Royalty was present in the persons of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, and Prince Leopold, the last-named representing the Queen.† Behind the Princes came the Ambassadors and representatives of foreign Powers, the friends of the deceased nobleman who were his colleagues in the Governments of 1868 and 1874, and the general body of invited friends. Among these Lord Beaconsfield left not a dry eye behind him. Not since the death of Fox had any Statesman been so affectionately mourned by the people to whom he had consecrated the powers of his brilliant genius.‡

On the 30th of April the Queen and Princess Beatrice visited Lord

* Speech at Kettering, *Times*, 5th May, 1881.

† Her Majesty sent two wreaths to be placed on the bier. One was composed of primroses, and carried the inscription: "His favourite flowers, from Osborne, a tribute of affection from Queen Victoria." The other was made up of bay-leaves and everlasting flowers, and bore these words in golden letters: "A mark of true affection, friendship, and respect from the Queen."

‡ After Lord Beaconsfield's death the Tory Party fell under the "Dual Control" of Lord Salisbury who led it in the House of Lords, and Sir Stafford Northcote who led it in the House of Commons, when Lord Randolph Churchill let him.

Beaconsfield's tomb, every precaution having been observed to prevent the fact of the Royal movements from becoming known in the district. At four o'clock Lord Rowton and Sir Philip Rose, with the Vicar of Hughenden, completed the arrangements for her Majesty's reception. At half-past four her outriders passed through the lodge gate of Hughenden Manor, being followed rapidly by her carriage, which proceeded to the wicket gate, and stopped immediately at the entrance to the churchyard. Here the Queen and Princess Beatrice were received by Lord Rowton, with whom they walked to the south porch of the church. Her Majesty proceeded to the tomb, and, with tearful eyes, placed a votive wreath and cross of white camellias and other flowers beside the other offerings, which completely covered the lid of the coffin. She then drove through the grounds to the Manor House, and partook of tea in the saloon; after which she inspected the late Earl's study and other apartments, and left Hughenden for Windsor.

Although diplomatic controversies had created much ill-feeling between the Governments of England and Russia, the Queen and the Czar had ever maintained the friendliest personal relations. It was, therefore, with the deepest pain that her Majesty was informed, on the 14th of March, of the assassination of Alexander II. The Czar was returning from a military review near St. Petersburg on Sunday, the 13th of March, when a bomb was thrown, which exploded behind the Imperial carriage, killing several soldiers. The Czar jumped out of the carriage to see to the poor men who were hurt, and it was to this kindly act that he owed his death. Another bomb was flung at his feet, which exploded and mangled his body in the most cruel manner. The Queen did what she could to console the Duchess of Edinburgh, who was prostrated with grief by her father's death. The Court was ordered to go into mourning for a month. Both Houses of Parliament addressed messages of condolence to her Majesty and the Duchess of Edinburgh. The nation, with hardly a dissentient voice, echoed the sentiments of their representatives, and the Press was filled with generous tributes of admiration and respect for the Czar Emancipator. It was now recognised that Alexander II. would live in history as one of the most enlightened and humane of European Sovereigns. The great act of his life, the liberation of the Serfs, had converted them into communal peasant proprietors, and put them in a more secure position than any other peasantry in Europe. His devotion to the highest interests of Russia knew no limits, and no European Sovereign has, in our time, excelled him in the skill and wisdom with which he guided and moderated the aspirations of his excitable subjects. It was notorious that he was forced into the Turkish War by a current of popular feeling he could not withstand. On the other hand, when engaged in the war he quitted himself like a man. Tales of his well-known kindness of heart and sympathy for suffering spread from the camps and hospitals through Russia, and invested him in the eyes of the Slav race with the mystic halo of a Divine Figure. His firmness and

obstinacy in pressing on the war crushed the despondent party, who would have ended it at any price after the first disaster at Plevna. When his policy of forcing the Balkan passes triumphed, the same firmness and obstinacy enabled him to curb those who, flushed with success, would have abused their victory. It was by his orders that deference was paid to German and

THE PRINCE OF WALES IN HIS ROBES AS A BENCHER OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

(From a Photograph by W. and D. Downey.)

Austrian opinions in the settlement of peace. It was his moderation and loyal desire to live at peace with Britain that enabled Count Schouvaloff to build for Lord Salisbury the golden bridge of retreat which he crossed when he signed the Secret Agreement, that was afterwards expanded into the Treaty of Berlin. No foreign despot ever succeeded to the same extent in winning the personal respect of the most thoughtful portion of the British people. The assassination of the Czar called attention to the extraordinary destructive

forces which modern science had placed in the hands of the political assassin. That the event produced a profound and prostrating effect on the nerves of the Court was soon seen. The Queen left Windsor for Osborne on the 6th of April, and the public were somewhat alarmed to find that for the first time in her career precautions were taken to protect her life, as if she were

THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

(From a Photograph by W and D. Downey.)

a despot travelling amidst a people who thirsted for her blood. The Royal train was not only as usual preceded by a pilot engine, but orders had been given to station patrols of platelayers, each within sight of the other, along the whole line. Every watchman was provided with flags and fog signals, so that on the least suspicion the train could be stopped. The time of the Queen's departure had been announced for Tuesday. It was at the [illegible] moment altered to Wednesday. When she arrived at Portsmouth, the [illegible]

in which it was supposed she was to embark, was discarded for the *Enchantress*, which was suddenly ordered up; and from these and other circumstances it was inferred that the Queen was afraid she might be made the victim of a dark plot like that to which the Czar had succumbed. Fenianism, indeed, was beginning to raise its head again in Ireland under the stimulating application of repressive measures. Soon afterwards attempts which were made to blow up the Mansion House and the Liverpool Town Hall indicated that there was some justification for the Queen's alarm.

Court life was not so dull during 1881 as it had been in previous years. The Queen was ever flitting to and fro between Windsor and Osborne, and almost every month during the season she held a Drawing Room in Buckingham Palace. State Concerts were not infrequent, and on the 17th of May the King and Queen of Sweden visited Windsor, and the King was invested with the Order of the Garter. On the 20th the Queen left Windsor and proceeded to Balmoral; and on the 24th it was announced that she had determined to revive the ancient Scottish title of Duke of Albany and confer it on Prince Leopold. It was a title of evil omen. The fate of the first prince who bore it supplies a dark and tragic episode to Scott's "Fair Maid of Perth." The second Duke of Albany died on the castle hill of Stirling. When conferred on the second son of James II. of Scotland it soon became extinct. Darnley wore it before he was married to Mary Stuart. The second son of James VI. and the second son of Charles I. bore it. Charles Edward Stuart was long known as Count of Albany. It was conferred on Prince Frederick, the second son of George II. Prince Leopold had, by his thoughtful and sagacious speeches in public, attracted to himself much admiration, and his feeble health and devotion to his mother had made him the object of kindly popular sympathy. The announcement of his elevation was therefore hailed with some expression of regret that he should be doomed to wear a title that had invariably brought ill-luck or misfortune to those on whom it was conferred.

On the 22nd of June the Queen returned to Windsor, where she was visited by the Crown Prince and Princess of Germany and their family in July. A brilliant Review of 50,000 Volunteers was held before her on the 9th of July in Windsor Great Park. On the 18th her Majesty lost one of the most cherished friends of her family, the amiable Dean Stanley, who died somewhat suddenly of erysipelas. Dean Stanley, it has been well said, was the impersonation of the "sweetness and light" which the disciples of Mr. Matthew Arnold strive to impart to modern culture. His biography of the great Dr. Arnold has an assured place among the classical works of the Victorian age. His influence on the Anglican Church was that of a leader at once conciliatory and tolerant, and singularly susceptible to popular impulses and aspirations. His relations to the Royal Family were always close and intimate, and, as the husband of Lady Augusta

Stanley, the Queen's faithful personal friend and attendant for many years, his career was watched with great interest and sympathy by her Majesty. Churchmen and dissenters of all shades attended his funeral in Westminster Abbey, where he was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel under a mountain of floral wreaths, one of the most superb being sent by the Queen. It was through Dean Stanley that the Queen made the personal acquaintance of Mr. Carlyle, who had died earlier in the year (the 5th of February), but without leaving behind him the sweet and sunny memories that cluster round Stanley's name.

On the 24th of August the Queen arrived at Edinburgh, and took up her quarters at Holyrood Palace. In the afternoon she visited the Royal Infirmary, and on the following day she reviewed 40,000 Scottish Volunteers (who had come from the remotest parts of the country) in the great natural amphitheatre of the Queen's Park. The spectacle was marred by the torrents of rain that fell all day, and the troops had to march past the saluting-point in a sea of slush and mud which reached nearly to their knees. The fine appearance and discipline of the men, the patience and hardihood with which they carried out their programme through all the miseries of the day, deeply touched the Queen. In spite of entreaties to the contrary, she persisted in sharing these discomforts with them, holding the review in an open carriage, in which she remained seated under a deluge of rain till the last regiment had defiled before her. From Edinburgh the Court proceeded to Balmoral. There the Queen received the melancholy news of the death of Mr. James A. Garfield, President of the United States, who had been shot by an assassin named Guiteau on the 2nd of July at the railway station at Washington. The wound was a mortal one, and, after lingering for many weeks in great pain, the President died on the 19th of September. The Queen sent a touching letter of sympathy to Mrs. Garfield, and ordered the Court to go into mourning, as if Mr. Garfield had been a member of the Royal caste. In this she had the concurrence of the people, who were profoundly moved by his tragic fate. His career, beginning in a log-hut in the backwoods of Ohio, and ending in the White House at Washington, was one of heroic achievement and independence, illustrating, in its various phases of vicissitude, the best qualities of Anglo-Saxon manhood.

At Balmoral the Royal holiday was marked by the appearance of the Queen at some of the local sports. The Prince and Princess of Wales were at Abergeldie, and the retainers of the two families were frequently in the habit of playing cricket matches with each other. One of these took place at Abergeldie in September, when the Queen and her family and a brilliant suite attended and witnessed the play, her Majesty taking a keen interest in the varying fortunes of the day, and eagerly stimulating her own people to strive for victory. After the cricket match there were "tugs of war." In this struggle the Abergeldie team, who had lost the cricket match, retrieved their

[illegible] by conquering the Queen's retainers. On the 23rd of November the Court returned to Windsor, and soon afterwards it was announced that the Duke of Albany was to be married to the Princess Hélène of Waldeck-Pyrmont. On the 10th of December her Majesty left Windsor for Osborne.

The political movements of the Recess had been followed with growing anxiety by the Queen. Bye-elections and municipal elections seemed to show, not only that the hold of the Government on the country was becoming feebler, but that a working alliance between the Tories and the Irish Party had been formed. Mr. Parnell's followers had been divided in opinion as to how they should treat the Land Act, some declaring that they should impede its working, others urging that every advantage should be taken of it. Mr. Parnell, after some hesitancy, united his Party on the policy of "testing" the Act. The Land League was directed to push into the Land Courts a series of "test cases," that is to say, of cases where average rents were levied, so that a clear idea might be gained of the practical working of the Act. At the same time, the Irish people were led to believe that, unless the Act reduced the rent of Ireland from £17,000,000 to £3,000,000, that is to say, unless it reduced rent to "prairie value," it would not do justice. The tenantry were warned by the Land League not to go into Court, but to stand aside till the decisions on the test cases were given. When Mr. Gladstone visited Leeds in the first week of October, he fiercely attacked Mr. Parnell for interfering between the tenants and the Law Courts. Mr. Parnell retorted in an acrid and contemptuous speech at Wexford on the 9th of October. On the 13th of October Mr. Parnell was arrested in Dublin as a "suspect" under the Coercion Act, and all his more prominent followers were in quick succession lodged in Kilmainham Jail. Mr Healy was in England, and Mr. Biggar and Mr. Arthur O'Connor escaped the vigilance of the police and joined him. This *coup d'état* was somewhat theatrically contrived. It was so timed that Mr. Gladstone was able to announce it at a municipal banquet at the Guildhall, where he declared that the enemy had fallen, amidst rapturous shouts of applause. The Land Leaguers retaliated by issuing a manifesto to the Irish people to pay no rent whilst their leaders were in prison—a false step, for, in view of the opposition of the clergy, a strike against rent was not feasible. The Land League was then suppressed by Mr. Forster as an unlawful association, and agrarian outrages began to increase every day. According to the Nationalists, this was the natural and necessary result of locking up popular leaders, who could alone restrain the people. Mr. Forster, however, regarded the growth of the outrages as an act of vengeance on the part of the League, whose leaders secretly encouraged them. In Ulster, however, the Land Act worked well, and rents were reduced from [illegible] to [illegible] per cent. all round. Every week fresh drafts of "suspects" were lodged in jail, and as the year closed it became evident that Ireland was fast falling under the terrorism of the old secret societies.

CHAPTER XXV.

ENGLAND IN EGYPT.

The Duke of Albany's Marriage Announced—Mr. Bradlaugh Again—Procedure Reform—The Closure at Last—The Peers Co-operate with the Parnellites—Their Attacks on the Land Act—Mr. Forster's Policy of "Thorough"—A Nation under Arrest—Increase in Outrages—Sir J. D. Hay and Mr. W. H. Smith bid for the Parnellite Vote—A Political Dutch Auction—The Radicals Outbid the Tories—Release of Mr. Parnell and the Suspects—The Kilmainham Treaty—Victory of Mr Chamberlain—Resignation of Mr. Forster and Lord Cowper—The Tragedy in the Phœnix Park—Ireland Under Lord Spencer—Firm and Resolute Government—Coercion Revived—The Arrears Bill—The Budget—England in Egypt—How Ismail Pasha "Kissed the Carpet"—Spoiling the Egyptians—Mr. Goschen's Scheme for Collecting the Debt—The Dual Control—The Ascendency of France—"Egypt for the Egyptians"—The Rule of Arabi—Riots in Alexandria—The Egyptian War—Murder of Professor Palmer—British Occupation of Egypt—The Queen's Monument to Lord Beaconsfield—Attempt to Assassinate Her Majesty—The Queen's Visit to Mentone—Marriage of the Duke of Albany.

The Parliament of 1882 was opened on the 7th of February, and the Queen's Speech announced the approaching marriage of the Duke of Albany. Foreign affairs were hopefully touched on. Local self-government, London municipal reform, bankruptcy reform, corrupt practices at elections, the conservancy of rivers, and the codification of the Criminal Law, were the subjects of promised legislation. Very early in the Session Mr. Bradlaugh renewed his attempt to take the Parliamentary Oath, but was again excluded from the precincts of the House by a resolution moved by Sir Stafford Northcote. On the 21st of February the House refused to issue a new writ for Northampton, and Mr. Bradlaugh, after the division, proceeded to swear himself in at the Clerk's table. Sir Stafford Northcote accordingly moved and carried a resolution expelling him from the House. This caused a fresh election to be held at Northampton, the result of which was that Mr. Bradlaugh was again returned by a triumphant majority. On the 6th of March Sir Stafford Northcote proposed a resolution excluding Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House, and then, sated with its saturnalia of intolerance, the Opposition permitted Ministers to get on with the most pressing question of the hour—the reform of Procedure. The proposals of the Government were, in the main, identical with those which the Speaker had designed to defeat obstruction in the previous Session; but they were to be of permanent application, and not dependent on the carrying of a vote of urgency. It was provided that a debate might be closed, on the Speaker's initiation, by a bare majority, only there must, in that case, be at least two hundred Members voting in favour of closure if as many as forty members opposed it; but if fewer than forty opposed, at least one hundred would be required to carry it. Non-contentious business relating to Law and Commerce might be delegated to two Grand Committees. The Tories objected to closure by a bare majority, and they fortunately found a Liberal—Mr. Marriott, Q.C.—to move an amendment to this part of Mr.

Gladstone's plan, and the debate began on the 20th of February. In the meantime the Irish Home Rulers, who had not scrupled to impede the working of the Land Act, found unexpected allies in the Conservative Peers. They attacked the Act as a failure, and carried a motion appointing a hostile Committee to inquire into its working. It has always been the practice of the Peers, when they dared not cut down the plant of Reform, to insist on pulling it up to see if its roots were growing, and in this case their strategy was ingeniously adapted to suit the policy of obstruction in the Commons. It was necessary to neutralise the hostile vote of the Peers by a Resolution in the Commons condemning the proposed inquiry as mischievous; and, though this was carried, it gave the Tory and Parnellite opponents of the Government an excellent chance of wasting time by re-opening and discussing the whole Irish Land Question. The Procedure debates were thus suspended for about a month, Mr. Marriott's amendment being rejected on the 30th of March. Negotiations for a compromise between Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Gladstone were interrupted by a catastrophe which revolutionised the Irish policy of the Government, namely, the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Thomas Burke in the Phœnix Park, Dublin.

During the first two months of the Session the Irish Party vied with the Conservatives in assailing the Land Act. Radicals began to murmur against the development of Mr. Forster's coercive policy, every incident and detail of which was subjected by the Irish Members to bitter criticism and violent denunciation. In the meantime, Mr. Forster's scheme for pacifying Ireland was not prospering, and it was seen that he had made a fatal mistake when he pledged himself to suppress agitation, if he were only empowered to arrest the leading agitators. From the day they were imprisoned, Ireland drifted towards anarchy and terrorism. Then the experiment was tried of arresting, not only the leaders, but their lieutenants. Finally Mr. Forster crowded the prisons with the rank and file of the Home Rule host. Men began to wonder whether the gaol accommodation of Ireland was adequate for Mr. Forster's policy. But the more people he put in prison the worse the country grew, the more did evictions increase, and the less rent was paid. A bid for the Irish vote was now made by the Tories. They put up Sir John Hay to move that the detention of the "suspects" was "repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution." Through Mr. W. H. Smith, in one of the debates on the Land Act, they offered the Nationalists a scheme for buying out the landlords at the expense of the State, and establishing peasant proprietorship in Ireland, such as had been advocated by Mr. Davitt and Mr. Parnell. It was clear that the Tory-Parnellite alliance was becoming a formidable combination, and the Radicals urged the Government to make terms with the Nationalist Party whilst there was yet time. But Mr. Gladstone hesitated, and then the Radicals moved without him. An intrigue, instigated by Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, was set on foot by

Mr. Forster removed from his place as Irish Secretary. Through Captain O'Shea as an intermediary, Mr. Parnell was approached. He had certainly seen with alarm the increase in evictions, and knew that if the struggle were prolonged the financial resources of the Leaguers must fail them. He was, therefore, disposed to come to terms. Letters were exchanged, in one of which Mr. Parnell said that a promise to deal with the question of arrears would do much to bring peace to Ireland, for the Nationalists would then be able to exert themselves, with some hope of success, in stopping outrages. But the Land Act would have to be extended to leaseholders, and the Purchase Clauses enlarged. If this programme were carried out, wrote Mr. Parnell on the 28th of August to Captain O'Shea, it "would enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal Party in forwarding Liberal principles; and I believe that the Government at the end of the Session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with future coercive measures." This letter was shown to Mr. Forster, and it seems that the Cabinet was also put in possession of Mr. Parnell's views. Mr. Forster was not of opinion that they justified his release. Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke thought that they displayed a reasonable spirit which would justify a new departure of conciliation in Irish policy. Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Davitt, and the other suspects were therefore released, and Lord Cowper, the Irish Viceroy, and Mr. Forster resigned office. Mr. Forster was of opinion that Mr. Parnell should have been compelled to promise publicly not to resist the law, or failing that, that a stronger Coercion Act should have been passed before he was set at liberty. Lord Spencer was appointed to succeed Lord Cowper, and Lord Frederick Cavendish succeeded Mr. Forster as Chief Secretary. On the 6th of May, within forty-eight hours of their appointment, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, were butchered by a band of assassins in broad daylight in the Phœnix Park, Dublin. Mr. Forster, in fact, had allowed a secret society of assassins, calling themselves "Invincibles," to organise itself at his own doors, whilst he was scouring the country far and wide to arrest and imprison the patriotic but respectable *bourgeoisie* of Ireland as suspects. In his speech condemning the release of the suspects, whilst he maintained that Ireland was not yet quiet, he had declared that the country was quieter than it had been, that the Land League was crushed, and boycotting checked! He had never suspected that the place of the Land League had been taken by a secret society of desperadoes called the "Invincibles," and that assassination was to be substituted for boycotting. His administration had been indeed singularly ineffective. With power in his hands, as absolute as that of a Russian Minister of Police, he seems never to have suspected the existence of the band of murderers who had organised themselves in Dublin, and who had dogged his own steps in sight of the detectives who watched over him day after day seeking for a chance of slaying him. This tragic event upset the scheme for "a new

departure," which Mr. Chamberlain had induced the Government to ... Though Englishmen behaved with great calmness and self-restraint after the first shock of horror which the Phœnix Park murders sent through the nation had passed away, they were resolved to offer no more concessions to Ireland till the Government took fresh powers for enforcing law and

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

suppressing outrages. Mr. Gladstone interpreted the national will accurately when he determined not to withdraw the conciliatory portion of his Irish programme. But he recast his plans, and gave his coercive precedence over his remedial measures.

The Irish Party were probably sincere in regretting and in condemning the murders. The *prestige* of their Parliamentary policy was sullied ... ended in a new Coercion Bill for Ireland, and in the demonstration of ...

impotence to control the forces which they pretended to have in hand. The Tories and Ministerialists were alike discredited by the untoward mishap. The alliance between the Tory Party and the Home Rulers had influenced every Parliamentary bye-election and every division in the House of Commons. The motion of Sir John Hay condemning the imprisonment of the "suspects" and the offer of Mr. W. H. Smith's scheme for expropriating the landlords were palpable bids for the Parnellite vote. By releasing the "suspects," promising to deal with the question of arrears, and to take the Land Purchase Question in hand, the Ministry outbade their rivals. But the Opposition and the Cabinet were alike guilty of intriguing and negotiating with men whom in people they pretended to denounce as irreconcilable enemies of the Empire; and the end of it all was the tragedy in the Phœnix Park! That affair had only a coincidental relation to the antecedent Party intrigues; but the people saw connection where there was only coincidence. Hence Englishmen for a time lost faith in their public men. They felt towards them as their forefathers did towards Charles I. when the Glamorgan Treaty was revealed, and towards Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell when the "Lichfield House" compact between O'Connell and the Whigs was unmasked. For a time this feeling cowed partisans below the gangway on both sides who had been mainly responsible for the negotiations and intrigues with the Home Rulers. The Government tried to atone for its misfortune by continuing Lord Spencer as Irish Viceroy and appointing Mr. George Otto Trevelyan as Irish Secretary, Lord Spencer to be entirely responsible for Irish policy in the Cabinet. This was the best possible selection that could be made. Lord Spencer represented the type of Englishman who, from his courage, common sense, love of justice, business-like habits, administrative skill, and disinterested patriotism, was most likely to establish an enduring and endurable system in Ireland, if that were to be done by firm and resolute government tempered by strong popular sympathies. Mr. Trevelyan was patient, industrious, and courteous as an administrator, and his success as a man of letters rendered him in some degree a *persona grata* to the Irish Party, most of whose leaders were writers for the Press. The new Coercion Bill was introduced on the 11th of May, and read a second time on the 19th. It suspended trial by jury in certain cases and in proclaimed districts; gave the police fresh powers of arrest and search, and revived the Alien Act; it defined as punishable offences intimidation, incitement to crime, and participation in secret conspiracies and illegal assemblies; it rendered newspapers liable to suppression for inciting to violence, widened the summary jurisdiction of stipendiary magistrates, and levied fines of compensation on districts stained with murderous outrages. It was at once seen that the chief merit of the Bill lay in the fact that it frankly attacked and punished criminals, thereby reversing, and by implication condemning, the feeble and futile policy of Mr. Forster, who attacked and imprisoned at will persons who were merely

suspected of crime or of inciting to crime. Great doubts were expressed as to the utility of the Press clauses, Englishmen who are not political partisans being at all times sceptical as to the good that is done by suppressing newspapers and bottling up all their evil teaching in private manifestoes for secret circulation in disaffected districts. Some Radicals also thought the powers of arrest after nightfall given to the police were rather vague, and suggested too painfully a revival of Mr. Forster's fatal principle of coercion on suspicion. But, on the whole, the Bill was well received by the best men of both parties, the responsible Tory leaders giving the Government much loyal support, though some of their followers carped at the measure.* The Bill was obstructed in the usual manner by the Irish Members, who had but few Radical allies. On the 16th of June only seven clauses out of thirty had gone through Committee. On the 29th it was clear a crisis had come, and on the 30th there was a disorderly all-night sitting, which ended in the suspension of sixteen Irish Members. Later in the day nine others were suspended, and, after sitting for twenty-eight hours, the Bill passed through Committee. Urgency was voted for its next stages, and the Bill read a third time on the 7th of July. The Lords passed it promptly, and it became law on the 12th of July.

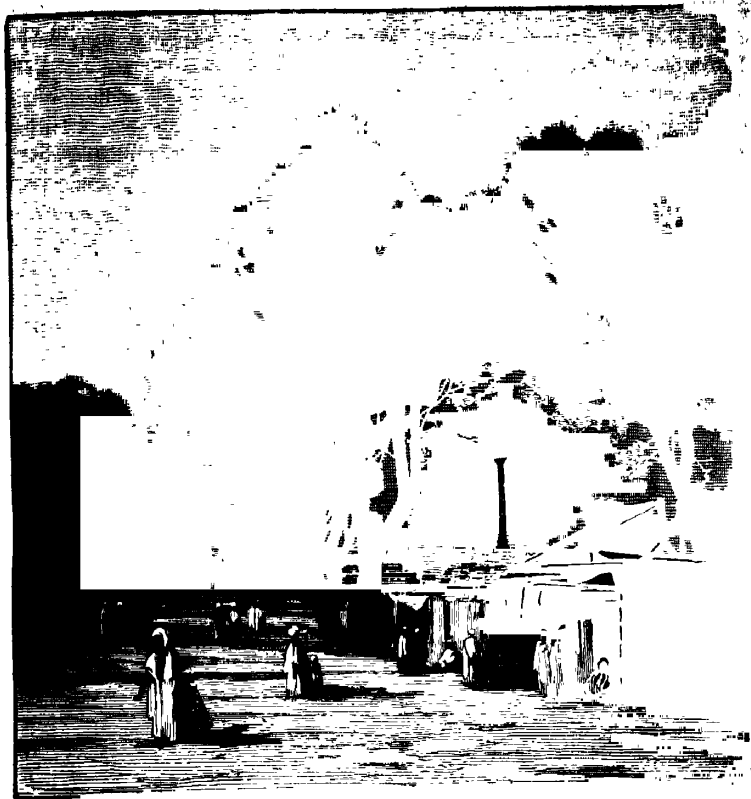
Along with the Coercion Bill the promised Arrears Bill was introduced, and read a second time before Whitsuntide. It applied to holdings under £30 of rental, and empowered the Land Courts to pay half the arrears of poor tenants out of the Irish Church Surplus—but no payment was to exceed a year's rent, and all past arrears were to be cancelled. After prolonged opposition from the Conservatives and from the House of Lords, the measure was passed on the 10th of August. These Bills exhausted the legislative energies of the Government; indeed, Mr. Fawcett's Bill establishing a Parcel Post, and Mr. Chamberlain's Bill enabling corporations to adopt Electric Lighting by obtaining provisional orders from the Board of Trade, were the only measures that had not to be abandoned. The Budget estimated expenditure at £84,630,000 and revenue at £84,935,000, a reduction of between £900,000 and £800,000 respectively on the preceding year's disbursements and receipts. The surplus was small. The revenue was stagnant, and there was no scope for fiscal changes. A Vote of Credit for the Egyptian Expedition had to be provided, which caused Mr. Gladstone to raise the Income Tax to 6½d. in the pound.

The Egyptian difficulty, in fact, during this Session, became acute. It was seized by the Fourth Party as a peg on which to hang an endless

* Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Clarke, Q.C. and Tory Solicitor-General, though he approved of widening summary jurisdiction, objected to the Bill because it made the Irish Viceroy a despot. Mr. Ritchie (afterwards President of the Local Government Board in Lord Salisbury's Administration) declined to support the Bill because he had no confidence in the Government. Sir J. D. Hay complained of the excessive power placed in the hands of the Irish Viceroy. But Sir Stafford Northcote interfered, and, generously exerting his authority on behalf of the Ministry, silenced the factious Tories, who were apparently desirous of embarrassing the Government by obstructing the Bill. Public opinion was not in a state to tolerate obstructive tactics at the time.

series of questions to the Government, of an embarrassing character. From questioning, Lord Randolph Churchill proceeded to wage an irregular guerilla warfare, most harassing to Ministers engaged in delicate diplomatic negotiations on which depended the issues of peace and war. In this unusual course he and his friends were supported by Mr. Chaplin and Lord Percy, and aided by many fiery assaults made by Lord Salisbury. Sir Stafford Northcote and the majority of the ex-Ministers in the House of Commons disapproved, at first, of tactics which seemed to them an unprecedented violation of the decencies of English party warfare. But Sir Stafford's reserve and prudence, though appreciated by the country, were so distasteful to his followers that ere the Session ended he found he had to submit to be their instrument in using the foreign complications of the nation for the interests of faction. Had he refused, the combatant section of his followers would have rebelled against his authority. It was part of the irony of the situation that the Egyptian difficulty was one of the evil legacies which the Foreign Policy of the Tory Party in 1879—1880 left the country to deal with. In fact, the Egyptian crisis of 1882 was the logical consequence of the system of Dual Control with which Lord Salisbury had afflicted Egypt when he went into partnership with France in managing the finances of that country for the benefit of its usurious foreign creditors. It was in 1866 that Ismail Pasha took the first step that gradually led to his downfall. To use his own phrase, he "kissed the carpet" at Constantinople—in other words, bribed the Porte to grant him the title of Khedive and confirm the succession of the Pashalik in his family. Again and again did he "kiss the carpet," till in 1872 he was practically an independent Sovereign wielding absolute personal power over Egypt—the suzerainty of Turkey being marked only by the annual tribute, the Imperial cypher on the coinage, the weekly prayer for the Sultan in the Mosque, and the preservation of the *jus legationis*. In 1875 he abolished the Consular Courts before which suits between Egyptians and foreigners were tried, substituting for them the Mixed Tribunals on which representative judges of the Great Powers sat. At this period the crop of financial wild oats which Ismail Pasha had sown had ripened. He had spent money lavishly not only on the Suez Canal, but on every conceivable scheme that wily European speculators could persuade him was an improvement. He had borrowed this money on the principles that regulate the financial transactions of a rich young spendthrift and a usurer of the lowest class. In 1864 he borrowed £5,700,000. In the succeeding years loans for £3,000,000, £1,200,000, and £2,000,000 were added. In 1873 there was another loan for £32,000,000—which, according to Mr. Cave, swallowed up every resource of Egypt.* The Khedive's private loans came to

* This loan was raised to wipe out the floating debt then amounting to £28,000,000. But the money-brokers who floated it imposed such usurious conditions, that they never really paid Ismail more than £20,740,077, of which they made him take £9,000,000 in bonds of the floating debt

£11,000,000, and the floating debt to £26,000,000 in 1876. How these [illegible] loans were to be met, seeing that the 1873 loan swallowed up all the [illegible] sources of the country, was a perplexing point. The usurers would lend the

THE KARMOUS SUBURB, ALEXANDRIA, AND POMPEY'S PILLAR.

Khedive no more money, and in 1875 England helped him to meet the interest on existing loans by giving him £4,000,000 for the Suez Canal Shares.

Something might have been done for Egypt, even at this time, if England had occupied the country; but Mr. Disraeli lost the golden opportunity, which did not return till France and Russia were in a position to offer an effective

which the loan was raised to pay off. These they held themselves, having bought them at [illegible] per cent. They made the Khedive, however, take over the £9,000,000 worth which they thrust on [illegible] as part of the loan at 93 per cent.—See Mr. Stephen Cave's Report on the Financial [illegible] Egypt, and McCoan's Egypt as It Is (Cassell and Co.), Appendix 9, p. [illegible].

[illegible] which could not be bought off. The Khedive appealed for money to England, and Mr. Disraeli sent Mr. Cave to report upon his affairs. Mr. Cave said in effect that it was impossible to help the Khedive with money unless Englishmen were prepared to lose it. That report, however, did not touch the position of those who held with Mr. Edward Dicey that if England could establish a Protectorate in Egypt, and administer her affairs like an Indian Native State, it would be quite possible to extricate her from her financial difficulties without inflicting injustice on her creditors. In the meantime, the foreign bondholders sued the Khedive in his own Mixed Tribunals. They got judgment against him, but were unable to execute it. In May, 1876, his Highness met this judgment by a decree of repudiation, whereupon Germany indignantly protested, and France and England followed suit on behalf of the bondholders of their respective nationalities. It was here that Lord Salisbury first left the traditional lines of sound Foreign Policy. He interfered in Egypt, not on the ground that national interests had to be safeguarded, but—like Lord Palmerston in the case of Greece—to protect the interests of a few speculative individuals who had a bad debt to collect from Ismail Pasha. British national interests in Egypt, when really imperilled, can only be protected effectively in one way—by the occupation of the country, or its administration under a British Protectorate. They cannot be protected by entering into an ambiguous partnership for regulating the Khedive's finances with Powers whose interests in Egypt are not national, but are represented by those of their subjects who have lent Egypt money on bad security. The Imperial interests of England demand that the government of Egypt shall be good and effective all round, so that the highway to India shall be through an orderly and contented people. The interests of the other Powers demand that the government of Egypt, whether good or bad, must be such as will enable her to give the Shylocks, whom they represent, their pound of flesh. It was for the interest of England to aim at a Protectorate, just as it was for the interests of the other Powers to aim merely at obtaining financial control over Egypt; and the fatal blunder which Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury made was in identifying England, not with British, but with foreign interests in Egypt. The French and English bondholders could not agree on the steps which should be taken to extort their money from the overtaxed Egyptian peasantry; and Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert were sent out to devise a scheme for consolidating the Egyptian debt in the common interests of all bondholders. By estimating the annual average revenue which could be extracted from the wretched fellaheen at £12,000,000 instead of £8,000,000, which would have been high enough, the Goschen-Joubert scheme showed in 1876 that the Khedive could pay, as interest and sinking fund, seven per cent. interest on a consolidated debt of £100,000,000. Ismail agreed to pay this at first, but soon resisted, on the ground that the estimate of revenue was erroneous. The French Government then determined to appoint a Commission to investigate the resources of Egypt, which

England was induced to join. This Commission reported that as the Khedive had appropriated to himself one-fifth of the land of Egypt,* the first thing he should do was to hand a million acres of it over to the creditors of the State.

The Khedive now formed a Ministry under Nubar Pasha, in which Mr. Rivers Wilson, the English Commissioner, was given the Ministry of Finance. The French Government displayed so much jealousy of this step, that Lord Salisbury, yielding to their demands, permitted the Khedive to appoint M. de Blignières as Mr. Wilson's colleague. This was the beginning of the Dual Control of Egypt by two Governments with opposite interests, from which all subsequent mischief arose. The Khedive soon dismissed Nubar's Ministry, and then France and England, on the threat of Germany to interfere, arranged with the Sultan to depose Ismail Pasha. He was succeeded by his son Tewfik, in whose Ministry the care of finance was entrusted to M. de Blignières and Mr. Baring, who was afterwards succeeded by Mr. Colvin. The effect of the Dual Control was very simple. It increased the bureaucracy but diminished its efficiency, for wherever an English official was appointed M. de Blignières insisted on planting a French colleague by his side to watch and hamper him. A similar vigilance was exhibited by the English Controller. But above the Dual Ministry of Finance there was established the International Commission of the Public Debt, representing England, France, Italy, Austria, and Germany. This Commission watched over the administration of the Dual Ministry of Finance. It was entitled, if it could agree on a course of action, to demand from the Ministry of Finance more efficient management, and of course it distributed the sum handed over by that Ministry for payment of the public creditors. The French and English Ministers or Controllers of Finance were not removable save by consent of their Governments. They had the right to seats in the Ministerial Council, and to advise on all measures of general importance. As nothing can be done in Egypt without money, nothing could be done without them. At first, Major Baring was the most active of the controllers. But he was removed, and Mr. Colvin, who took his place, played a subordinate part to M. de Blignières, who had more experience and force of character. Virtually De Blignières governed the country. History does not record the occasion on which England as a Great Power occupied a position more ignominious than the one she now held in Egypt, where her influence had been paramount till Lord Salisbury consented to share it with France. The government of the Dual Control was conducted on simple principles. Egypt was managed not for the Egyptians, but for the bondholders. Everything and everybody were sacrificed for the Budget, and the Budget was constructed primarily with a view to securing the Debt and the payment of the European officials, who swarmed over the land like locusts. At the time when Cyprus was occupied it must now be stated that Lord Salisbury conciliated France, [illegible]

* This land belonging to the Khedive's personal estate is referred to in the report as Daira [illegible]

jealous of her Syrian interests, by supporting an extension of her influence in Tunis. Tunis, however, in 1881 had, in spite of protests from England and

AHMED ARABI PASHA

(*From the Portrait by Frederick Villiers in A. M. Broadley's "How we Defended Arabi and his Friends."*)

Italy, become simply a French dependency, and the growing power of De Blignières at Cairo forced acute observers to say of Egypt—

> "Mutato nomine, de te
> Fabula narratur."

The natives now grew restless under the Dual Control, and this restlessness ended in a military revolt, headed by Colonel Arabi Bey, whose watchword was

"Egypt for the Egyptians." This rising the Khedive pacified by [illegible] the Ministry of Riaz Pasha, who was succeeded by Cherif Pasha. [illegible] Cherif reigned Arabi ruled, and it soon became evident that the partners in the Dual Control could not agree on the course that should be adopted towards him. The Egyptian Assembly of Notables, on the 18th of January, 1882, asserted

LORD WOLSELEY.

(From a Photograph by Fradelle and Young.)

their right to control the Budget. The French and English Controllers disputed this right, and then a new Ministry was formed, of which Mahmoud Samy was the nominal, but Arabi Bey, now Minister of War, the [illegible] head. M. Gambetta, who had vainly endeavoured to induce England [illegible] France in coercing Arabi and the national party, fell from power; [illegible] Freycinet succeeded him, and his policy was one of non-intervention. [illegible] Chamber of Notables refused to withdraw from their position. [illegible]

he could get no support from M. de Freycinet, resigned, and thus ended Salisbury's experiment of the Dual Control. Arabi was loaded with ...ations. The rank and title of Pasha were given him, and he was virtually ...ator of the country, with no policy save that of "Egypt for the ...ptians." Alarmed by menaced massacres of foreigners, France and England sent their fleets to Alexandria. The English and French Consuls, in ...int Note to the Khedive, advised the expulsion of Arabi, who had been ...guing with the Bedouins. Arabi resigned, but no new Ministry could be ...ed, and the army threatened to repudiate any authority save that of the ...an, who sent Dervish Pasha to quiet the country. On the 11th of June ...e was a riot in Alexandria; the British Consul was injured, and many ...ch and English subjects were slain. This was the signal for a stampede of terrified foreign population of Alexandria, where the Khedive held his Court, of Cairo. A Cabinet, patronised by Germany and Austria, under Ragheb ...ha, was formed; but Arabi was again Minister of War. In July Arabi ...ntatiously strengthened the forts of Alexandria, but on the 10th Sir ...uchamp Seymour warned him that if the forts were not surrendered for ...rmament, they would be bombarded by the British fleet. The French ...ernment refused to join in this coercive measure, and sent their ships to ...t Said. On the 11th the fortifications were shattered by the British can...ade; but as the town was not occupied, it was seized by a fanatical mob, ... wrought havoc in it for two days. A force was then tardily landed by ...niral Seymour, who restored order, and brought back the Khedive from ...aleh, where he had fled, to Ras-el-tin. Arabi and the Egyptian army had ...en up an entrenched position at Tel-el-Kebir, but were still professedly ...ng in the Khedive's name. An English military expedition, under Sir Garnet ...lseley, was sent to disperse them, and secure the protection of the Canal. A diplomatic mission under Professor Palmer of Cambridge, an accom...hed Oriental scholar, who had acquired a great personal influence over tribes of the Sinai, was sent to detach the Bedouins from Arabi, and ...age them to assist in defending the Canal. The other members of the ...sion were Lieutenant Charrington, R.N., and Captain Gill, R.E., officers ...h a record of distinguished service which fitted them for their hazardous ...loyment. They had no military escort, because the presence of one would ...e rendered their mission hopeless. A reconnaissance conducted with great ...l by Professor Palmer, who travelled from Joppa through the Sinai ...rt disguised as a Syrian Mahometan of rank, had given every promise ...success. But the members of the expedition were led by a treacherous ...le into an ambuscade soon after starting from the Wells of Moses, and ...dered and robbed by a band of brigands* (10th of August). But despite

* A search expedition under Colonel (afterwards Sir Charles) Warren, R.E., brought back their ..., which were buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, close by the tomb of Nelson. See Life of Edward ... Palmer, by Walter Besant. London: John Murray, 1883, pp. 296—329.

this melancholy occurrence the safety of the Canal was secured. By a movement conducted in swift secrecy Sir Garnet Wolseley moved his force from Alexandria to Ismailia on the 19th of August, ... to advance on Cairo by the Freshwater Canal. On the 28th Arabi, after a repulse at Kassassin, retired to his entrenchments at Tel-el-Kebir, which were carried by the British, on the 13th of September, after a long march by night over the desert sands. General Drury Lowe and a small force of cavalry pushed on to Cairo, which surrendered to them at the first summons, Arabi Pasha and Toulba Pasha, his lieutenant, giving themselves up as prisoners. The Khedive was reinstated in Cairo by the British troops, who were paraded before him on the 30th of September.

By a unique stroke of fortune, Mr. Gladstone's Government had thus been enabled to secure for England the position of ascendency in Egypt which had been sacrificed by the Dual Control. France and the other Powers, having cast on England the burden of supporting the Khedive's authority, had to accept a *fait accompli*, and submit to see a British army of occupation of 10,000 men quartered in Egypt. But the occupation was emphatically declared by Mr. Gladstone to be temporary, and he pledged England to terminate it whenever the Khedive could maintain himself without foreign aid. The war cost England £4,600,000, and it did much to restore for the time the waning popularity of the Ministry. Rewards and decorations were showered upon the victors. Peerages were bestowed on Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour and Sir Garnet Wolseley. As for Egypt, her Government was really under the control of the British Consul-General. England forbade the restoration of the Dual Control, and set limits to the organisation of the native Army. The native Police was put under the command of Baker Pasha, and the English Government rescued Arabi and the leaders of the insurgents from the native court-martial, which would have doomed them to death. When tried, they pleaded guilty to a charge of treason, and were exiled to Ceylon.

On the 27th of February a monument, which the Queen had commissioned Mr. Belt to prepare for the perpetuation of the memory of Lord Beaconsfield, was erected in Hughenden Church. It was a touching record of rare friendship between Sovereign and subject. The centre of the memorial is occupied by a profile portrait carved in low relief. Beneath, is a tablet bearing the following dedication penned by the Queen herself:—

To
the dear and honoured Memory
of
BENJAMIN, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD,
This memorial is placed by
his grateful and affectionate
Sovereign and Friend,
VICTORIA R.I.
"Kings love him that speaketh right."—Proverbs xvi. 13.

February 27, 1882.

The year was marked by an attempt to assassinate the Queen, which ...ated much public alarm. On the 2nd of March her Majesty was driving ...m Windsor Station to the Castle, when a poorly-dressed man shot at her ...rriage with a revolver. Before he could fire again a bystander struck down ...s arm and he was arrested. He was a grocer's assistant from Portsmouth,

THE DUCHESS OF ALBANY.

...med Roderick Maclean; his excuse was that he was starving, and he ...ably desired to draw attention to his case. He was tried next month ...Reading Assizes, where it was shown that he had been under treatment as ...lunatic for two years in an asylum in Weston-super-Mare, but had been ...ssed cured. He was acquitted on the ground of insanity, and ordered ...be placed in custody during her Majesty's pleasure. The sympathy which

was expressed by all classes with the Queen, when tidings of ... were published, was universal. On the night of Maclean's arrest the ... Anthem was sung in all the theatres, and from every quarter ... pouring in congratulating her Majesty on her escape. These ... caused her to address a touching letter of heartfelt thanks to the nation.

THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

Another outrage on the Queen has to be set down in the record of ... On the 26th of May a young telegraph clerk, named Albert Young, was ... before Mr. Justice Lopes, and found guilty of threatening to murder the ... and Prince Leopold. He sent a letter, purporting to come from ... Roman Catholic priest and fifty of his parishioners who had ... by their landlords, warning the Queen of her peril, and saying ...

[illegible] a head these men would all emigrate. The money was to be sent to "[illegible] Y.," at the "M., S., & L." Office, Doncaster. Young was sentenced to [illegible] years' penal servitude.

On the 14th of March her Majesty left Windsor for Portsmouth, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice. From thence she sailed to Cherbourg, and proceeded to Mentone, where she arrived on the 17th. The Chalêt des Rosiers, where the Queen lived, was a newly-built villa, standing on a small artificial plateau, fifty yards from the railway, and a hundred from the shore, about half-a-mile from the old town, and three-quarters of a mile from the ravine and bridge of St. Louis which divide Italy from France. Precipices, rugged steeps, abysmal ravines, and rocky beds of old torrents rise from behind the villa in wild confusion. Five miles away, mountains whose bases are traversed by terraces covered with orange groves, soar grandly into the sky. Her Majesty was soon joined by Prince Leopold, the King and Queen of Saxony, and Lord Lyons, and she made daily excursions in the neighbourhood. On the 21st of March there was a great *fête*, with splendid illuminations held in her honour, and she witnessed the scene from the balcony of her villa. Before leaving, on the 14th of April, the Queen thanked the authorities and the residents for contributing so cordially to the pleasure of her visit. As a memento of it, she presented the chief of the municipal band, who had composed a cantata in her honour, with a diamond breast-pin.

The marriage of the Duke of Albany was now approaching, and it was with deep regret that the Queen found it necessary to leave him at Mentone, as he had not recovered from the effects of an accident he had met with. The grant of £25,000 a year for his Royal Highness had been moved by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on the 23rd of March, and carried by a vote of 387 to 42. Mr. Labouchere, however, opposed the vote, because he said the savings from the Civil List ought to be returned to the State by the Queen before any Royal grants were voted by Parliament. Mr. Broadhurst also thought that £25,000* a year was too much to vote for such a purpose in a country where the majority lived on weekly wages. Mr. Storey opposed voting public money save for public services, and described the House of Commons as "a large syndicate interested in expenditure." But there was no new point raised in the debate, save Mr. Labouchere's argument, based on the fact that George III., who had £1,000,000 a year of Civil List, maintained his own children. Mr. Gladstone, of course, challenged the precedent, by pointing out that Parliament had not entered into an implied contract with George III. to provide for his children. But for the first time he admitted that savings were hoarded up out of the Civil List. Only, he said, they were not large enough to provide for the maintenance of the Queen's

* The vote was for an addition of £10,000 a year to the Prince's income, which was already £15,000, and a separate income of £6,000 a year to the Princess during her widowhood.

children, and he assured the House that after he had ... amount of them, his conclusion was that they were not ... called for by the contingencies which might occur in ... has been stated before, the Royal savings represent an insurance ... family emergencies, which it would not be agreeable for the Queen ... Parliament to meet for her.

On the 27th of April the marriage of the Duke of Albany with ... Princess Hélène of Waldeck-Pyrmont was solemnised in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, with a sustained pomp and splendour rarely seen even in Royal pageants. Most extensive and elaborate arrangements had been made for the reception and processions of the Royal and illustrious guests, the Queen, the bridegroom, and the bride. On the morning of the 27th the earliest aspect of animation was lent to the peaceful tranquillity of the chapel by the arrival of a strong detachment of the Yeomen of the Guard, arrayed in their quaint Tudor costume, consisting of plaited ruff, low-crowned black velvet hat encircled by red and white roses, scarlet doublet embroidered with the Royal cognisance and initials in gold, purple sleeves, bullion quarterings, ruddy hose, and rosetted shoes. The Yeomen of the Guard were ranged at intervals throughout the length of the nave, and were speedily joined by a contingent of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, resplendent in scarlet uniforms profusely laced with gold. After the opening of the doors the edifice soon filled with ladies of rank, nobles, statesmen, warriors, and diplomatists. The day was recognised by the decorated as "a collar day"—*i.e.*, the Knights did not wear the robes of their Order, but only the ribbons of the Garter, the Bath, the Thistle, and St. Patrick, with the collars and badges of gold. Constellations of stars, crosses, and ribbons marked the uniforms of the English generals, foreign ambassadors, and Ministers present in the choir, and flashed light on the grey and time-worn walls associated with the memories of Anne Boleyn, Catherine of Arragon, and Jane Seymour. At noon the drapery veiling the door was thrown aside, and the first procession—that of the Queen's family and their Royal guests from the Continent—entered. After this glittering group had passed into the choir, the Queen's procession appeared at the west door, when the brilliant array in the nave stood up, and the organ burst into the strains of Handel's *Occasional Overture*. Her Majesty, who was in excellent health and spirits, bowed her acknowledgments to the salutations of the assembled guests. She was clad in widow's sables with long gauze ... and wore the broad riband of the Garter and a magnificent ... diamonds. The Koh-i-noor sparkled on her bosom, while her head ... surmounted with a glittering tiara girt by a small crown Imperial in ... On entering the choir the Queen was conducted to her seat ... south of the altar. The bridegroom's procession next made its ... The Duke of Albany wore the scarlet and gold uniform ...

infantry. The Prince walked with some slight difficulty with the assistance of a stick. The bridegroom was supported by the Prince of Wales in the uniform of a Field Marshal, and by his brother-in-law, the Grand Duke of Hesse, also clad in scarlet. Last came the procession of the bride, heralded by the sound of cheering outside and the blare of trumpets. She was supported by her father, the Prince of Waldeck and Pyrmont, and by her brother-in-law, the King of the Netherlands, her train being borne by eight unmarried daughters of dukes, marquises, and earls, decked in white drapery trimmed with flowers. The celebration of the marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by an array of Church dignitaries ranged behind the altar rails. The service was brief, with no enlarged choral accompaniments, but the spectacle was unusually impressive. There was not a vacant spot in the chapel; it was gorgeous with diverse colours and flashing with jewels and with the insignia of many grand Orders of chivalry. The scene, too, was at intervals suddenly wrapped in gloom and as suddenly bathed in light as the fitful sunshine streamed through the painted windows. As the ceremony was being completed a cloud must have passed from the sun, for its beams darted through the stained windows, and revealed the bride and bridegroom in a tinted halo of radiance. After the ceremony the Queen affectionately embraced her son and daughter-in-law, whose united processions were formed and left the chapel whilst Mendelssohn's *Wedding March* pealed forth from the organ and the cannon thundered in the Long Walk. Her Majesty interchanged salutations with her relatives, after which her own procession departed, and the regal pageant was suddenly dissolved. After the signing of the register, which took place in the Green drawing-room, the bride and bridegroom were conducted to the State drawing-room, where the Royal guests had assembled, and where the usual congratulations were exchanged. In the evening a grand State banquet was given in St. George's Hall, at which the health of the bride and bridegroom and other toasts were honoured, Mr. John Brown, her Majesty's Scottish gillie, standing behind the Queen and giving, as her toastmaster, the toast of the newly-wedded pair. Immediately after the toast of the Queen—the last of the list—had been honoured, two of the Royal pipers entered and marched twice round the tables playing Scottish airs, to the astonishment of some of the guests, who had never heard such music before. Then the Queen rose and left the hall, and the other guests quitted the scene. The Duke and Duchess of Albany drove from the Castle, amidst a shower of slippers and rice, to Claremont.

Unusual interest was taken in this wedding, partly on account of the splendour of the ceremony, and partly because it was understood that the Duke of Albany had won a bride admirably suited to be the companion of his refined and studious life. As he seemed destined to form a link between the Court and Culture, so it was hoped that the Duchess might become

THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

(From the Picture by Sir J. D. Linton, P.R.I., by Permission of the Glasgow Art Union.)

the social head of a growing school ambitious of showing [illegible] the lives of women of rank, need not necessarily be absorbed [illegible] and philanthropy.

After the marriage of Prince Leopold the Queen visited the [illegible] open Epping Forest, which had been saved from further enclosure by the [illegible] of the Corporation of London. On the 4th of December her Majesty [illegible] visited in State the Royal Courts of Justice.

The death-roll of the year was a heavy one. On the 19th of April the

MENTONE.

(From a Photograph by Frith and Co, Reigate.)

death of Charles Darwin robbed not only England but Europe of a singularly original, painstaking, and conscientious scientific investigator. No man of his stamp has so profoundly affected the thought of the Victorian age or surveyed so wide a field of nature, in such a fair, patient, and humble spirit. His keenness of observation was only equalled by his wonderful fertility of [illegible] The caution with which he felt his way to just inductions, the unerring [illegible] with which his eye detected, amidst the maze of bewildering phenomena, the [illegible] path that led him to the secrets he sought to discover, and the [illegible] sagacity with which he reconciled, under broad generalisations, facts [illegible] irreconcilable, confer immortality on the great work of his life. [illegible] his demonstration of the extraordinary effect produced on every [illegible] the pressure of the conditions under which it lives—conditions [illegible]

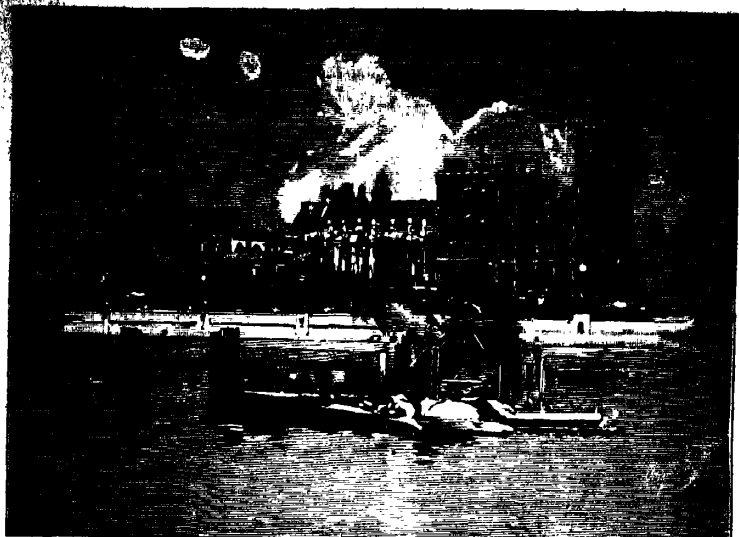
hinder its existence or its reproduction. The organisms which are so formed that they most easily meet the strain of these conditions survive, and their offspring tend to the same destiny. In other words, those organisms that inherit peculiarities of form and structure and stamina that best fit them to survive in the struggle for life, live. Those that do not inherit these advantages die. Such was the Darwinian hypothesis of Evolution, or the doctrine of Survival of the Fittest, and it gave to Science an impetus not less revolutionary and far-reaching than that which it received from the Baconian system.

A trusted and valued friend and servant of the Queen passed away on the 3rd of December, when Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, died after a long and painful illness. Though he was not a man of brilliant parts, or commanding intellect, he was the only Primate who, since the House of Brunswick ruled England, had left a distinct mark on the Anglican Church. He was in truth the only Primate, since the days of Tillotson, who had a definite policy, and a will strong enough to carry it out. Tait's policy was to make the Church of England popular with the governing class of his day—that is to say, with the intelligent and respectable *bourgeoisie*. So long as they supported the Church it could, in his opinion, defy disestablishment; and it is but fair to say that he secured for it their support. He never alarmed the average Englishman by intellectuality, or irritated the middle classes by any obtrusive display of culture. He was careful not to offend them by indecorous versatility. They were never frightened by flashing wit, or bewildered by scholastic sophistry. He was faithful and zealous in the discharge of his pastoral duties, generous and tolerant to opponents, eager for what he called "comprehension," slow in the pursuit of heresy. In every relation of life he was the incarnation of common sense and propriety. The Queen placed such unbounded confidence in his judgment that it was generally supposed Dr. Tait virtually nominated his successor. At all events, it was well known that Dr. Benson, Bishop of Truro, who succeeded to the Primacy, was the candidate specially favoured by the Sovereign, and that he was, of all the younger prelates, the one whom Dr. Tait most desired to see reigning in his stead.

The death of Garibaldi on June 2, and of M. Gambetta on December 31, profoundly moved the English people. Garibaldi's life of heroic adventure, unselfish patriotism, and disinterested devotion to the cause of liberty, had endeared him to the masses. M. Gambetta's amazing energy in endeavouring to lift France out of the mire of defeat in 1870 had won for him the admiration of the world. His tempestuous eloquence gave him an almost magical power over the French democracy, a power which he wielded for no sordid personal aims. If latterly his policy seemed to revive the restless aggressive spirit of his countrymen, it was admitted that he sought nothing save the glory of France. And yet for Europe it may be conceded that the death of Gambetta was not a mishap. Had he lived it would have been hard to have avoided a collision between France and England in Egypt. He encouraged those who, in Paris and St.

Petersburg, had for many years been intriguing for a [illegible] against Germany.* His death and that of Garibaldi were [illegible] Mancini's disclosure to the Italian Senate, of the adhesion of [illegible] Austro-German Alliance, and the formation of the Triple League [illegible]

* These intrigues grew so dangerous that in 1879 Prince Bismarck concluded a Secret [illegible] Austria, which bound each Power to defend the other if attacked by Russia, or if Russia [illegible] any other Power which was attacking them. Though Prince Bismarck, as he said in his [illegible] in the Reichstag (6th of February, 1887) really acted at the Berlin Congress as the fourth plenipotentiary of Russia, the Russian War Party were of opinion that he ought to have done more for [illegible] Their attacks on Germany in the Press were incessant. Russians of rank like Gortschakoff and S[illegible] notoriously carried on intrigues with France for an alliance against Germany. Indeed, Russian [illegible] began to mass themselves on the German frontier in 1882. Curiously enough, of the four men [illegible] could have done most to thwart Prince Bismarck's League of Peace with Austria—only one (Garibaldi) died in circumstances free from suspicion of foul play. Garibaldi's death rendered it easier to bring Italy into Prince Bismarck's anti-French combination. These four men it is curious to note passed away most opportunely for Prince Bismarck. Garibaldi died in June, Skobeleff on the 7th of July, Gambetta in December, 1882, and Gortschakoff on the 11th of March, 1883. Germany breathed freely after the death of Gambetta, who, said Prince Bismarck once, worked on the nerves of Europe "like a man who beats a drum in a sick room"

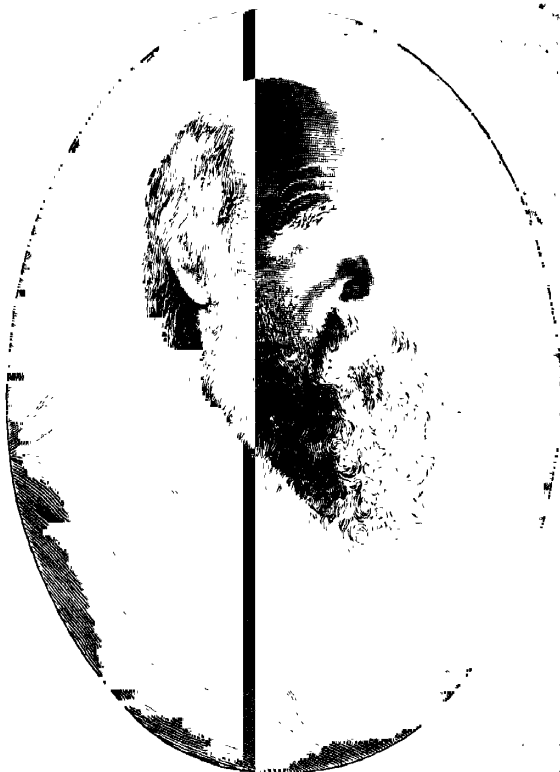
† The history of this compact is as follows —After the Treaty of Berlin was signed Lord Salisbury bought off the opposition of France to the occupation of Cyprus, first by promising not to oppose an extension of her influence in Tunis, and secondly, by paving the way for her sharing with England the control of Egypt. Prince Bismarck also left on M Waddington's mind the impression that Germany was indifferent to the fate of Tunis, knowing well that French interference there must brew bad blood between France and Italy. In the spring of 1881 the French discovered that the mysterious "Kroumirs" were menacing their Algerian frontier To punish them they invaded Tunis, and though they never discovered any "Kroumirs," they compensated themselves for their disappointment by forcing the Bey to sign the Bardo Treaty. It converted Tunis into a French dependency. Italy remonstrated in vain against this violation of the guaranteed integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and finally sought for safety against further French encroachments on her interests, in an alliance with the German Powers. M. Gambetta's aggressive policy caused King Humbert, on the advice of Prince Bismarck, to visit the Emperor of Austria at Vienna, in the autumn of 1881. Prince Bismarck was ostentatious in expressing his friendliness to Italy, and exchanged effusive compliments with Signor Mancini. (*See* Mancini's Speech in the Italian Senate of December, 1881) In October, 1882, Count Kalnoky declared that King Humbert's pilgrimage of conciliation to the Hofburg had identified Italian and Austro-German interests, and Signor Mancini announced the existence of the Triple League on the 11th of April, 1883. On the 17th of March, 1885, Mancini, when questioned as to his Red Sea policy, told the Senate that in all his negotiations with England he had made it "clear that Italy could enter into no engagement which was contrary to the agreements concluded with the two Empires" Through negotiations carried on by the German Crown Prince, Spain was next drawn into the net of the Triple League, and France utterly isolated.

LAMBETH PALACE.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE INVINCIBLES.

The Married Women's Property Act—The Opening of Parliament—Changes in the Cabinet—Arrest of Suspects in Dublin—Invincibles on their Trial—Evidence of the Informer Carey—Carey's Fate—The Forster-Parnell Incident—National Gift to Mr. Parnell—The Affirmation Bill—The Bankruptcy and other Bills—Mr. Childers' Budget—The Corrupt Practices Bill—The "Farmers' Friends"—Sir Stafford Northcote's Leadership—The Bright Celebration—Dynamite Outrages in London—The Explosives Act—M. de Lesseps and Mr. Gladstone—Blunders in South Africa—The Ilbert Bill—The Attack on Lady Florence Dixie's House—Death of John Brown—His Career and Character—The Queen and the Consumption of Lamb—A Dull Holiday at Balmoral—Capsizing of the *Daphne*—Prince Albert Victor made K.G.—France and Madagascar—Arrest of Rev. Mr. Shaw—Settlement of the Dispute—Progress of the National League—Orange and Green Rivalry—The Leeds Conference—"Franchise First"—Lord Salisbury and the Housing of the Poor—Mr Besant and East London—"Slumming"—Hicks Pasha's Disastrous Expedition in the Soudan—Mr. Gladstone on Jam.

An unnoticed Act of Parliament came into force on New Year's Day, 1883, which marked the progress of what may be termed the social revolution in England. This was the Married Women's Property Act, which had been passed with very little debate in the previous Session. If it be true that the position which women hold in a State is an unerring test of its standard of civilisation, the reign of the Queen will be notable in history, as one in which the social progress of England has been most rapid. In England, said J. S. Mill, Woman has not been the favourite of the law, but its favourite victim. During the last quarter of a century, however, this reproach has been wiped

away. Year by year new avenues of employment have been opened to women. One of the first acts of Mr. Fawcett when he became Postmaster-General was to admit them to the service of the State. Parliament, under the wise guidance of Mr. Forster, decided to give them a fair share of the public endowments set aside for secondary education. They were admitted

CHARLES DARWIN.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

admitted to the benefits of University education; one of the learned professions—that of medicine—was thrown open to them; and political enfranchisement is even within their reach. But in 1888 the law for the first time recognised the fact that married women could hold property, and the barbaric doctrine that for women matrimony implied ... Married Women's Property Act, which was passed by Mr. ... did for the women of the people by law, what was ...

[illegible] by marriage settlements. It gave a married woman an absolute right to her earnings, so that her husband could no longer seize them under *jus mariti*. It gave her, in the absence of settlements, an indefeasible right to any property she might have before or that might come to her after marriage, so that she could use it as she pleased without her husband's interference. It made her contract as regards her own estate, as binding as if she were a man, quite irrespective of her husband's consent. On the other hand, it of course released the husband from liability for all his wife's debts; unless she contracted them as his agent. That such an Act should have been passed by a Parliament in which women were not represented, and in which, till recently, arguments in favour of the emancipation of women from a state of tutelage were disposed of by coarse jokes, speaks well for the chivalry and high sense of justice that characterise British manhood.*

The autumn Session of Parliament (which opened on the 24th of October, 1882) had been spent in a struggle over the new Procedure Rules, the Ministry endeavouring to persuade the House of Commons to adopt the principle of Closure, which the Conservatives opposed with all their strength. In this struggle the Ministry won. They carried their Rules for checking obstruction, and so when Parliament met, on the 15th of February, 1883, it was expected that the Session would be a busy one. The composition of the Cabinet had been considerably changed during the previous year. Mr. Bright and Mr. Forster had left it, Mr. Bright's secession being due to his disapproval of the bombardment of Alexandria; Lord Derby had now become Secretary to the Colonies; Lord Kimberley had gone to the India Office; Lord Hartington was Secretary for War; Mr. Childers, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Dodson, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Sir

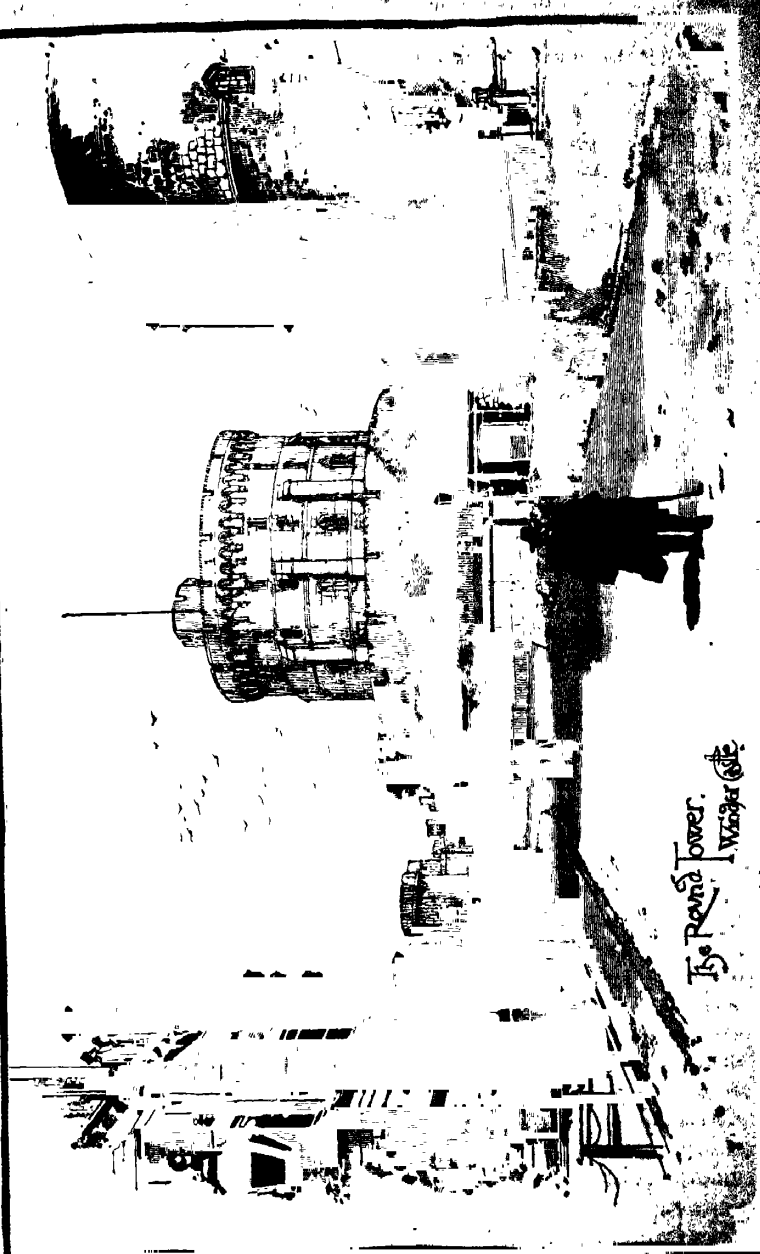
* Though writers like De Tocqueville have laid it down that the civilisation and development of a State can be always measured by the social status and independence of its women and the equality of the sexes before the law, one curious exception may be noted. From various reasons, the northern kingdom of Scotland has for many centuries remained appreciably rougher in manners and less polished and refined in culture than England. The women of Scotland, too, like those of Germany, have always been compelled to render their families harder domestic service than English women, who, during the greater part of the Victorian period, led lives of comparative ease and luxury in most respectable households. Yet it is strange that in Scotland the law has always been jealous in guarding the rights of women. For example, it secured to a woman a third of her husband's property after his death, so that he could not disinherit her by will. It enabled her, through a simple and cheap legal process, to protect her earnings from seizure by her husband. It was at pains to preserve to women in the direct line of succession their right to baronies and peerages after the males in that line were exhausted. The divorce law, too, did not, like that of England, recognise any inequality in the position of the sexes. The effect of the improved legal status of women in Scotland was curious. Though living in a ruder society, and under the pressure of harder conditions of life than their more luxurious and polished English sisters, they seem in all ages to have enjoyed by custom a position of authority in the family, scarcely even yet conceded to their sex in England. Arduous household service was, however, the price they had to pay for their privileges. It may also be added that whilst in England, till very recently, parents were more particular about the education of their sons than their daughters, such a distinction between the sexes was rarely made in Scotland at any time in its history.

Charles Dilke entered the Cabinet as President of [illegible] Board. As Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs he was [illegible] Edmond Fitzmaurice, a painstaking but unsteady Whig. The [illegible] Parliamentary strife of the recess was stilled, and the House [illegible] like the country, was in a mood to welcome Liberal measures [illegible] in a conservative spirit. Among those announced in the Queen's [illegible] were Bills for codifying the criminal law, for establishing a Court of [illegible] Appeal, for amending the Bankruptcy, Patent, and Ballot Acts, for [illegible] Local Government, and for improving the government of London.

It was inevitable that Ireland should form the most prominent topic [illegible] the Debate on the Address, because the country had scarcely recovered from the tale of horror which had been unfolded by those who were tracking the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke to their lairs. On the 13th of January seventeen men were arrested in Dublin, and on the 20th they were, with three others, charged with conspiring to murder Government officials. For the most part they were artisans of the inferior order, but one, James Carey, was a builder and contractor, and a member of the Dublin Town Council. Under the pressure of examination two of these men, Farrell and Kavanagh, turned informers. Carey, finding that other members of the gang were going to save their necks, offered to betray the conspiracy of which he had been the guiding organiser. From his evidence, it appeared that after Mr. Forster had put all the popular leaders of the Irish people in gaol, a band of desperadoes, called "the Invincibles," was formed for the purpose of "making history," by "removing obnoxious Irish officials." Though an attempt was made to show that the "Invincibles" were agents of the Land League, the only evidence in favour of this supposition rested on a statement which Carey admitted he had made. Two emissaries from America furnished the "Invincibles" with their funds, and Carey said that he thought they "perhaps" got the money from the Land League. He also said that the knives used [illegible] the Phœnix Park murders were delivered in Ireland by a woman, whom [illegible] took to be Mrs. Frank Byrne, wife of a Land League official. When, however, he was confronted with Mrs. Byrne he could not identify her. It is just to add that the diary of Mullett, one of the accused, was full of [illegible] sions of scorn for the constitutional Home Rule agitators. We may [illegible] safely infer that after Mr. Forster had suppressed the Land League [illegible] its chiefs in prison, what happened in Ireland is what has [illegible] every country. For open agitation were substituted secret societies [illegible] night assassins took the place of constitutional leaders. [illegible] appear to have long dogged Mr. Forster's steps, but failed [illegible] killing him. They had no desire to attack Lord Frederick [illegible] till he was pointed out to them, they did not know [illegible] perished on the 6th of May because he defended [illegible] who had been marked for "removal." Carey [illegible]

signal for the advance of the murderers, and he was also base enough afterwards, at a meeting of the Home Manufacturers' Association, to propose that a vote of condolence should be sent to Lady Frederick Cavendish. The end of it all was that five of the conspirators, Brady, Curley, Fagan, Caffrey, and Kelly, were hanged. Delaney, Fitzharris, and Mullett were sent to penal servitude for life, and the others to penal servitude for various terms. True bills were found against three individuals, Walsh, Sheridan, and Tynan, the last said to be the envoy who supplied the "Invincibles" with money, and who was only known to Carey as "Number One." Carey was shot dead at the Cape of Good Hope by a man called O'Donnell, when on his way to a refuge in a British Colony, an offence for which O'Donnell was tried at the Old Bailey and hanged.

It was whilst the country was thrilled by Carey's revelations that Mr. Gorst raised the Irish Question in an amendment to the Address, urging that no more concessions be made by the Government to Irish agitation. The House resounded with attacks on Mr. Parnell, who was reminded that Sheridan, against whom a true bill of murder had been found as the result of Carey's evidence, was the same individual, whose aid in suppressing outrages he had promised to the Government. Mr. Parnell was accordingly charged with conniving at murder, the loudest of his accusers being Mr. Forster, who raked up the old story of the Kilmainham Treaty, when he delivered his indictment of Mr. Parnell on the 22nd of February. Mr. Parnell did not reply till next day. Then he contemptuously told the House that he could hold no commerce with Mr. Forster, whom he considered as an informer in relation to the secrets of his late colleagues, nay, as an informer who had not even the pretext of Carey, "namely, the miserable one of saving his own life." The *hauteur* and bitterness of the speech, despite its closely-knit argument, disproving the allegation that the Home Rule leaders were consciously associated with the "Invincibles," or could be held responsible for what was going on in Ireland after Mr. Forster had locked them up, greatly inflamed public opinion. Mr. Parnell stood charged with being the head of a constitutional agitation, some of the agents of which were now shown to be chiefs of secret societies of assassins. Without assuming that he had anything to do with the hidden lives or proceedings of these men, the public condemned Mr. Parnell because he did not, at a moment when their deeds had horrified the country, denounce their wickedness. In Ireland, however, his conduct excited the warmest admiration. Mr. Forster's taunts he had met with supercilious disdain, and he had told Parliament that he did not care to justify himself to any one but the Irish people, who did not require him to prove that he was not an accomplice of Carey's. A movement to present Mr. Parnell with a national testimonial was accordingly started, and the subscriptions to it ultimately reached £40,000. Mr. Forster's attack on Mr. Parnell, at a moment when the House was excited by Carey's evidence, may have been ungenerous. But it is to it that Mr.

THE ROUND TOWER, WINDSOR CASTLE.

Parnell owes the release of his family estate from the encumbrances that he inherited. Parliament soon grew sick of the Irish Question in 1883.

Mr. Bradlaugh, however, furnished the House of Commons once more with a personal diversion. Lord Hartington's pledge that the Attorney-General would bring in an Affirmation Bill was followed by an undertaking from Mr. Bradlaugh, that he would not press his claim to be sworn till the fate of this measure had been determined. Though the arguments for and against such a project had already been thrashed out, it was debated for a fortnight, the Tories straining every effort to waste time over its discussion. Finally it was defeated by a vote of 292 to 289; and when Mr. Bradlaugh wrote to the Speaker claiming his right to take the oath, Sir Stafford Northcote carried a resolution prohibiting him from doing so. On the 9th of July, in reply to Mr. Bradlaugh's threat to treat this decision as invalid, Sir Stafford revived the resolution excluding him from the precincts of the House. Mr. Bradlaugh then brought an action against the Serjeant-at-Arms for enforcing this order, which the Attorney-General was instructed to defend.

The only real progress made by the Government with business before Easter was with the Bankruptcy Bill, the main object of which was to provide for an independent examination into all circumstances of insolvency, to be conducted by officials of the Board of Trade. It was read a second time and referred to the Grand Committee on Trade, who sent it back to the House of Commons on the 25th of June. The House of Lords passed it without cavil, and Mr. Chamberlain, who had charge of the measure, was congratulated on the ability and tact which he had displayed in conducting it. The Patents Bill, which reduced inventors' fees, had the same happy history as the Bankruptcy Bill, in whose wake it followed. The Law Bills of the Ministry were less fortunate. The Bill establishing a Court of Appeal in criminal cases was fiercely opposed by the Tories, under the leadership of Sir Richard Cross, Sir Hardinge Giffard, and Mr. Gibson. It was before the Grand Committee on Law from the 2nd of April till the 26th of June, when it was reported to the House and dropped by the Government. The Criminal Code Bill was read a second time on the 12th of April, in spite of the hostility of the Irish Party, who resisted one of the provisions enabling magistrates to examine suspected persons. In the Standing Committee, however, the Bill was so pertinaciously obstructed by Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Gorst, and Sir H. D. Wolff, that Sir Henry James abandoned it in despair. When Sir Henry James mentioned this fact in the House of Commons on the 21st of June, Sir H. D. Wolff asked Mr. Gladstone derisively "whether, having regard to the signal success of the principle of delegation and devolution," he intended to refer any other Bills to Grand Committees. This question was accentuated by loud outbursts of mocking laughter from Lord Randolph Churchill, which, Mr. Gladstone declared, rendered it impossible for him even to hear the terms of the interpellation.

The Budget was introduced on the 5th of April by Mr. Childers, who stated that his estimated revenue and expenditure for the coming year would be £88,480,000 and £85,789,000. This showed a comfortable surplus which he exhausted by taking 1½d. off the Income Tax, by making provisions to meet an expected loss on the introduction of sixpenny telegrams, by reductions in railway passenger duty, and by slight changes in the gun licence and in tax-collection. He also carried, in spite of strenuous opposition, a Bill to reduce the National Debt. By this Bill Mr. Childers created £40,000,000 of Chancery Stock into terminable annuities for twenty years, to follow those expiring in 1885. Then he created £30,000,000 of Savings Bank Stock into shorter annuities. As each fell in, it was to be followed by a longer one, so as to absorb the margin between the actual interest on the Debt and the sum set aside for its permanent service, thus hypothecating the taxes of the future. Mr. Childers promised, by his system, to wipe out £172,000,000 of debt in twenty years.

The Corrupt Practices Bill was read a second time on the 4th of June, and it not only restricted expenditure on elections, but inflicted stringent penalties for bribery and intimidation in every form, making candidates responsible for the acts of their agents, prohibiting the use of public-houses as committee-rooms, and the payment of conveyances to bring voters to the poll. The Tories, the Parnellites, and one or two Radicals like Mr. Peter Rylands, fought hard to relax the stringency of the measure. It was obstructed in Committee, but ultimately passed both Houses with no important alterations. The Agricultural Holdings Bill was also strongly opposed. It gave tenants a right to compensation for improvements, which was to be inalienable by contract. The most important amendment, which was moved and carried by Mr. A. J. Balfour, limiting compensation to the actual outlay, represented the spirit in which the Opposition sought to destroy the utility of the Bill. As Mr. Clare Sewell Read (one of the Conservatives who represented the agricultural interests) observed, this amendment enabled the landlord to say to the tenant, "Heads I win; tails you lose. If your improvement succeeds, I get the profit out of it, and you only the outlay; if it does not succeed, you get the loss." The amendment was struck out on Report, and, though the House of Lords tried to mutilate the Bill, their worst amendments were rejected by the Commons, and the measure passed. The controversy in the House of Lords was remarkable for Lord Salisbury's failure to hold his Party at the end firm to the policy of resistance. A useful Bill prohibiting payment of wages in public-houses was also passed. Nor was Ireland neglected. The Tramways Act enabled Irish Local Authorities to construct, with the support of Government guarantees, tramways and light railways, and the Government further assented to provisions to promote by State aid a scheme for transferring labourers from "congested" to thinly-peopled districts. In August a Bill was passed setting apart a portion of the

Church surplus to promote the building of fishing harbours. A useful Irish Registration Bill was rejected by the Peers, but Mr. T. P. O'Connor contrived to pass a Bill enabling Rural Sanitary Authorities to borrow money from the Government for the construction of labourers' cottages. It cannot, however, be said that the Irish Members were grateful for these measures. They still pursued their favourite policy of exasperation, and their alliance with the Tories led to a more systematic and daring use of obstruction than had ever been seen in the House of Commons. At first Sir Stafford Northcote seemed unwilling to countenance obstructive tactics; but Lord Randolph Churchill's bitter attacks on his leadership in the *Times* (April 2), and the impatience of the Tory Party, forced the hesitating hand of their leader in the Commons. The evil assumed such serious dimensions that Mr. Bright denounced at Birmingham, in terms of indignant eloquence,* "the men who now afflict the House, and who from night to night insult the majesty of the British people." Thus it came to pass, as the *Times* said in its review of the Session, that "the main part of the legislation of the year, with the exception of one or two Bills, was huddled together, and hustled through in both Houses during the month of August, amidst an ever-dwindling attendance of Members." There was only one Bill which was not obstructed—the Explosives Act; in fact, it was passed in a panic. The events that led to its production were somewhat startling. On the night of the 15th of March an attempt was made to blow up the Local Government Board Offices in Whitehall by dynamite, and about the same time a similar outrage was perpetrated on the offices of the *Times* in Printing House Square. Guards of soldiers and police were immediately posted at all places likely to be attacked, and the connection of these crimes with the seizures of dynamite which were from time to time made by the police in provincial towns, and the arrest of eight conspirators engaged in the "dynamite war" at Liverpool in March, could scarcely be doubted. On the 9th of April Sir William Harcourt's Explosives Act was therefore carried through both Houses after

* The occasion was a banquet given to him in the Town Hall in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his connection with Birmingham Mr. Bright said:—"And, what is worse, at this moment, as you see—you do not so much see it here as it is seen in the House—they [the Conservatives] are found in alliance with an Irish rebel party (loud and long-continued cheers), the main portion of whose funds, for the purposes of agitation, comes directly from the avowed enemies of England, and whose oath of allegiance is broken by association with its enemies. Now, these are the men of whom I spoke, who are disregarding the wishes of the majority of the constituencies, and who, as far as possible, make it impossible to do any work for the country by debates and divisions in the House of Commons. I hope the constituencies will mark some of the men of this party, and that they will not permit Parliament to be dishonoured and Government enfeebled by Members who claim to be, but are not, Conservative and Constitutional. Our freedom is no longer subverted or threatened by the Crown or by a privileged aristocracy. Is the time come—I quote the words from history—is the time come to which the ancestor of Lord Salisbury referred three hundred years ago, when he said that 'England could only be ruined by Parliament'?"

unavailing protest from Lord Salisbury, who complained that the Peers were taken by surprise.* After the Bill had become law packages of dynamite were seized at Leicester and Cupar-Fife; four men were condemned at Liverpool as dynamitards; several arrests were made at Glasgow; and on the 30th of October there were two explosions in the tunnel of the Metropolitan

THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL, KENSINGTON.

Railway—between Westminster and Charing Cross, and between Praed Street and Edgware Road.

Egypt furnished the Opposition with many opportunities for embarrassing the Ministry. Lord Hartington had seriously damaged the *prestige* of the Government by his pusillanimous declaration at the opening of the Session that the English troops would be recalled from Egypt in six months. Though Mr. Gladstone, on his return from Cannes, was compelled to throw his colleague over and explain that this statement was purely conjectural, the distrust which Lord Hartington had inspired could not be completely eradicated. A more

* It enacted that to cause an explosion not leading to loss of life was a felony punishable by penal servitude for life. The attempt was punishable with twenty years' imprisonment. Persons found in the possession of dynamite, failing proof that it was held for a lawful purpose, fourteen years' imprisonment.

serious difficulty, however, arose out of the exorbitant tolls which the Suez Canal Company levied on the shipping trade. Yielding to the pressure of shipping and commercial interests, Mr. Gladstone sanctioned an agreement by which M. de Lesseps was to provide additional accommodation by digging a second canal. He was also to reduce the tolls gradually, and admit a few Englishmen to his Board of Management. In return the British Government were to procure him the concession of the land for the second canal, and enable him to raise a loan of £8,000,000 at 3¼ per cent. A storm of opposition was raised to this project, on the ground that it recognised M. de Lesseps's monopoly to the canalisation of the Isthmus of Suez. The agreement, which was announced on the 28th of April, was abandoned on the 23rd of July.

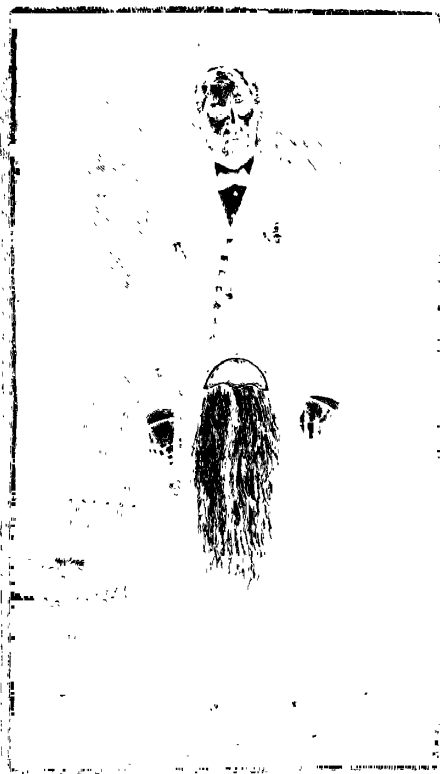
In South Africa the policy of the Government was attacked during the Session on the ground that it connived at the oppression of the native chiefs by the Boers, who were not carrying out the Transvaal Convention. The restoration and overthrow of Cetewayo also provoked criticism, but the verdict of the country was that the debates all ended in demonstrating one point, which was this: the existing tangle of affairs in South Africa was entirely due to the policy of the late Government, and the existing Government had not been able to discover any way of satisfactorily neutralising the blunders of their predecessors. But no question arising in British dependencies created so much strife as the Indian Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill, popularly called the Ilbert Bill. Lord Lytton had laid down a rule whereby every year one-sixth of the vacancies in the Indian Civil Service must be filled up by natives. As they advanced in the Magistracy and became eligible for service as District Magistrates and Sessions Judges, a difficulty arose. Either they must, like European officials of the same grades, be allowed to try Europeans as well as native offenders against the Criminal Law, or they must be virtually wasted. Moreover, an offensive slight must be put on the Indian servants of the Empress, by prohibiting them from exercising all the functions pertaining to their grade and rank. In Presidency towns no difficulty arose. There native magistrates of this grade were allowed to have jurisdiction over Europeans, the theory being that they acted under the moral censorship of a European press. But in country districts it was alleged that they could not be trusted. In fact, European magistrates must, according to the opponents of the Bill, be found for every district in which even a handful of Europeans were living. Yet, as Lord Lytton had diminished the number of Europeans in the Service and put natives in their places, a serious administrative difficulty might be created if the native judges were not entrusted with the duties of the Europeans whom they had displaced. An explosion of race-hatred was the result of the Ilbert Bill, and the same class of Anglo-Indians who denounced "Clemency" Canning during the "White Terror" of 1857, now denounced Lord Ripon in the same violent language. They even attempted to induce the Volunteers to resign, and Sir Donald Stewart, the Commander-in-

Chief, who, like Sir Frederick Roberts, supported the measure, condemned the "wicked and criminal attempts" which the opponents of the Bill had made to stir up animosity against the Government in the Army. Ultimately a compromise was arrived at, by which a European when tried before a native judge could claim a jury, of which not less than one-half must consist of Europeans or Americans. Curiously enough, at the time this controversy was being developed into a fierce antagonism of races in India, tidings came to England to the effect that a tribe in Orissa had begun to worship the Queen as a goddess.* When the natives on the frontier elevated General John Nicholson to the dignity of a god, the stout soldier used to order his worshippers to be flogged for their idolatry. Whether any official steps were taken to discourage a cult that might have rendered the Queen-Empress ridiculous, was never known. The sect who took her for their deity seems to have vanished from Indian history.

The Queen played but a slight part in public life in the early part of 1883. Whilst at Osborne in January she awarded the Albert Medal to the survivors of the gallant exploring party who distinguished themselves by saving life at the Baddesley Colliery Explosion in May, 1882, and she sent to the Mayor of Bradford an expression of sympathy with the sufferers from the fall of a great chimney stack in that town at the end of the year—a disaster involving the sacrifice of fifty-three lives. On the 14th of February her Majesty held a Council at Windsor, and revised the Royal Speech for the opening of the Session. On the 19th of February she attended the funeral of Pay-Sergeant Mayo, of the Coldstream Guards, at Windsor, who had died suddenly whilst on duty at the Castle, and on the same day, owing to the Prince of Wales holding the opening levee of the season on her behalf, her Majesty was able to be present as one of the sponsors at the baptism of the infant son of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught at Windsor. On the 6th and 13th of March, however, her Majesty held Drawing Rooms at Buckingham Palace. On the 17th of March Lady Florence Dixie alleged that a murderous attack had been made on her in the shrubbery of her house at Windsor, by two men disguised as women. As her ladyship had been writing a good deal on the Irish Question, and as the town was in a panic over the dynamite war waged by the Fenians against public buildings, it was suggested that this outrage might have been planned by one of the Irish Secret Societies. Investigation, however, indicated that Lady Florence must have been labouring under a mistake, and the incident would have passed out of sight but for its effect on the Queen's peace of mind. Lady Florence Dixie's story had alarmed the Queen, showing her, as it did, that there was peril almost at the doors of Windsor Castle. Her Majesty sent Lord [illegible] Lady Ely, and Sir Henry Ponsonby with messages of sympathy [illegible]

* For an account of this sect, see a curious article in *The Spectator*, 17th March, [illegible]

Florence Dixie, and finally the Queen's personal attendant, Mr. John Brown, was despatched to examine the ground and report on the circumstances of the outrage. He caught a chill in the shrubbery of Lady Florence Dixie's villa, and when he returned to Windsor Castle complained of being ill. He died of erysipelas on the 27th of March, the day after the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Albany was christened. Brown was the son of a tenant of Colonel Farquharson's and began life as gillie to the Prince Consort. For nineteen years he was the personal attendant of the Queen, and no servant was ever so completely trusted by a royal master or mistress. "John Brown," writes the Queen in a note to her "Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands," "in 1858 became my regular attendant out of doors everywhere in the Highlands. He commenced as gillie in 1859, and was selected by Albert and me to go with my carriage. In 1857 he entered our service permanently, and began in that year leading my pony, and advanced step by step by his good conduct and intelligence. His attentive care and faithfulness cannot be exceeded, and the state of my health, which of late years has been sorely tried and weakened, renders such qualifications most valuable, and, indeed, most needful upon all occasions. He has since most deservedly been promoted to be an upper servant and my permanent personal attendant (December, 1865). He has all the independence and elevated feelings peculiar to the Highland race, and is singularly straightforward, simple-minded, kind-hearted, and disinterested, always ready to oblige, and of a discretion rarely to be met with." By all accounts Brown seems to have been an honest brusque sort of man, whose fidelity to his master and mistress won their entire confidence. Extraordinary stories were told in Society of his influence over the Queen, and of the almost despotic authority which he wielded over the Royal Family. Even the highest officers of the Royal Household had to speak him fairly, otherwise trouble came to them. He attended the Queen in all her walks and drives, and had the privilege of speaking to her with the rough candour in which he habitually indulged, on any subject he chose to talk about. He had often been engaged in services of a delicate nature for the Royal Family, and it was said that nothing could be said or done, no matter how secretly, at or about the Court, without his immediately knowing of it. Löhlein, the Prince Consort's old valet, was the only person in the Household whom Brown never dared to meddle with. Through the *Court Circular* the Queen bewailed the "grievous shock" she felt at the "irreparable loss" of "an honest, faithful, and devoted follower, a trustworthy, discreet, and straightforward man," whose fidelity "had secured for himself the real friendship of the Queen." This grief was not only natural but eminently creditable to her. Brown had for years been the guardian of her life, and in the case of Connor's attack he had defended her with the grim courage of his race. But for him her Majesty could not have enjoyed that freedom of movement out of doors which had been of

vital consequence to her health and strength. Old servants, when possessed of Brown's sterling qualities of manhood, in process of time gradually pass into the category of old friends. Their lives become intertwined in many ways with the life of the family to which they are attached. Their death

JOHN BROWN.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co, Aberdeen.)

leaves behind it in the hearts of their masters and mistresses the sting of a personal bereavement. This was, in a special sense, the case with the Queen, whose fate it has been to see the circle of old familiar faces round her contracting every year. Her expressions of sorrow over Brown's grave, though they provoked rude criticism, merely gave expression to a sentiment of melancholy which was the natural outgrowth of her life of "lonely splendour."

* Brown, it was said in 1883, had left a diary for publication. This was not [illegible] diately after his death all his papers were impounded by Sir Henry Ponsonby [illegible]

From the 18th of April to the 8th of May the Court was at Osborne, and the state of the Queen's health was such as to cause her medical advisers some concern. The dynamite scare, a slight accident that had happened to her through slipping on the stairs at Windsor Castle, the deaths of her friend Mrs. Stonor* and her attendant, Brown—all contributed to produce an attack of nervous debility that could only be remedied by repose.

In the third week of April the Queen created quite a panic among the sheep farmers and the fashionable purveyors of the large towns. She had read many gloomy articles in the papers, lamenting the decrease in the number of English sheep. Instead of anticipating, by a few days, the appearance of Easter lamb at the Royal table, as did Napoleon I. on one occasion, her Majesty notified that no lamb would be consumed in her Household. The effect of the notice was magical. The price of lamb went down in a few hours to 4d. a pound, and farmers, who had at enormous expense bred and fed large stocks of lamb for the Easter market, saw bankruptcy staring them in the face. The economic fallacy was obvious. The Queen forgot that the slaughter of lambs which were bred for the butcher, and which but for the Easter market would not be bred at all, was not the cause of the scarcity of sheep. In a few weeks the notice was withdrawn.

Though the Queen was still unable to walk, yet on the 8th of May she was so much benefited by her holiday at Osborne, that she was able, under the care of the Princess Beatrice, to return to Windsor. On the 26th of May, though still in feeble health, she went to Balmoral. Extraordinary precautions were taken to prevent the time-table of the Royal train on this occasion from being published, and her Majesty sent orders from Windsor that spectators must be excluded from the stations at which she stopped. Railway directors were not even allowed to be present when her Majesty arrived at Ferryhill station, Aberdeen, from whence she drove to Balmoral by the road on the south side of the Dee—a road she had never taken before. Life at Balmoral was gloomy, for all the old festivities had been stopped, and everybody was in deep mourning for John Brown. The Queen hardly ever left her own grounds, and the Court gladly returned to Windsor on the 23rd of June. On the 3rd of July a shocking accident occurred near Glasgow, which deeply impressed the mind of the Queen. As a new steamer, the *Daphne*, was being launched from Messrs. Stephen's Yard she heeled over and sank. A hundred and fifty lives were lost, and the Queen not only sent a message of sympathy to the survivors, but a subscription of £200 to a fund raised for their relief. The Court removed to Osborne on the 24th of July, where a few days later the

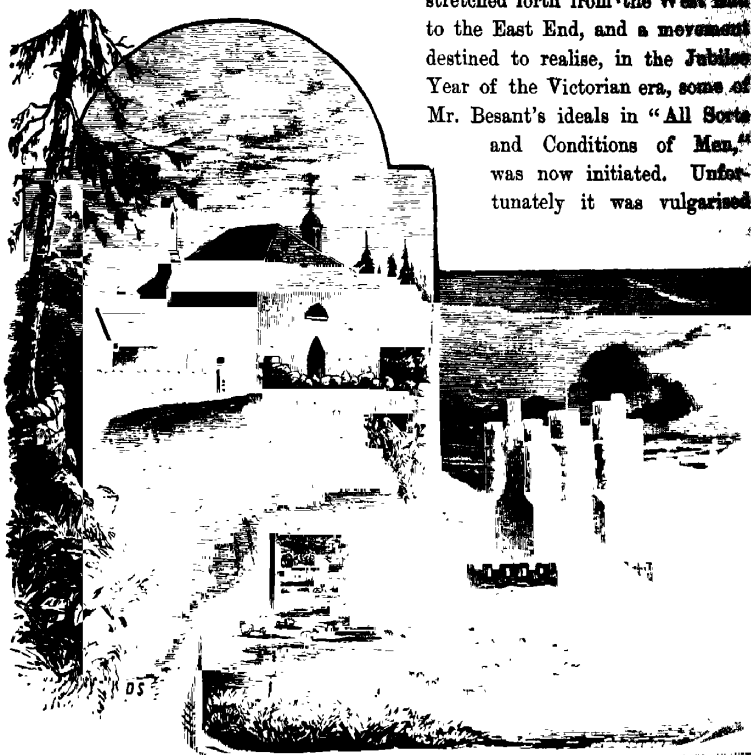
* The Hon. Mrs. Stonor died on the 14th of April in London, from the effects of a carriage accident. She was a daughter of Sir Robert Peel, and was married to the third son of Lord Camoys. Few ladies of the Court stood higher in the favour of the Queen, and she had been lady-in-waiting to the Princess of Wales since the formation of her household in 1863.

Queen received M. Waddington, the new French Ambassador. On the [illegible] of August her Majesty left Osborne for Balmoral, which she reached on the following day. She conferred the Order of the Garter on her grandson, Prince Albert Victor of Wales, on the 4th of September. It was thought strange that this distinction should be granted to the Prince whilst he was still a minor: George IV., for example, was not admitted to the Order till long after he had come of age. What was stranger still was that the investiture should have been a private function, conducted in the drawing-room at Balmoral, and not a public ceremonial in St. George's Chapel. The exceptional character of the distinction was a proof of the high favour in which her Majesty held her grandson. Excursions to Braemar, Glassalt Shiel, Glen Cluny, and the neighbourhood were made during September. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught visited her Majesty in October on the eve of their departure for India, and the ex-Empress Eugénie, who was at Abergeldie, came to her almost every day, and long excursions in the bleak scenery of the Aberdeenshire mountains were organised for the Royal party. It was not till the 21st of November that the Court came back to Windsor—the same day on which the Duke and Duchess of Connaught landed at Bombay. After her return the Queen seems to have been engrossed with business to an unusual extent—much of it relating to troublesome private matters, and it was stated that her Majesty and Sir Henry Ponsonby during the first week had to work together for five and six hours at a stretch, ere they could overtake their task. Every day, however, the Queen drove in the Park, and every evening she gave a dinner-party, to which not more than fifteen guests were invited. On the 12th of December her Majesty received the Siamese Envoys, and it was intimated that she intended to raise the poet Laureate to the Peerage. On the 18th of December the Court was moved to Osborne, where Christmas-tide was spent.

Politically and socially the Recess of 1883 was full of interest. Just as Parliament was prorogued Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville brought an irritating controversy with France to a close. In the spring, Admiral Pierre had been sent with a squadron to enforce French claims of sovereignty over a portion of the north-west of Madagascar. In the course of operations at Tamatave the Admiral had behaved rudely to the British Consul. He had insulted the commander of H.M.S. *Dryad*, and he had illegally arrested and imprisoned Mr. Shaw, an English missionary. Mr. Gladstone had alluded gravely, but in terms of studied moderation and courtesy, to these events in the House of Commons. The Opposition, however, harried him with [illegible] and all over the land Conservative writers and speakers denounced the Government for its cowardly subservience to France. The only effect which indiscreet criticisms could have was obviously to convince France that [illegible] no risk in refusing reparation to the Englishmen whom her agents [illegible] Fortunately the Government of the French Republic had a [illegible]

justice. It did not misunderstand the firm but temperate tone of the English Foreign Office; and the French Government accordingly offered an apology and compensation to Mr. Shaw. It turned out that Admiral Pierre, who died in France soon after his recall, had been suffering from an exhausting disease at the time he had offended Captain Johnstone of the *Dryad*. There was no disposition on either side, therefore, to exaggerate the personal aspect of the question, and the dispute ended in a manner highly creditable to the diplomacy of both nations.

In Ireland the National League, which had been founded in 1882 as a continuation of the old Land League, was extending its organisation. Mr. Healy's electoral victory in Monaghan suggested that an attack should be made on the last stronghold of the Unionist Party in Ireland. League meetings were therefore held in Ulster; but the Orangemen, terrified by this invasion of Home Rulers into their loyal territory, attempted to repel it by force. They organised rival meetings, and planned armed attacks on the Leaguers. Occasionally Mr. Trevelyan had to suppress the demonstrations of both "Orange" and "Green" by proclamation. In England the Recess was one of stormy political agitation. The Liberal Party felt that it was necessary to submit some measure to Parliament in 1884, on which, if need be, they might risk an appeal to the constituencies. Hence, at Leeds, their provincial leaders and delegates resolved to press a measure of Parliamentary Reform on the country. A small minority, who urged that the reform of the Municipality of London and of County and Local Government should have the first place, were overruled by those who raised the famous cry of "Franchise first." The Tory leaders, when they spoke on the subject, merely suggested that the problem of Parliamentary Reform was encumbered with difficulties. For some time the Liberal leaders rarely spoke save to contradict each other either as to the order of legislation in the coming Session, or as to whether, if Household Suffrage were extended to the counties, the Redistribution of Seats would be dealt with by a separate Bill. During the Recess, Sir Stafford Northcote roused the Conservatism of North Wales and Ulster. Lord Salisbury attempted to thrill his party with terror by an article in the *Quarterly Review*, bewailing the "disintegration" of English society under Mr. Gladstone's malefic influence; and in another periodical—the *National Review* —he appealed strongly for popular support by a strong semi-Socialistic paper advocating the better housing of the poor. In fact, the end of 1883 and the beginning of 1884 will be long remembered for an outbreak of *dilletante* Socialism among the upper classes. The powerful pen of a gifted novelist had revealed, as by flashes of lightning, the unexplored regions of the East End of London. In fact, Mr. Walter Besant's vivid pictures of its dull grey life of toil, varied only by hunger, and ending only in death, had seared the conscience, if they had not touched the heart, of a brilliant society of pleasure. Beneath the bright wit and mocking humour of the satirist,

there glowed the fire and fervour of the prophet; and when a voice which, like Mr. Besant's, had the ear of a hundred millions of English-speaking people, preached in the most fascinating of parables the doctrine that Wealth owes, and ever will owe, an undischarged duty to Poverty—a mighty impetus was given to the cause of social reform. Hands swift to do good were stretched forth from the West End to the East End, and a movement destined to realise, in the Jubilee Year of the Victorian era, some of Mr. Besant's ideals in "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," was now initiated. Unfortunately it was vulgarised

THE PARISH CHURCH, CRATHIE. BRAEMAR CASTLE.

by much imposture at the outset. The pace of three London seasons had been unusually rapid, and Society at this juncture had exhausted its resources of amusement and its capacities for pleasure. The town was fuller than usual, for Cabinet Councils had been unwontedly early; and the great families who flock to London when they get the first hint that the [illegible] period of political intrigue has set in, had abandoned their country [illegible] sooner in the year than was customary. The theatres were [illegible] The Fisheries Exhibition had closed; and the world of fashion was [illegible] for some fresh object of interest. Like Matthew Arnold's [illegible]

Society made its feast and crowned its brows with roses in the winter of 1883-4, it was still left lamenting that

> "No easier and no quicker passed
> The impracticable hours."

The movement in philanthropy which Mr. Besant's writings originated, and which Lord Salisbury's essay on the Housing of the Poor stamped with the imprimatur of British respectability, was just what was needed to supply a stimulus to which the blunted nerves of the idlest pleasure-seeker would respond. In the days of Lord Tom Noddy and Sir Carnaby Jenks persons of quality in similar circumstances would have gone to see a man hanged. Some years later, as M. Henri Taine notes, they would have applied for an escort of police and inspected the thieves' kitchens and other hideous lairs of crime. Now, under escorts of enchanted philanthropists, lay and clerical, male and female, curious parties were organised in the West End to visit the slums, just as they were arranged to visit the opera. These amateur explorers were, indeed, dubbed "slummers" by cynical writers in the Press; and the verb to "slum" almost made good its footing in the English vocabulary. Few of these strange visitors remained behind in the East End to help in the work of charity whose objects excited their morbid curiosity. It was also an untoward coincidence that of these few some of the most fussy and bustling subsequently figured conspicuously in the Divorce Court.

It had been the intention of the Government to reduce the number of the troops in Egypt, and some hint of this had been given by Mr. Gladstone at the Lord Mayor's banquet in the Guildhall. But before the plan could be carried out a catastrophe happened in Egypt which interfered with it. It had always been the ambition of the Khedivial family to extend their dominion to the Equator. They had drained Egypt of men and money to conquer that vast and difficult region known as the Soudan, and under the pretext of suppressing the slave trade, they had endeavoured to sanctify their policy of costly conquest. When, however, disturbances broke out in Lower Egypt, the wild tribes of the Soudan, ever ready to revolt against the Egyptians or "Turks," whom they regarded as brutal extortioners, joined the standards of a pretended prophet, called the Mahdi, and Colonel Hicks, a retired Indian officer, was sent with an Egyptian army to suppress the rising. The British Government sanctioned, but gave no aid to the expedition. By their foolish policy they made themselves morally responsible for its fate without taking steps to make its success a certainty. In November Hicks Pasha and his army were cut to pieces at El Obeid, and Egyptian authority in the Soudan was represented by a few beleaguered garrisons at such places as Khartoum, Suakim, and Sinkat. The British Government dissuaded Tewfik Pasha from trying to re-conquer the Soudan, but advised him merely to relieve the garrisons and hold the Red Sea coast and the Nile Valley as far

as Wady Halfa. By thus blocking the only outlets for its produce the insurrection in the province might be strangled. Here the Ministry delivered themselves into the hands of their enemies. If they tried to re-conquer the Soudan the Tories could denounce a blood-guilty policy that wasted the substance of Egypt to gratify Khedivial ambition. If they induced Tewfik Pasha to let the Soudan alone, they could be denounced for abandoning one of the conquests of civilisation to barbarism and the slave trade. But in the first weeks of 1884 there was a lull in political agitation, which was only partially broken by Mr. Gladstone's address to his tenants at the Hawarden Rent Dinner on the 9th of January. It was in this speech that he advised farmers groaning under prolonged agricultural distress, aggravated by an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, to seek consolation in pensive reflection on the Hares and Rabbits Act, and in an energetic application of their industry to the production of jam.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION.

Success of the Mahdi—Difficult Position of the Ministers—Their Egyptian Policy—General Gordon sent out to the Soudan—Baker Pasha's Forces Defeated—Sir S. Northcote's Vote of Censure—The Errors on Both Sides—Why not a Protectorate?—Gordon in Khartoum—Zebehr, "King of the Slave-traders"—Attacks on Gordon—Osman Digna Twice Defeated—Treason in Khartoum—Gordon's Vain Appeals—Financial Position of Egypt—Abortive Conference of the Powers—Vote of Credit—The New Speaker—Mr. Bradlaugh *Redivivus*—Mr. Childers' Budget—The Coinage Bill—The Reform Bill—Household Franchise for the Counties—Carried in the Commons—Thrown Out in the Lords—Agitation in the Country—The Autumn Session—"No Surrender"—Compromise—The Franchise Bill Passed—The Nile Expedition—Murder of Colonel Stewart and Mr. Frank Power—Lord Northbrook's Mission—Ismail Pasha's Claims—The "Scramble for Africa"—Coolness with Germany—The Angra Pequena Dispute—Bismarck's Irritation—Queensland and New Guinea—Death of Lord Hertford—The Queen's New Book—Death of the Duke of Albany—Character and Career of the Prince—The Claremont Estate—The Queen at Darmstadt—Marriage of the Princess Victoria of Hesse—A Gloomy Season—The Health Exhibition—The Queen and the Parliamentary Deadlock—The Abyssinian Envoys at Osborne—Prince George of Wales made K.G.—The Court at Balmoral—Mr. Gladstone's Visit to the Queen.

PARLIAMENT met on the 5th of February, 1884. The Queen's Speech admitted that the unexpected success of the Mahdi in the Soudan had delayed the evacuation of Cairo and the reduction of the British army of occupation. It also referred to the steps that had been taken to relieve Khartoum by the despatch of General Gordon—accompanied by Colonel Stewart—to that doomed city. An imposing programme of domestic legislation was put forward. There was to be a Reform Bill, a Bill to improve the government of London, and legislation was promised dealing with shipping, railways, the government of Scotland, education, Sunday Closing in Ireland, and intermediate education in Wales. The Egyptian Policy of the Government was again taken as the point for attack by the Opposition in the [illegible]

in the House of Commons. The position of England in Egypt was now so peculiar and embarrassing that any policy open to the Government was open to objection. So far as the interests of the English and Egyptian people were concerned, the best thing that could have been done for them would have been to render the frontier at Wady Halfa impregnable, to forbid any further interference with the Soudan, and to leave the Egyptian garrisons and colonies there to make the best terms they could with the Mahdi. This would not have been a noble or heroic, but it would have been a sensible course, and it would have prevented the perfectly useless expenditure of precious blood and treasure. On the other hand, only a Minister unselfish enough to brave the obloquy which would be cast on him by his rivals for adopting a sordid policy in the interests of his country, could venture on such a policy. It would have been possible to a Bismarck, who can boast that he will never break the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier for the sake of the Eastern Question. It was not possible to Mr. Gladstone, some of whose colleagues were already in a bellicose mood. Assuredly, too, it would in 1884 have been unpopular with the electors. In foreign complications, involving the issues of peace or war, their

> "Affections are
> A sick man's appetite, who desires most that
> Which would increase his evil."

Ministers therefore chose the course which, on the whole, divided the country least. They decided to cut the connection between Egypt and the Soudan, but at the same time to arrange for the safe return of the Egyptian garrisons and colonists to Lower Egypt. They selected General Gordon—better known as "Chinese" Gordon—who, as Gordon Pasha, had been Viceroy of the Soudan, to make the best arrangements he could for the future of the country, and bring back the garrisons and colonists in safety. Gordon's great name and unbounded popularity caused this plan to be hailed with unalloyed delight by the people. He arrived at Cairo on the 23rd of January, and was permitted to receive from the Khedive a firman appointing him Governor-General of the Soudan, and vesting him, as the Khedive's Viceroy, with absolute power. Gordon thus held two commissions—one from the English Government as the Agent of the Foreign Office, another from the Khedive as Viceroy of the Soudan. He crossed the desert without an escort, and was making his way to Khartoum when Parliament met. It was a dramatic coincidence that when the debate on Egypt was going on, news of a serious disaster from the Soudan came to hand. Baker Pasha had advanced from Trinkitat on the 4th of February, and near Tokar his force was attacked by the Mahdi's followers and driven back to Suakim. By an accident the discussion collapsed without any Ministerial reply being given to the Tory attack. Then Sir Stafford Northcote, on the 7th of February, moved his vote

of censure, on the ground that the disasters in the [illegible] to "the vacillating and inconsistent policy" pursued by the [illegible] Possibly the disaster of the division in the Commons when this [illegible] rejected may have in turn been traceable to the "vacillating and [illegible]"

GENERAL GORDON.

(From a Photograph by Adams and Scanlan, Southampton.)

tactics of the Opposition. They toiled with wearisome iteration [illegible] England, having incurred responsibility for the government of [illegible] Tel-el-Kebir, was responsible for the massacre of Hicks [illegible] So she was; but instead of drawing the logical [illegible] namely, that the English authorities in Egypt were to [illegible]

Hicks's expedition, Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Salisbury blamed the English Government for not helping him with "advice," and for not forcing the Khedive to make his army strong enough for its task. Here it became manifest to the House of Commons that the Opposition had only got up a sham faction fight. For when Sir Stafford Northcote hotly repudiated the notion that he would have sent a British army to reinforce Hicks or avenge his death, he gave up his whole case. It was then seen that the alternative policy of the Opposition was to have goaded the Egyptian Government to a war of re-conquest in the Soudan, and in the event of failure to leave it in the lurch. Alike in the Commons and in the Lords the responsible leaders of the Opposition admitted that Mr. Gladstone was right in advising Egypt to abandon the Soudan, and in refusing to send British troops there to conduct the evacuation. What they argued was that he was wrong in not telling the Khedive's Cabinet how to get out of the Soudan, though he would in that event, according to them, have been quite right to refuse the Khedive aid, if, in acting on Mr. Gladstone's suggestions, his Highness met with disaster in the rebellious province. It was a sad surprise to Lord Salisbury to find his censure carried in the Upper House only by a vote of 181 to 81—for the majority did not represent half of a Chamber two-thirds of which were his followers. It was, however, no surprise to Sir Stafford Northcote to find his motion rejected in the House of Commons, though he had the advantage of the Irish vote. As for the country, its verdict was that there was no difference between the two parties except on one point. The Tories would have pestered the Khedive with instructions, but would have repudiated responsibility for them if when acted on they had ended in failure. The Government had, through fear of incurring this responsibility, left the Khedive too much to his own devices, and when these brought trouble they found they could not get rid of all responsibility for it.

What ought to have been said was what neither Lord Salisbury nor Sir Stafford Northcote dared say. It was that England, after Tel-el-Kebir, should have boldly proclaimed a Protectorate over Egypt, the moral authority of which would have sufficed to hold her fretful and mutinous provinces in awe, till steps for their reconstruction could be taken.* Failure seemingly rendered

* When England advised Egypt to abandon the Soudan, the Khedive's Ministry under Cherif Pasha refused to take the advice. The defeat of Hicks Pasha caused England to substitute insistance for advice, and when the Egyptian Government was told it must abandon the Soudan, Cherif Pasha resigned. Here was an excellent opportunity for establishing a Protectorate, and it is not generally known that Sir Evelyn Baring strongly recommended the appointment of English Ministers for a period of five years. He was overruled, and Nubar Pasha was made Cherif's successor. See Mr. Edward Dicey's convincing plea for a Protectorate, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1884. In passing it may be well to warn the reader that he cannot form any correct conception of Anglo-Egyptian relations till he has mastered Mr. Dicey's numerous papers on the subject, notably his "England and Egypt" (Chapman and Hall, 1881). The central idea of Mr. Dicey's policy is that the true interest of England in the Eastern Question lies in the Valley of the Nile, not in the Bosphorus; and that the Isthmus of Suez forms the key-stone of her position as an Imperial Power.

the Opposition reckless. Even the heroic and high-hearted envoy of the Government at Khartoum did not escape the shafts of their malice. He had proclaimed the Mahdi as Sultan of Kordofan in order to induce him to negotiate for the peaceful withdrawal of the garrisons. He had burned in public the archives of the Egyptian Government, in which the arrears of taxes were recorded, as a pledge that the oppressed people of Khartoum should be no longer the prey of corrupt extortioners. He had set free the prisoners who were unjustly pining in the gaols. He had proclaimed that the right of property in domestic slaves would be recognised—thereby neutralising the intrigues of the Mahdists, who were persuading the wavering people that if they remained true to Egypt, the Government would rob them of their household servants. Finding it impossible to discover a less objectionable native chief fit to undertake the task of keeping order at Khartoum, Gordon recommended for that purpose his old enemy, Zebehr Pasha, once known as "King of the Slave-Traders."

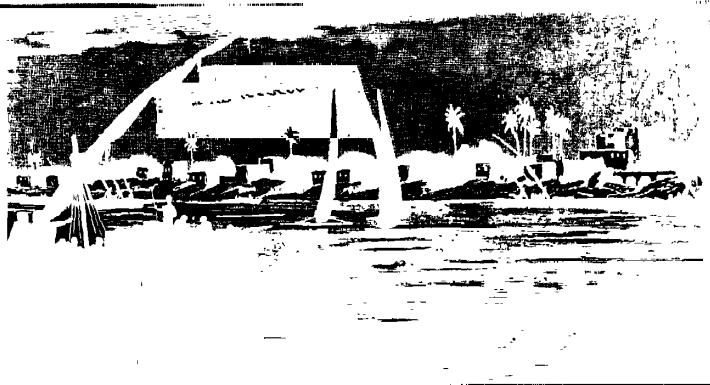
The Tories now attacked Gordon and his policy with much bitterness. They jeered at him as a madman. They denounced him for sanctioning slavery—he who had given the best days of his life to the suppression of the trade. They tried to rouse public opinion against the Government for tolerating his proceedings. In fact, no effort was wanting to embarrass him and the Ministry in solving the difficult problem of extricating the military and civil population of Khartoum from their dangerous position. The factiousness of the Opposition had one bad result. It frightened the Government into refusing their sanction to Gordon's proposal for handing over Khartoum to Zebehr Pasha. For at this time the Tories delighted to describe Zebehr as the kind of monster of savagery, with whom a statesman of Mr. Gladstone's character naturally sought a close alliance.

When the tidings of General Baker's defeat at Teb were followed by news of the massacre of the garrison of Sinkat, Ministers, in obedience to public opinion, decided to abandon their policy of inaction in the Soudan. On the 10th of February, Admiral Hewett took supreme command at Suakim. On the 18th a small British force under General Graham landed at that place. By this time Tokar had fallen, but Graham, advancing from Trinkitat, fought and beat the Arabs under Osman Digna at El Teb. Osman retired to Tamanieb, and was attacked there by Graham on the 13th of March. At first the British force wavered and broke under the impetuous shock of the Arab charge, but in the end the Arabs were defeated, and Osman Digna's camp was destroyed. Gordon had made an unsuccessful sortie from Khartoum on the 16th of March, and he had found not only his army but the [illegible] population of the city honeycombed with treason. In vain he implored [illegible] Government to send two squadrons of cavalry to Berber to aid the [illegible] of two thousand fugitives whom he proposed to send down the [illegible] Government, on the contrary, recalled General Graham and his [illegible]

Suakim, thereby leading the Arabs to believe that Gordon was abandoned by his countrymen. His negotiations with the Mahdi proved to be a failure. In May his protests against the desertion of Khartoum were published in official form, and the Opposition then gave expression to popular opinion when they moved, though they did not carry, another vote of censure on the Ministry. The defence of the Government was that Gordon was in no danger, and that when he was, Ministers would quickly send him aid. The financial position of Egypt was now so bad that Mr. Gladstone resolved to ease the pressure of her debt at the expense of the bondholders. For this purpose it was necessary to summon a Conference of the Powers. France opposed the English project, and the diplomatic negotiations between England and France were seriously embarrassed by incessant interpellations from the Opposition in Parliament, and by their abortive votes of censure. In spite of these difficulties, however, Ministers were able, on the 23rd of June, to announce that they had come to an arrangement with France. She formally abandoned the Dual Control, which had really been destroyed by the Khedive's decree in 1882, and bound herself not to send troops to Egypt unless on the invitation of England. England, on the other hand, agreed to evacuate Egypt on the 1st of January, 1888, unless the Powers considered that order could not be kept after the British troops were recalled. The question of the debt was virtually left to the Conference, but it was agreed that after the 1st of January, 1888, Egypt was to be neutralised and the Suez Canal put under international management. Even these arrangements were, however, to depend on the decisions of the Conference, which, Mr. Gladstone said, would in turn need Parliamentary sanction before they could be considered binding on the British Government. The Conference broke up owing to the impossibility of reconciling English and French interests, and Mr. Gladstone on the 2nd of August told the House of Commons that England had regained entire freedom of action. With this freedom the Government acquired fresh energy. They sent Lord Northbrook to Egypt to report upon its condition, and obtained from Parliament a Vote of Credit of £300,000 with which to send succour to Gordon if he required it. At this time, though Khartoum was isolated and surrounded by the Mahdi's troops, Lord Hartington refused to admit that Egypt was in danger from an Arab invasion, or to give any definite promise to send Gordon aid.

The Egyptian Question sadly exhausted the energies of the House of Commons. Mr. Arthur Peel had been chosen as Speaker on the 26th of February, in succession to Sir Henry Brand, who was elevated to the Peerage as Viscount Hampden. Sir Stafford Northcote again succeeded in preventing Mr. Bradlaugh from taking his seat, and when Mr. Bradlaugh resigned it, and was again re-elected for Northampton, the resolution excluding him from the House was once more revived on the 21st of February.

The Budget was not presented till the last week of April, and Mr. Childers'

then confessed that for the coming year he could not expect a surplus of more than £260,000,* which admitted only of a small reduction in the Carriage Duties. The unexpected costliness of the Parcel Post caused Mr. Childers to abandon in the meantime the scheme for introducing sixpenny telegrams; but he made proposals for the reduction of the National Debt and the withdrawal of light gold coin from circulation, that led to some controversy. Mr. Childers' method of dealing with the Debt was to give holders of Three per Cent. Stock the option of taking Two and Three-quarters per Cent. or Two and a Half per Cent Stock at the rate of £102 and £108

KHARTOUM.

respectively for every £100 of Stock so exchanged. Mr. Childers argued that he would thus reduce the annual burden of the charge for the Debt (after providing for a Sinking Fund to cover the nominal increase in the capital of the converted Stock) by £1,310,000. His Coinage Bill was lost because the Tories roused popular prejudice against it. Mr. Childers proposed to demonetise the half-sovereign by putting in it a certain amount of alloy and giving it a mere token-value. The charge that he was "debasing the currency" wrecked his project. A Bill strengthening the hands of the Privy Council in excluding diseased cattle was passed. But the great measure of the Session was the Reform Bill, which was introduced on the 28th of February. By it Mr. Gladstone extended household franchise to the counties, and a vigorous effort was made to compel him to introduce along with the Franchise Bill, a Bill for the Redistribution of Seats. The Second Reading of the Reform Bill was carried on the 7th of April, a majority of 340 to [illegible] having rejected the hostile amendment of the Conservatives, which was moved by Lord John Manners. The Tories then made many futile efforts to [illegible]

* His expenditure he estimated at £85,292,000, and his revenue at [illegible].

Mr. Gladstone into disclosing his Redistribution Scheme, which he had, however, sketched in outline in his speech introducing the Franchise Bill. Ultimately the Third Reading was carried on the 26th of June—*nemine contradicente.* The Bill was read a first time in the House of Lords on the 27th of June, where Lord Cairns and the Tory Peers opposed it by an amendment, in which they refused to assent to any extension of the Franchise, without any provision for a redistribution of seats. The country began to murmur against this attitude of the Tory Peers, many of whom even deprecated the policy of supporting Lord Cairns's amendment. It was, however, carried by a majority of 205 against 146. After that the Peers, by way of conciliating public opinion, agreed, on the motion of Lord Dunraven, to assent "to the principles of representation in the Bill." Ministers immediately announced that they would take steps to prorogue Parliament in order to hold an autumn Session for the reintroduction of the Measure. This involved the sacrifice of all their projects of legislation, including Sir William Harcourt's Bill for reforming the Government of London, Mr. Chamberlain's Merchant Shipping Bill (prohibiting shipowners from making a profit out of the wreck of over-insured ships), the Railway Regulation Bill (which prevented railway companies from burdening traders and farmers with extortionate transport rates), the Scottish Universities Bill, the Welsh Education Bill, the Police Superannuation Bill, the Medical Acts Amendment Bill, the Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections Bill, the Law of Evidence Amendment Bill, the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, and the Irish Land Purchase Bill. These, as well as many useful measures, perished in the legislative holocaust of the 10th of July, which the opposition of the Peers had brought about.

The Recess was spent in violent agitation. Party leaders on both sides strove to rouse public opinion against or on behalf of the action of the House of Lords. The country, on the whole, seemed day by day to gravitate towards the Liberals, and the general opinion soon came to be that the time had come for settling the question of Parliamentary Reform, and that, the Peers having accepted the principle of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, a compromise as to details ought to be effected. The monster procession which passed through London on the 21st of July, together with Mr. Gladstone's political campaign in Midlothian, did much to strengthen the hands of the Reformers. As might be expected, the Radicals took advantage of the occasion to direct a fierce and violent attack against the House of Lords as an institution. When the Session opened on the 23rd of October party spirit ran high, and both sides took "No Surrender!" as their watchword. Lord Randolph Churchill attempted to fix on Mr. Chamberlain a charge of inciting a Radical mob to break up a great Conservative demonstration which had been held in Aston Park, Birmingham, on the 13th of October. Mr. Chamberlain proved his innocence by quoting affidavits made by certain men, who swore that "Tory roughs" had provoked the riot. The genuineness of those affidavits was

questioned, but to no purpose. When, however, they were made the [illegible] of legal proceedings, it was noted as a curious coincidence that, with [illegible] exception, all the witnesses who had supplied Mr. Chamberlain with [illegible] exculpating affidavits, somehow vanished from the scene. The Franchise Bill was rapidly passed through the House of Commons, and the enormous majority of 140 in favour of the Second Reading brought the Tory Peers to a more reasonable state of mind. Moderate Conservatives began to build a golden bridge of retreat for their lordships. Nor was the task hard. It was soon discovered, as the result of private communications, that there was now no substantial difference of opinion between Conservatives like Sir Richard Cross and Liberals like Mr. Gladstone on the general principles of Redistribution. Nobody, in fact, had the courage to defend the continued enfranchisement of petty boroughs while large towns were not represented in Parliament save by the county vote. It was finally arranged by plenipotentiaries representing both parties that Mr. Gladstone's draft Redistribution Bill should be submitted confidentially to Sir Stafford Northcote and his friends—that they should suggest, and in turn submit to Mr. Gladstone their amendments to it—that when both Parties agreed, Mr. Gladstone should receive from the Tories "an adequate assurance" that they meant to carry the Franchise Bill through the House of Lords, that upon the strength of this assurance Mr. Gladstone should introduce the Redistribution Bill in the House of Commons, and carry it to a Second Reading while the Peers were passing the Third Reading of the Franchise Bill. The whole understanding rested simply on an exchange of "words of honour" between the leaders on both sides, and it was loyally adhered to. Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, and Sir Charles Dilke, met and settled all serious disputes over the question of redistribution, and the Bill was introduced on the 1st of December. On the 4th of the month the measure was read a second time, the House of Lords having passed the Franchise Bill. On the 6th of December Parliament adjourned till the 19th of February, 1885, when the Redistribution Bill was to be finally dealt with in Committee, *de die in diem*.

The autumn Session did not close till the Government obtained a vote of credit of £1,000,000 for military operations in Egypt. The decision to send an expedition to Khartoum by way of the Nile was arrived at with manifest reluctance by the Ministry, and of all the courses open to them, including those which had been suggested by Gordon and rejected by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, it was the most objectionable and hazardous.* Lord

* The alternative courses were (1), calling in the aid of Turkish troops; (2), the employment of Zebehr Pasha; (3), the opening up of communications between Suakim and Berber after [illegible] victories on the Red Sea littoral; (4), the evacuation of Khartoum in accordance with a scheme [illegible] Gordon's colleague, Colonel Stewart, was to take the fugitives down to Berber, while Gordon [illegible] picked body of troops were to retreat up the White Nile in steamers to the Equator.

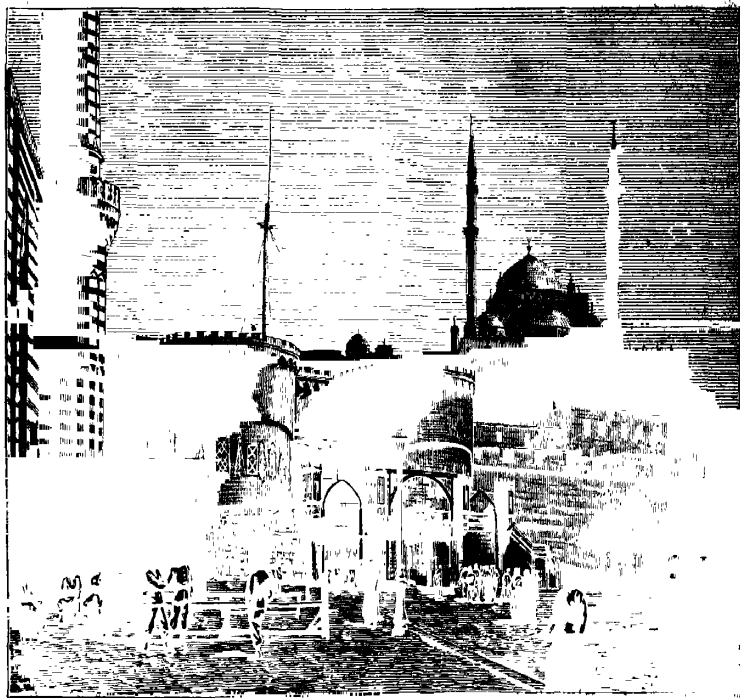
Wolseley arrived at Cairo early in September, and the Mudir of Dongola not only held back the Mahdi, but furnished a base of operations to the English force. Down to the end of 1884 Lord Wolseley contrived to shroud his proceedings in a veil of mystery. Beyond the facts that he had railway transport to Sarras, that after that point, the expedition and its

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE (AFTERWARDS LORD IDDESLEIGH).

(From a Photograph by Barraud, Oxford Street.)

transport were conveyed up the falling river in whaleboats guided by Canadian boatmen,* that Lord Wolseley's sanguine anticipation of a rapid advance had been falsified, that dangers and difficulties, which he ought to have foreseen, had been encountered, that it had been necessary to stimulate the

* These persons were in most cases rather incompetent. They were not boatmen or *voyageurs* at all, but clerks, shopmen, and land-lubbers from the Canadian towns, who had palmed themselves off on Lord Wolseley and his subordinates as experienced Canadian *voyageurs*.

energies of the Army by offering a money reward to the first detachment which reached Debbeh, and that by the first week of January, 1885, Lord Wolseley would have about 7,000 men at Ambukol, of whom, perhaps, 2,000 might be ready to dash across the desert to Shendy, from whence the decisive blow at the Mahdi must be struck—beyond these facts and conjectures nothing

THE CITADEL, CAIRO.

was known. Dim rumours of Gordon's futile sorties, of his feeling of disgust at being abandoned, and tidings that could not be doubted of the wreck of the steamer in which he had sent his gallant lieutenant, Colonel Stewart, and the British Consul at Khartoum, Mr. Frank Power, down to Berber, filled the minds of the people with the deepest anxiety. Gordon had sent Stewart to Berber with instructions to appeal to private munificence in the United States and British Colonies for funds with which to organise the relief expedition which he had ceased to beg from England. Stewart and his companions were murdered by natives after their steamer was [illegible]. Hence the journals and diaries which Stewart carried were conveyed [illegible]

Mahdi, who, finding from them that Gordon was in dire straits, pressed the siege with redoubled energy.

After the failure of the Conference to adjust the financial difficulties of Egypt, England "regained her freedom of action." Lord Northbrook, as we have seen, was sent to Cairo to report on the situation, which in reality was a very simple one. Egypt could not pay the annual interest on her debt, and the Foreign Powers would not, in the interests of the bondholders, submit to have it reduced unless better security were given for the principal. The only course open, therefore, was either repudiation, or the acknowledgment of British responsibility for the financial administration of Egypt, which would have enabled Mr. Gladstone to have cut down, not only the bondholders' interest, but also the taxes extorted from the Egyptian people. Lord Northbrook's appointment was caustically criticised by the Tory Opposition, who connected his family name of Baring with a mission undertaken in financial interests. His mission thus did much to destroy the confidence of the populace in the Government, and when he returned, his recommendations, so far as they could be discussed, still further discredited Mr. Gladstone's Government. For Lord Northbrook had discovered a third course open to him in Egypt. It was to leave the interest of Shylock untouched, but to meet the deficit in the Egyptian Budget, caused by the payment of Shylock's bond, by transferring from Egypt to England the burden of supporting the Army of Occupation.* As for the existing emergency, Lord Northbrook suggested temporary repudiation, and his suggestion was adopted. The Law of Liquidation was suspended, and the creditors of Egypt were asked to be satisfied with less than their due, till matters could be set right. The Queen's Government early in December attempted to meet the financial difficulty, by proposing to advance a 3½ per cent. loan to Egypt on the security of the Domain lands,† or personal estate of the Khedive. The Powers did not receive this proposal cordially. Necessity, which knows no law, having compelled the Egyptian Government, with the sanction of England, to suspend for the moment the Sinking Fund of the Unified Debt, a distinct violation of the Liquidation Law, the Debt Commission prosecuted the Egyptian Government before the International Tribunals. They of course gave judgment in favour of the

* This was not the only case in which Lord Northbrook had discredited the Administration. It was notorious that Mr. W. H Smith had shockingly neglected naval ship-building when, in 1880, he handed the Navy over to Lord Northbrook. Lord Northbrook had worked hard to make up arrears, and he had built new ships as fast as he could to enable the British Navy to rank with that of France. But his best efforts to correct Mr. Smith's negligence failed, and yet in July, 1885, he expressed himself quite satisfied with the Navy. When he was absent in Egypt a violent agitation, demonstrating the feebleness and insufficiency of the Navy, was raised in the Press. Ere the autumn Session ended he admitted that £5,000,000 above the ordinary estimates would be needed to strengthen the Fleet in swift cruisers and torpedo boats.

† Loans already secured on these were to merge in the Preference Debt along with bonds for Alexandria indemnities. The interest on it was not to change, but that on the Unified Debt into which Daira Loans were to merge, was to be reduced to 3½ per cent.

Commission. Germany and Russia at this juncture insisted on their representatives sharing all the rights and powers of the Debt Commission; indeed, Germany, irritated by the Foreign and Colonial policy of England, showed signs of supporting certain inconvenient claims to the Domain lands which the ex-Khedive, Ismail Pasha, put forward.*

The coolness between Germany and England which marked the last half of 1884 arose out of what was at the time termed the "scramble for Africa." The regions opened up by Mr. H. M. Stanley on the Congo had been practically occupied by an International Association, the head of which was the King of the Belgians. In fact, General Gordon was under an engagement to take up the government of this vast tract of land when he went to Khartoum. England, however, in order to exclude dangerous rivals, recognised the obsolete claims of Portugal to hold the outlet of the Congo; but, as Portuguese officials were alleged by commercial men to be obstructive and corrupt, this policy was not very popular. Germany, indeed, united the Powers in quashing it, and finally it was agreed that an International Conference should meet at Berlin to determine the conditions under which the outlet of the Congo should be controlled. But at this point Germany was sorely irritated by the provokingly vacillating policy of Lord Derby. There was a strip of territory, extending from Cape Colony to the Portuguese frontier on the Congo, in which a Bremen firm had established a trading settlement at Angra Pequena. They applied to Prince Bismarck for protection. He, in turn, asked Lord Granville if England claimed any sovereignty over this region (in which there was only a small British settlement at Walwich Bay), and whether the British Government could give the German traders the protection which they sought. Lord Kimberley, in his despatch to Sir Hercules Robinson of the 30th of December, had warned him that the Government refused to extend British jurisdiction north of the Orange River. But Lord Granville now told Prince Bismarck that, though English sovereignty had only been proclaimed formally at certain points along this coast, any encroachment on it by a foreign Power would be regarded by England as an encroachment on its rights. Again (31st of December, 1884) Prince Bismarck repeated his question—Did England propose to give the German traders protection, and, if so, what means had she at her disposal for that purpose? This despatch was referred to Lord Derby. He left it unanswered

* When Ismail abdicated under the pressure of France and England it was not made clear that he abandoned all his rights as a private landowner in Egypt. Theoretically the Khedive could not, according to Oriental usage, own any land in his dominions save as head of the State, in which capacity he owned all land. Hence, when he ceased to be Khedive, his private domains reverted to his successor. Hence Lord Granville always rejected Ismail's claim. But in 1888 Lord Salisbury, through the agency of Mr. Marriott, Judge Advocate-General, commuted all Ismail Pasha's claims for a lump sum calculated on the allowances he was bound to make his family, and which he himself might fairly demand to support his position as ex-Khedive. Lord Salisbury's object was to prevent these claims from being ever made the basis of operations for diplomacy hostile to England.

for six months, whereupon Prince Bismarck, stung by the affront, answered it in his own way by annexing Angra Pequena to Germany. Englishmen were indignant; but what was there to be said? The British Government refused at first to recognise the annexation. Then they said they would recognise it if Germany would pledge herself not to establish a penal colony on the coast, a demand which Prince Bismarck bluntly refused. Finally, when Lord Derby induced the Cape Colony to retaliate by annexing the coast round Angra Pequena between the Orange River and the Portuguese frontier, Prince Bismarck declined to recognise such an act of annexation. After this event Germany, concealing her designs, despatched an expedition to seize the Cameroons, over which the British Government, in response to the desire of the native chiefs, had already decided to extend a British Protectorate. Disputed land-claims, which German subjects in Fiji preferred in 1874, were also revived. In 1874 England had refused even to investigate them. Now, however, Lord Granville agreed to submit them to a mixed Commission. The British Government surrendered to Germany on these questions, by a curious coincidence, at the very time they issued their invitations to the London Conference on Egypt, in which they were expecting the support of Germany for their Egyptian policy.* As a matter of fact, this support was not obtained. In the Conference Count Münster, on behalf of Germany, stood neutral between France and England, who were unable to reconcile their interests. But he persisted in thrusting before the meeting the question of the imperfect administration of quarantine in Egypt by English officials, and on the 5th of August Lord Granville abruptly dissolved the Conference, because this matter was beyond the scope of its discussion. Nor was Prince Bismarck wrathful against England merely because he imagined that Lord Derby had some deep design of thwarting the sudden desire of Germany for colonial expansion.

In a moment of weakness, and when the laurels of victory had not quite faded from the brows of the heroes of Tel-el-Kebir, the British Government had applied to Prince Bismarck for hints and suggestions as to what they should do in Egypt. According to Lord Granville, Prince Bismarck's advice was "Take it." † According to Prince Bismarck, whilst he assured Lord Ampthill that Germany would not oppose the British annexation of

* The dates are curious:—

17 June, 1884.—Invitations to Egyptian Conference issued.

" " Lord Derby promises to stop the action of the Cape Government in reference to Angra Pequena.

19 " Lord Granville assures Count Münster that he accedes to Bismarck's wishes on the Fiji dispute.

22 " Lord Granville tells Count Herbert Bismarck that the Cabinet, on the 21st inst., resolved to recognise the German Protectorate over Angra Pequena.

28 " Meeting of the Conference in London.

† Speech in House of Lords, February 26th, 1885.

Egypt, his advice was that England should "establish a certain [illegible] position in this connecting link between her European and Asiatic possessions" by administering Egypt as a leaseholder from the Sultan. In this way England, he thought, would attain her purpose, and yet escape a conflict with existing treaties, and "avoid putting France and other Powers out of temper."* His counsel was not followed, which was the first affront. The

BALMORAL CASTLE, FROM CRAIG NORDIE.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

feeble course actually adopted—that of attempting to govern Egypt by advice—had ended in a financial crisis that alarmed all the German bondholders, and they in turn put pressure on Prince Bismarck, that still further increased his irritation against England. Hence, when towards the end of 1884 he meditated a stroke of Colonial policy at the Antipodes, he showed little respect for British susceptibilities. In this new departure he was materially assisted by the incredible folly of Lord Derby. At the end of 1883 the Government of Queensland had sent a police magistrate to annex New Guinea, or rather that portion of it not claimed by the Dutch. [illegible] had already been annexed by wandering British navigators, but r[illegible]

* Speech in the Reichstag, March 2nd, 1885.

foreign designs on the island had quickened the apprehensions and action of the Australians. Lord Derby repudiated this act of annexation. As Lord Derby had been sedulous in warning the Colonists that in war they must defend themselves, it was not easy to understand why he objected to their occupying a territory which, if held by a foreign enemy, would give him a good base of operations against Australia. Ultimately, he nerved himself to the hazard of annexing the southern portion of New Guinea, east of the Dutch possessions, provided the Australian Colonies would enter into a federal engagement to bear part of the expense of holding and governing the country. Lord Derby had not, however, taken care in proclaiming in October, 1884, his intention of annexation to warn foreign Powers off other portions of the island and adjacent archipelago. He virtually invited rival Governments to slip in and seize what he had left untouched. The end of the year, therefore, saw the German flag flying over the unoccupied portion of New Guinea, and the archipelago of New Ireland and New Britain, and all Australia was in an uproar. These events stirred the sluggish heart of Lord Derby. He promptly forestalled a project of German annexation in South Africa by hoisting the British flag at Saint Lucia Bay and over the region between Cape Colony and Natal, known as Pondoland.

On the 25th of January the Marquis of Hertford, one of the ornaments of the Queen's Court in her happier days, passed away from the scene. Lord Hertford had distinguished himself as an ideal Lord Chamberlain from 1874 to 1879, and he had won the confidence of her Majesty whilst serving as Equerry to the Prince Consort. This, he used to say, was the most interesting part of his career, and among his friends he occasionally told many curious stories, brightly illustrative of Court life in the Victorian period. He had a profound and warm regard for the Prince Consort, who talked more freely to him than to most men, chiefly, he said, because he knew his Equerry kept no diary. Lord Hertford's stories all tended to throw light on the singularly unselfish nature of his Royal master. One of them, for example, was to the effect that when the Queen and the Prince were crossing the Solent, Lord Hertford, on appearing on deck, found the Prince pacing about and enjoying the fresh breeze, whereas the Queen had been compelled to retire to her cabin. He said to the Prince he was surprised to find him on deck in such a breeze, as he had always heard that his Royal Highness was a bad sailor. The Prince replied, "I know people say that about me, and imagine that the Queen never suffers from sea-sickness. It is better it should be so. The English laugh so much at sea-sickness, that I prefer the laugh should be against me rather than against the Queen."

In the second week in February the Queen published a continuation of her "Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands," the dedication of which was in these words:—"To my loyal Highlanders, and especially to the memory of my devoted personal attendant and faithful friend, John Brown,

these records of my widowed life in Scotland are gratefully dedicated." In this volume she displayed much of the latent Jacobitism which one is apt to develop in the atmosphere of the northern mountains, and again and again when she records her visits to the scenes, rich in the storied memories of "the '15 and the '45," she expresses her feeling of pride and gratitude that she has inherited, not only the throne of the Stuarts, but the fervent loyalty that bound so many gallant hearts to the cause of "bonnie Prince Charlie." Her reminiscences are somewhat tinged with melancholy, but the great and motherly loving-heartedness of the book is its chief charm, and secured for it an amazing popularity. It was said that the circulating libraries ordered copies by the ton, and the Press teemed with favourable reviews, in which her Majesty took great interest. As usual, however, she only read those that were marked for her perusal by her ladies. The cover was designed by the Princess Beatrice, and was in every way tasteful and artistic. But the portraits which embellished the work were badly reproduced. That of Brown, however, it may be noted, was an exception, for he was "flattered" by the artist out of all recognition.

The year 1884 was one that brought much sorrow to the Royal Family. During the months of January and February, whilst the Court was at Osborne, though her Majesty's health had visibly improved, yet she was still suffering from the effects of her accident, and was quite unable to remain long in a standing position. On the 19th of February the Court removed to Windsor, and it was rumoured that the Queen would spend Easter in Germany. She was, in truth, desirous of being present at the marriage of her granddaughter, the Princess Victoria of Hesse, to Prince Louis of Battenberg. On the 26th of March she received Lieutenant W. Lloyd, R.H.A., at Windsor, when he presented to her one of the Mahdi's flags which had been taken at Tokar, and just as preparations for the German tour were being made, the Royal Household was plunged into grief by sudden tidings of the death of the Duke of Albany, on the 28th of March. He had been living at Cannes for a few weeks. He had taken part with great glee in the festivities of the gayest season that had ever been witnessed in Nice. He returned to Cannes on the 27th, and it seems he had, in mounting the stairs of the Naval Club in the afternoon, fallen and hurt his right knee. He was attended to by Dr. Royle, and, though he went to bed, conversed quite gaily with those round him. At half-past two on the morning of the 28th Dr. Royle was roused by the sound of his stertorous breathing, and, on going to his bedside, found him dying in a fit. The news of his death reached Windsor at noon, and Sir H. Ponsonby broke it gently to the Queen, who was at first so prostrated with grief that her condition alarmed her attendants. As soon as she rallied her Majesty sent the Princess Beatrice to Claremont House,

* More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands. From 1862 to 1882. Smith, Elder & Co., 1884.

comfort the Duchess of Albany, then in a delicate state of health. In the afternoon the ex-Empress Eugénie, clad in the deepest mourning, visited the Queen, and stayed till about seven in the evening. She informed those to whom she spoke when she left that her Majesty had apparently obtained some relief by giving expression to her anguish in the sympathetic presence of a friend who

FUNERAL OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY. THE PROCESSION ENTERING WINDSOR CASTLE.

had herself suffered many sorrowful bereavements. To none did the sad news convey so severe a shock as to the Prince of Wales. The telegram was handed to him whilst he was chatting with some friends in Lord Sefton's box on the Grand Stand at the Aintree Race-course, and at first the Prince seemed dazed with the message. He was only able to mutter to Lord Sefton in broken accents, "Albany is dead." Having retired to his private room to compose his nerves, he drove off immediately to Croxteth. The rumour of the Duke's death flew round the race-course, but at first was disbelieved. Then the sports were

stopped, and the stampede of the pleasure-seekers to Liverpool, where it was hoped that the news would be contradicted, will long be remembered. In London the event was the theme of sympathetic discussion in every train and omnibus and tramcar in the afternoon, as men were returning home from business. The workmen's clubs at night adjourned their political debates as a mark of sympathy for the Queen. On the following day her Majesty and the Princess Beatrice visited the Duchess of Albany, and the meeting was most

VIEW IN CLAREMONT PARK.

touching and mournful. All the details of the funeral arrangements were superintended by the Queen, but the body of the Prince was brought back to England under the personal direction and care of the Prince of Wales, and buried on the 5th of April with solemn pomp in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Six of the pall-bearers—Lord Castlereagh, Lord Brook, Lord Harris, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Walter Campbell, and Mr. Mills—were undergraduates with the dead Prince at Christ Church.

The Duke of Albany once said, "I do not understand why people [illegible] always be so kind to me." The reason was not far to seek. He was a [illegible] man with an interesting and amiable personality. He had a [illegible]

recalled his father, but with a dash of gaiety of heart which rendered him more acceptable to society than the Prince Consort ever managed to become. His long life of suffering and pain secured for him the sympathies of the people. Despite his ill-health he was even in childhood a bright and promising boy. Professor Tyndall has spoken highly of his capacity at this period, and Dean Stanley, one of his early mentors, so deeply influenced him that at one time the Prince indicated a desire to take Orders in the Anglican Church. At Oxford he was prohibited by the physicians from reading for honours, and after he became a member of the House of Lords, the Queen, noticing his eager interest in politics, had some trouble in dissuading him from plunging into the debates, as a free lance who loved to "drink delight of battle with his peers."

When he was thwarted in this design, the Prince suggested that his services might be utilised in another direction. At the time Lord Normanby resigned the Governorship of Victoria Prince Leopold applied to Mr. Gladstone for the post, and the Tory newspapers and orators of the period heaped the most extravagant abuse on Mr. Gladstone for refusing the offer. Mr. Gladstone was even challenged in the House of Commons on the subject, but his lips being sealed by the Queen, he was unable to defend himself, or do more than make an evasive and ambiguous statement. The truth, however, was that Mr. Gladstone did not refuse the Prince's offer. He referred it to Mr. Murray Smith, Agent-General for Victoria in London, with a request for his opinion. Mr. Smith replied that the appointment would give great satisfaction in Australia, but when the matter was laid before the Queen she peremptorily vetoed the project, assigning as a reason her fear that the Prince's ill-health unfitted him for the duties of the position to which he aspired. Obvious reasons of State have, however, always made the Sovereigns of the Hanoverian dynasty reluctant to permit Princes of the Blood-Royal to serve as satraps in distant colonies where aspirations to independence are not always dormant.

Prince Leopold was a pleasing and polished orator, and being the only member of his family who spoke the English tongue without any trace of a German accent, his platform performances were always successful. His addresses reflected the thoughtful, cultivated mind of a young man who had lived much in the companionship of books, and who had read discursively without studying deeply. He was never commonplace, and his merely formal utterances were usually marked by a distinction of style, that well became a princely scholar. In the singularly beautiful preface which the Princess Christian wrote for the "Biographical Sketch and Letters" of her sister, the Grand Duchess of Hesse (Princess Alice), she says that as the Duke of Albany was the last to see her gifted sister in life, so he was the first of the Queen's children "to follow her into the silent land." It is a curious fact that, as with her, the shadow of early death seems to have cast itself in the form of presentiment over his young life. Mr. Frederick

Myers, in his eulogistic reminiscences of the Duke of Albany, alludes to this circumstance in the following passage :—" The last time I saw him [the Duke of Albany] to speak to," writes a friend from Cannes, March 30th, "being two days before he died, he *would* talk to me about death, and said he would like a military funeral, and, in fact, I had great difficulty in getting him off this melancholy subject. Finally, I asked, 'Why, sir, do you talk in this morose manner?' As he was about to answer he was called away, and said, 'I'll tell you later.' I never saw him to speak to again, but he finished his answer to another lady, and said, 'For two nights now the Princess Alice has appeared to me in my dreams, and says she is quite happy, and that she wants me to come and join her. That's what makes me so thoughtful.' " *

The death of the Duke of Albany hushed the gaiety of a highly promising season, and West End tradesmen were full of lamentation when it was rumoured that the Court would shroud itself in gloom during the whole summer, though the official period of Court mourning was to end in May. But it was not alone in London that the Prince was mourned. His neighbours at Esher, rich and poor alike, felt his loss severely. They all spoke well of him and of his young wife, and recalled pleasant memories of his kindliness—how he joined the local chess club, sang at local concerts, and interested himself in the Duchess's schemes for boarding out pauper children. After the death of the Duke the Queen announced her intention of maintaining Claremont as a residence for the widowed Duchess, a generous act, because Prince Leopold used to say that even with £20,000 a year to live on, Claremont kept him a poor man. But for the £20,000 which the Queen spent on the property during 1883 and 1884, this residence would in truth have seriously embarrassed him. † As a matter of fact, the favourite dwelling of the Duke of Albany was not Claremont but Boyton Manor, near Warminster in Wiltshire, of which place he was tenant when he died, and in the neighbourhood of which his memory is still lovingly cherished.‡

* *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1884.

† The Claremont Estate was bought by the Crown in 1816 It was granted to the lamented Princess Charlotte and her husband, Prince Leopold—the Queen's uncle—with benefit of survivorship. It was a place full of gloomy associations, but Prince Leopold kept it up pretty well till 1848, on the £60,000 a year which he had from the nation. In 1848 the exiled Orleans family occupied it, and were prodigal in spending money in improving the grounds and gardens, which were almost as productive as those of Frogmore. On the death of King Leopold of Belgium, Claremont reverted to the Crown, and Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone passed an Act granting it to the Queen for life. In 188[illegible] Sir Henry Ponsonby, as trustee for the Queen, bought the reversionary interest of it for her from the State for £70,000, and since then it has been her private property, like Osborne and [illegible]. [illegible] Claremont is the property of the nation is a strange delusion fondly cherished by [illegible].

‡ Prince Leopold lived chiefly at Boyton Manor from the summer of 1875 till the [illegible] when the Queen insisted on his going to Claremont. It was at Boyton that he [illegible] ill in 1877 that Sir William Jenner telegraphed for the Queen to come to [illegible] be his deathbed. After that her Majesty always objected to his staying in [illegible].

Soon after the funeral of the Duke of Albany the Queen was recommended by Sir William Jenner to go to Germany, and she thus resolved to visit her son-in-law and grandchildren at Darmstadt, where the marriage of the Princess Victoria of Hesse with Prince Louis of Battenberg was to be celebrated at the end of the month (April). Sir William believed that the change of scene and surroundings would do the Queen more good than a mournful sojourn at Osborne, where everything must recall reminiscences of her dead son. Her Majesty accordingly left Windsor on the 15th of April for Port Victoria, whence she embarked on the *Osborne* and arrived at Flushing next morning. Therefrom she went by rail to Darmstadt, arriving early on the morning of the 17th. The voyage was unpleasant, and the weather between the Nore and the Scheldt so heavy that the Queen had to remain in her cabin during the greater part of her journey. Only the Grand Duke of Hesse and his daughters were on the platform to meet her Majesty, who had desired her reception to be as private as possible. Ere she left England she forwarded to the newspapers through the Home Secretary a letter expressing her gratitude to the people for their loving sympathy with her and the Duchess of Albany in their bereavement.

On the 30th of April the marriage of the Queen's granddaughter, the Princess Victoria of Hesse, with Prince Louis of Battenberg, was solemnised in the small whitewashed Puritanical-looking chapel at Darmstadt, which was thronged with a brilliant crowd of specially invited guests, among whom the Queen, in her sombre mourning, was one of the most striking figures. With the Queen there were present, besides the family of the bride and bridegroom, the young Princesses of Wales. The German Crown Prince led in the Princess of Wales, and the German Crown Princess was escorted by her brother, the Prince of Wales; Prince William of Prussia led in the Princess Beatrice, and the dark, Jewish-looking Prince of Bulgaria (brother of the bridegroom) escorted with obsequious gallantry the Princess Victoria of Prussia. The ceremony was short, simple, and touching; but the sermon on the duties of marriage which the Court preacher delivered was long and prosy. The Queen, after the ceremony was over, retired to the Palace, and did not attend the wedding banquet in the Schloss. The weather, which had been cold and bleak when the Queen arrived, suddenly became fine and mild, and she was, therefore, able to amuse herself in the public gardens. She had gone to Darmstadt rather reluctantly, but was now glad that she had taken Sir William Jenner's advice. By her own wish she was lodged in the Neue Schloss, which she had built, at a cost of nearly £25,000, as a palace for the Princess Alice and her husband, and in the beautiful grounds of this place she drove about every morning in a pony-carriage with the Princess Beatrice. She took long drives every afternoon, and visited Auerbach (the chief country seat of the Grand Duke) and his shooting-lodge at Kranichstein. The ex-Empress Eugénie had offered to lend Arenenberg (a

charming villa near Constance) to the Queen, but she did not desire to extend her tour beyond Darmstadt, and so the offer was not accepted. Accompanied by the Princess Beatrice, the Grand Duke, and the Princess Elizabeth of Hesse, her Majesty returned to Windsor on the 7th of May.

THE LINN OF DEE. (*From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.*)

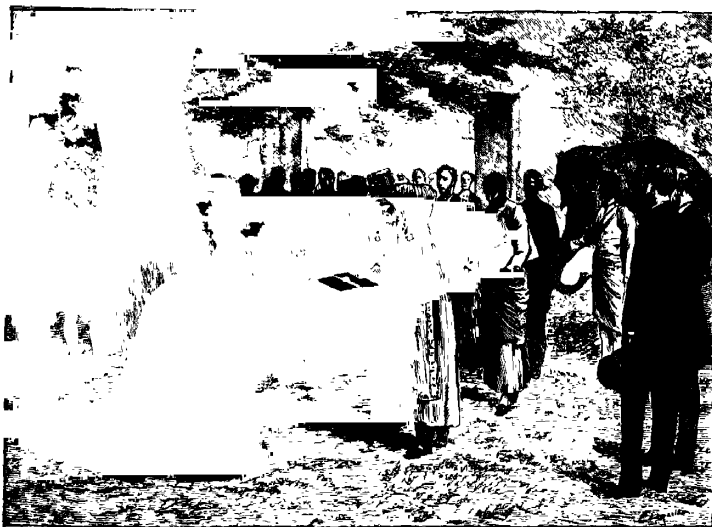
London was still dull and gloomy. Court mourning and the absence of the Prince of Wales (who was visiting his sister in Berlin) made the season of 1884 melancholy. On the 10th of May the Queen, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and the Princess Elizabeth paid a visit of condolence to the Duchess of Albany at Claremont, and on the 22nd her Majesty left Windsor for Balmoral. That she was much improved in health was evident, because not only were the public admitted to the railway-station at Perth, and Ferryhill, Aberdeen, but at the former she was able to walk from her carriage

the reception-room with a firm step and without assistance. It was a lovely warm day when her Majesty and suite drove along the north side of the Dee from Ballater to Balmoral. The sixty-fifth anniversary of her Majesty's birthday was observed in London officially on the 24th of May, but Ministerial State dinners were not given owing to the Royal Family being in mourning. The anniversary was not to be kept at Balmoral, but at last the Queen directed that her servants, with those from Abergeldie and Birkhall, should dine in the Ball Room of the Castle, under the presidency of her Commissioner, Dr. Profeit. In the morning Mr. Boehm's life-size statue of John Brown arrived, and it was placed on a pedestal in the grounds of Balmoral at a spot about two hundred yards north-west of the Castle, the site being selected by the Queen. The great sculptor superintended the ceremony of unveiling his work. On the 15th of June the Queen attended Crathie Church, for the first time since October, 1882, greatly to the relief of her God-fearing neighbours, who had begun to entertain a shocking suspicion that she had given up attendance at "public worship." On the 25th the Court returned to Windsor, after a delightful holiday spent in the brightest and sunniest of weather. Every afternoon the Queen had been able to drive about Deeside, and she had even visited, though she had not stayed at, her cottage at the Glassalt Shiel. Though the return of the Prince of Wales to town from Wiesbaden early in June had given a fillip to a chilling season, Society was dull in the summer of 1884. Lord Sydney and Lord Kenmare had gently suggested to the Queen that her refusal to permit Drawing Rooms and State Concerts to be held was causing much disappointment at the West End, but without avail. Her Majesty, however, showed much tenacity in forbidding these functions, the proposal of which by the great officers of the Household she deemed disrespectful to the memory of her dead son. Nor was she conciliated by being reminded that during the season of 1861, after the death of the Duchess of Kent, she had held Drawing Rooms herself, whereas now she had the Princess of Wales ready to relieve her of the burden of attending them. Londoners, however, had their compensations. They discovered, in the gay and glittering gardens of the Health Exhibition at South Kensington, with their English and German bands and their brilliant combinations of Chinese lanterns and electric lamps, a delightful *al fresco* lounge. Here in the summer evenings the pursuit of pleasure was combined with a chastened homage to the cause of scientific enlightenment and social improvement. This was one of a series of specialised exhibitions, the organisation of which had been the work of the Prince of Wales, who also earned the gratitude of the town at this time by persuading the Queen to let him hold two Levees on her behalf. On the 20th of July the Queen and Princess Beatrice were at Claremont, where the Duchess of Albany gave birth to a son; after which her Majesty proceeded to Osborne on the 30th of the month, where she was visited by the German Crown Prince and Princess. An interesting event

in the life of the Court in the season of 1884 was the reception given by the venerable Duchess of Cambridge at St. James's Palace on the 25th of July to celebrate the completion of her eighty-seventh year. The season of 1884 virtually ended with the Garden Party which the Prince of Wales gave at Marlborough House on the same day. In ended, as it began, gloomily, and the social chroniclers lamented the poorness of the entertainments, the badness of the dinners, the mournfulness of the balls. They only brightened up when they recorded, with a transient gleam of joy, that, though all the "great houses" attended by Royalty had been closed, three had opened their doors since Easter, namely, Devonshire House, where Lord Hartington entertained guests twice; Norfolk House, where Lord and Lady Edmond Talbot gave a ball that was endurable; and Stafford House, where, at a small party in the middle of July, the Prince and Princess of Wales made their first appearance in Society since their mourning.

During August the Queen was much troubled as to the issue of the political crisis arising out of the Reform Bill debates, and the threatened conflict between the democracy and the House of Lords. She earnestly deprecated an attack on the Peers during the Recess, and Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues paid due deference to her opinions. She sent twice for Lord Rowton—better known, when Mr. Disraeli's private secretary, as Mr. Montagu Corry—whom she regarded as the inheritor of Lord Beaconsfield's ideas, to consult him on the situation. She made it clear to him that she was unwilling to use her Prerogative for the purpose of creating new Peers to force the Reform Bill through the Upper House. From this it was inferred that if the House of Lords resisted to the bitter end, the Queen would prefer to coerce them by a dissolution rather than by Prerogative. Lord Wolseley and Lord Northbrook were also summoned about this time to consult with her on the prospects of a campaign in Egypt. These anxious conferences were held after she had received the Abyssinian Envoys on the 20th of August. They had come to England bearing copies of a Treaty which had been concluded at Adowah with King John of Abyssinia. They were received by the Queen at Osborne, and at their audience they presented her Majesty with letters from King John and with various gifts, among which were a young elephant and a large monkey. Ere the Court left Osborne the Queen surprised the country by announcing her decision to confer the Order of the Garter on Prince George of Wales, for there was no precedent for giving the Garter to a junior member of the Royal Family in his minority. When the Queen came to the Throne there were only four Royal Knights of this Order, and pedants of heraldry now complained that there were twenty-eight, and that the Royal Knights outnumbered the ordinary ones.

On the 1st of September the Court proceeded to Balmoral, the Queen [illegible] accompanied by the Crown Princess and Princess Beatrice. The [illegible] the Court at Balmoral, and the visit of Mr. Gladstone to Invercauld, [illegible] Braemar to overflowing. On the 18th of September the Queen held a [illegible]

Balmoral, at which Mr. Gladstone, Lord Fife, and Sir H. Ponsonby were present, Mr. Gladstone afterwards dining with her Majesty. Lord Ripon having resigned office as Viceroy of India, his successor, Lord Dufferin, visited the Queen at Balmoral in October. One by one the Royal guests fled southwards, and finally the Queen and Princess Beatrice left the Highlands for Windsor on the 20th of November—her Majesty's return being hastened by grave political anxieties caused by the threatened collision between the two Houses of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone had at Balmoral so earnestly deprecated the obstinacy of

THE QUEEN RECEIVING THE ABYSSINIAN ENVOYS AT OSBORNE.

the Peers, and so clearly pointed out to the Queen the difficulty of avoiding this collision whilst they persisted in their anti-Reform policy, that her Majesty subsequently used all her influence to bring about a compromise. It was with a view to renew her efforts in this direction that she returned to Windsor at the time when Lord Granville was offering to submit a draft Redistribution Bill for friendly but private inspection by the Tory leaders, provided the Peers would give a pledge to pass the Franchise Bill during the autumn Session. The appearance of Mrs. Gladstone's name among the list of those who were at Lady Salisbury's reception in Arlington Street on the 19th of November, was taken as an auspicious omen, and as indicating that the Conservative chiefs had not been insensible to the advice which the Queen had given to the Duke of Richmond in the Highlands. The supreme difficulty of bringing about the Reform compromise lay in breaking down the resistance of Lord

Salisbury and the Tory Peers, who were resolved to force a dissolution on the basis of the old franchise. This resistance gradually weakened after Mr. Gladstone's visit to Balmoral. That it finally disappeared was mainly due to the firm but gentle pressure which the Queen put on the Duke of Richmond in order to induce him and his colleagues to accept a compromise. The actual details of the Treaty between Mr. Gladstone and the Peers were settled in London. But the preliminaries of Peace were really negotiated by the Queen and the Duke of Richmond in Aberdeenshire, after the memorable "gathering of the clans" at Braemar in the autumn of 1884. After the return of the Court from Scotland many guests were received at Windsor, among whom Lord Sydney—who audits her Majesty's private accounts, and, since the death of the Prince Consort, has been her confidential adviser—was one of the most favoured. On the 17th of December the Court removed to Osborne.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE NEW DEPARTURE.

An *Annus Mirabilis*—Breaking up of the Old Parties—The Tory-Parnellite Alliance—Mr. Chamberlain's Socialism—The Doctrine of "Ransom"—Effect of the Reform Bill and Seats Bill—Enthroning the "Sovereign People"—Three Reform Struggles: 1832, 1867, 1885—"One Man One Vote"—Another Vote of Censure—A Barren Victory—Retreat from the Soudan—The Dispute with Russia—Komaroff at Penjdeh—The Vote of Credit—On the Verge of War—Mr. Gladstone's Compromise with Russia—Threatened Renewal of the Crimes Act—The Tory Intrigue with the Parnellites—The Tory Chiefs Decide to Oppose Coercion—Wrangling in the Cabinet—Mr Childers' Budget—A Yawning Deficit—Increasing the Spirit Duties—Re-adjusting the Succession Duties—Combined Attack by Tories and Parnellites on the Budget—Defeat of the Government and Fall of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry—The Scene in the Commons—The Tories in Power—Lord Salisbury's Government—Places for the Fourth Party—Mr Parnell Demands his Price—Abandoning Lord Spencer—Re-opening the Question of the Maamtrasna Murders—Concessions to the Parnellites—The New Budget—Sir H. D. Wolff sent to Cairo—The Criminal Law Amendment Act—Court Life in 1885—Affairs at Home and Abroad—The Fall of Khartoum—Death of General Gordon—Beginning of the Burmese Question—Rebellion in Canada—Marriage of the Princess Beatrice—The Battenbergs.

After the compromise had been arranged between the rival political leaders on the Franchise Bill and the Bill for the Redistribution of Seats, it has been said that Parliament adjourned to the 19th of February, 1885—an *annus mirabilis* in the Queen's reign. It witnessed the final settlement of the Reform Question which the Whigs left unsettled in 1832. It witnessed the amazing development of the Home Rule movement in Ireland under two influences. The first was extended Franchise. The second was the alliance between the Parnellites and the Tory Party, which had grown out of the intrigues of Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and Mr. Rowland Winn, the Tory whip, with Mr. Justin McCarthy, and other Irish Nationalist leaders. Every day brought forth a new outward and visible sign of this alliance, and in Ireland, when it was bruited about that

Tories were ready not only to attack and overthrow Lord Spencer, who was still upholding English authority at Dublin Castle almost in the same sense that General Gordon was upholding it at Khartoum, the result was inevitable. The large class of Irishmen who from motives of self-interest, business connection, or personal feeling were willing to stand by the English Government in Dublin so long as they felt sure that England would stand by them, began to waver in their allegiance. Like the same sort of people in the Soudan, and even in Khartoum when they saw Gordon abandoned by those who were supposed to be truest to him, they began to make terms with their Mahdi. If the Tories were buying the Parnellite vote to-day, the Liberals would soon be found bidding higher for it to-morrow, and Irishmen, whose interests and timidity alone served to keep them loyal to Dublin Castle so long as they felt absolutely certain of the support of both political parties in England, began in 1885 to stream over to Mr. Parnell's camp. The stream was obviously swollen when a coalition of the Parnellites and Tories expelled Mr. Gladstone's Government from office, and when it was known that the Parnellite vote had been obtained on the faith of a promise from the Tory leaders that they would not only abandon the Crimes Act if they came into office, but join Mr. Parnell in opposing Mr. Gladstone's Government if it sought to renew it. The year also witnessed the end of the Egyptian tragedy, the conquest of Burmah, the semi-Socialistic propaganda of Mr. Chamberlain, the General Election which made Mr. Parnell master of Ireland, and shattered the English Party system that had been built up after 1846, and the rumoured adoption of Home Rule as a part of Mr. Gladstone's programme.

During the first weeks of 1885—the winter recess, as it might be called—Mr. Chamberlain spread terror through the land by making a strong Socialistic appeal to the new Electors. He was evidently bent on breaking up the old Liberal Party—perhaps he saw his way to the formation of a new democratic faction into which many of the "Tory democracy," created by Lord Randolph Churchill, might drift. Signs were not wanting that a coalition between these successful politicians was in certain circumstances quite a possible contingency. In the meantime, Mr. Chamberlain and his followers preached what he called the "doctrine of ransom." This meant that when a man became rich he was to purchase the privilege of keeping his wealth by paying taxes now borne by the poor, and if need be by providing new taxes in order to give the poor a larger share of the comforts and enjoyments of life than fell to their lot. Mr. Chamberlain in fact offered to "ransom" the thrifty classes from confiscation provided they taxed themselves to give the poor free libraries, pleasure-gardens, education, improved dwellings at "fair rents," allotments of land, and work and employment in time of distress. It was part of his scheme to abolish indirect taxation. His lieutenant, Mr. Jesse Collings, formulated the portion of

it which dealt with the land by popularising the idea that it was the [illegible] of the ratepayers to set up agricultural labourers in the business of [illegible] with "three acres and a cow" to start with. Government, in fact, [illegible] according to Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Collings, to act as a kind of [illegible] Cooperative Store, or "Universal Provider" for the proletariat.

When the House of Commons met on the 19th of February there was a general desire to make rapid progress with the Reform Bills. Efforts to secure the representation of minorities, to oppose an increase in the members of the House, to cut down the representation of Ireland, to disfranchise the Universities, were resisted, and the alliance of the two Front Benches crushed all opposition. One member only was successful in carrying an amendment. This was Mr. Raikes, who had been Chairman of Committees in Lord Beaconsfield's Government, and who now succeeded in reducing the perpetual penalties inflicted on voters in corrupt boroughs. On the 11th of May the Seats Bill was read a third time, and when it went to the House of Lords it was speedily passed. The Tories, who objected to the compromise, found spokesmen in Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Chaplin, and Mr. Raikes. The opposition of the last-named was the most active, but it merely resulted in effecting a few changes in the nomenclature of the Bill, and in what the *Times* termed "his more than paternal solicitude for the leisurely progress of the measure."

No measure of reform proposed in the Queen's reign by a responsible politician was ever designed to produce such a mighty change in the British Constitution as the Reform Bill of 1885. Lord Grey and Lord John Russell, by their Bill in 1832, added not quite half a million voters to the Electorate of the United Kingdom. The Reform Bill of 1867 increased the Electorate from 1,136,000 to 2,448,000. In 1885 it had grown to be 3,000,000, and to this number Mr. Gladstone's Bill added 2,000,000 new voters.* The Seats Bill, which distributed the 5,000,000 electors into electoral groups, was a much more complex measure. The chief difficulties were two in number. First, there was that of determining the standard by which the claim of a borough to separate representation could be conceded; secondly, there was the difficulty of discovering how votes should be cast in towns possessing more than one member. Here curious contrasts can be drawn between the old order and the new.

* The borough franchises of England and Wales were the old £20 clear annual value qualification of 1832, and the householder and lodger franchises established in 1867. To these the new Reform Act of 1885 added the "service franchise," giving a vote to any man who inhabits any dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment. Caretakers, bailiffs, gamekeepers, officers of [illegible] establishments, shepherds, &c., were admitted under this qualification. It was further provided [illegible] every citizen of full age, and not subject to legal incapacity, who has occupied a house for a [illegible] paid his rates, can have his name registered as a voter for the district, whether it be called county [illegible] borough, in which he resides. The property franchises in the counties were in the main [illegible] but provision was made to check multiplication of faggot votes—*i.e.*, votes of non-resident [illegible] sham qualifications. But four-fifths of the 5,000,000 electors enfranchised by the Bill [illegible] qualified as simple householders in town and county.

Redistribution of seats in 1832 meant the transfer of a vast body of power from the aristocracy to the middle-class, and the liberation of the Commons from the despotism of the Peers, who ruled it through the nominees who represented their pocket boroughs. Little wonder that the sweeping disfranchisement of these constituencies brought the country to the verge of revolution. In 1867 it was

PRINCE HENRY OF BATTENBERG.

(From a Photograph by Theodor Prümm, Berlin.)

not the aristocracy but the middle-class which dreaded the kind of disfranchisement that proceeds from destroying the separate representation or reducing the redundant representation of a constituency. Hence, though the contest in 1867 was warm, it was not fierce. But in 1885, on the other hand, no popular excitement could be raised over the question of Redistribution, and the nation grew sick of the controversy as to whether a Seats Bill should be taken before, with, or after a Franchise Bill. And yet the redistribution of power proposed

by Mr. Gladstone's Bill in 1885, and which sprang from the compromise [illegible] the Opposition in December, 1884, effected changes vaster by far than those that shook Society to its foundation in 1832. In 1832, what nearly came to civil war was waged over 143 seats, liberated by disfranchisement for redistribution.* In 1885 Mr. Gladstone had 178 seats representing 26·5 per cent. of the

PRINCESS BEATRICE.

(From a Photograph by Hughes and Mullins, Ryde.)

representation of the country to redistribute. Of this number more than [illegible] —about 96—were given to the counties, whose Electorate had been enormously increased by the absorption of small boroughs, as well as by the extension [illegible]

* There were 56 two-member constituencies wholly disfranchised, and 31 which lost a member [illegible] But by Mr. Gladstone's Bill in 1885, there were 160 seats set free for redistribution, [illegible] abeyance were revived, and to meet the claim of Scotland for increased representation, [illegible] despite the opposition of the extreme Tories like Sir J. D. Hay, were added to the [illegible]

household franchise, whereas in 1832, the counties only pulled 56 of the liberated seats out of the scramble. Of the boroughs which Mr. Gladstone disfranchised, 20 had their representation cut down to one member in 1832, and two, Kendal and Whitby—which Lord John Russell created as new boroughs—lost their separate representation in 1885. The great merit of the Bill was that, as far as possible, it created single-member constituencies on the basis of population, which was as close an approach to equal electoral districts as Mr. Gladstone could make. Large towns, instead of being treated as single electoral units with cumulative voting, were cut up into single-member constituencies as nearly as possible equal in point of population. The Bills for Scotland and Ireland were drawn on the same lines, but adapted to local circumstances.

Up to Whitsuntide Government business was sadly in arrear—foreign questions diverting attention from domestic legislation. The fall of Khartoum, the retreat of Lord Wolseley's advance column in the Soudan, the defeats and disasters of the campaign, the deaths of Generals Gordon, Stewart, and Earle, together with wild rumours of an Arab invasion of Egypt, excited Parliament to a state of high tension. The Government called out the Reserves, announced that they would crush the Mahdi, and ordered the war against Osman Digna to be renewed. The Opposition in the last week of February brought forward a vote of censure on the Ministerial policy in Egypt, calling on Ministers to recognise British responsibility for Egypt and those parts of the Soudan which were necessary for the security of Egypt. Mr. Gladstone evaded any positive declaration of policy, and the Liberal party spoke with two voices, some being for complete withdrawal from Egypt, others being in favour of administering its affairs in the name of the Khedive, but none being bold enough to advocate any permanent course of action. The Ministry were saved from defeat by 302 votes to 288, and this narrow majority was a warning of their coming doom.

A dispute then arose as to the plan adopted for rescuing Egypt from a financial crisis. This plan was embodied in a convention with the Powers and assented to by the Porte, by which a loan of £9,000,000 under International guarantee was advanced to Egypt to save her from bankruptcy, in consideration of which the Powers agreed to suspend the Law of Liquidation and cut down the interest on all Egyptian securities by 5 per cent. That on the Suez Bonds payable to the English Government was, however, reduced by 10 per cent. The arrangement was to last for two years, and if Egypt was still bankrupt in 1887, then her affairs would be subject to an International inquiry. No care had been taken to prevent the International guarantee of the loan carrying with it the right of International intervention in Egypt, though Ministers repudiated the suggestion that it did. The Convention was, however, approved by the House of Commons by a vote of 294 to 246. Soon

after this the diplomatic hostility of France, Russia, and Germany, [illegible] Mr. Gladstone's Government suddenly to limit their responsibilities in Egypt. Operations in the Red Sea were countermanded, the Suakin-Berber railway was stopped, and it was decided to abandon Dongola and fix the Egyptian frontier at Wady-Halfa. Mr. Gladstone, or rather Lord Derby and Lord Granville, had produced the diplomatic isolation of England at a most inconvenient moment, when a dispute with Russia over the Afghan boundary reached a critical stage. The negotiations for settling the boundary had been delayed because the Russian Commissioners under various pretexts avoided meeting Sir Peter Lumsden, the British Commissioner, on the frontier. Meanwhile Russian troops were stealthily advancing and taking possession of the debateable land. English protests against these tactics ended in an announcement from Mr. Gladstone, on the 13th of March, that it had been agreed by Russia that no further advances should be made on either side —the Russians having then occupied Zulficar and Pul-i-Khisti, and entrenched themselves near Penjdeh. Early in April it seemed that the Russian General (Komaroff) on the Kushk, in defiance of the agreement, took Penjdeh. This was resented by Mr. Gladstone as an "unprovoked aggression" on the Ameer, and a violation of a binding pledge to the English Foreign Office. The Government, therefore, called out the Reserves, and asked and received a Vote of Credit for £11,000,000 sterling (27th of April), to enable them to defend the interests and honour of the country against Muscovite perfidy.* Mr. Gladstone's passionate outburst of patriotism, in which he declared that till the aggression at Penjdeh were atoned for he could not "close the book and say we will not look into it any more," silenced criticism. He was fortunate enough also to carry a large vote of credit for the Egyptian account through the House on the tide of excitement he had raised in asking for the vote against Russia. But his hot fit was soon succeeded by a cool one. He agreed to "close the book" in terms of a compromise by which Russia was permitted to hold all that she had furtively seized, pending a delimitation to be effected in London,† the understanding being, however, that Russia would surrender Zulficar to the Ameer. As to Komaroff's attack on Penjdeh, Russia agreed to submit to the arbitration of the King of Denmark the question whether it constituted a breach of the agreement announced by Mr. Gladstone on the 13th of March, but the inquiry was to be conducted so as "not to place gallant officers on their trial." The only gratifying incidents in this painful transaction were the generous offers of armed support that were made to England by her autonomous colonies, and by the princes and peoples of India.

* Of this £11,000,000, it must be said £4,500,000 were to pay for Egyptian [illegible] £6,500,000 for "special preparations."

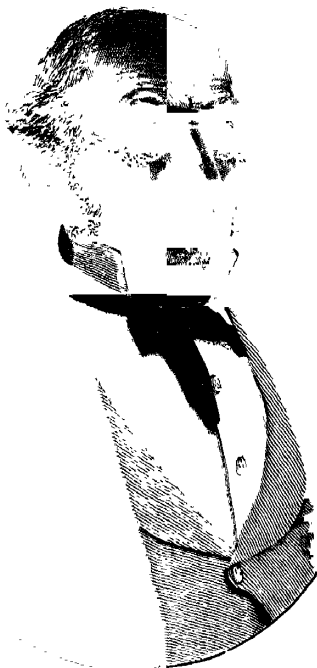
† M. Lessar, the Central Asian geographer, was now in attendance at the [illegible] an expert.

It was admitted by Mr. Gladstone that only non-contentious legislation could be taken during the Session. Still, he made one exception. He announced that he intended to renew certain "valuable and equitable provisions of the Irish Crimes Act." This decision arrived at, after much discussion in the Cabinet, hurried the Ministry to their fate. The Parnellites privately obtained assurances from some of their influential Tory allies that if the Irish votes were so cast as to destroy Mr. Gladstone's Government, the Tory Government that came after it would allow the Crimes Act to lapse, and would abandon Coercion. The Tory leaders, according to Lord Randolph Churchill, met and resolved to oppose any proposal to renew the Crimes Act or continue coercive legislation for Ireland.* But it was desirable for them to avoid the too open manifestation of their alliance with the Parnellites on a question of supporting the Government in upholding law and order in Ireland. Now that the Coalition was ready to strike, a side issue had to be discovered on which united action might be taken without scandal. This was furnished by Mr. Childers. It happened that, after Whitsuntide, the Cabinet was wrangling over something else besides Coercion—namely, the Budget—and the financial situation was not, it must be confessed, a pleasant one. A violent popular agitation in the autumn against the Admiralty, had produced a panic about the weakness of the Navy.† Lord Northbrook had then promised to make important additions to the Navy. Some steps were also to be taken to protect British coaling stations abroad—and all this helped to increase the Estimates. The Vote of Credit of £11,000,000 aggravated Mr. Childers' difficulties. He had, in short, to face a deficit of a million in his accounts for 1884-85, and, with a falling revenue, an expenditure in the coming year of £100,000,000! The country remembering Mr. Gladstone's furious denunciations of Lord Beaconsfield's administration for running up public expenditure to £81,000,000 in 1879-80, was profoundly chagrined to find that under an economic Liberal Government, expenditure had been run up in 1885 to £100,000,000. The discussions in the Cabinet as to how the money should be raised ended in the adoption of the principle that Labour as well as Property must share the burden. Mr. Childers, therefore, raised the Income Tax to 8d. in the £, equalised the death duties on land and personal property, putting a special tax on Corporations instead of succession duty, and imposed a stamp duty on moveable securities. These changes, he explained in his Budget speech (April 30th), would

* See Speeches of Lord Randolph Churchill (Authorised Edition), edited by Henry W. Lucy (George Routledge and Sons: London, 1885, p. 220).

† As a matter of fact it was weaker than it should have been, but this was due to the neglect of shipbuilding by Mr. W. H. Smith, whose favourite policy was to make old ships do for new ones by patching their boilers. Lord Northbrook had pushed on shipbuilding, and made up leeway so that in first-class ironclads the country was more than a match for France. But much had still to be done in other directions—*e.g.*, in providing vessels for scouting, and for torpedo warfare. The armament of the Navy was also obsolete, in fact, when Mr. Smith handed the Navy over to Lord Northbrook, there was not a single big breech-loading gun mounted in the Fleet.

THE QUEEN IN HER STATE ROBES

bring him in £6,000,000 of fresh revenue. By adding two shillings a gallon to the duty on spirits, and a shilling a barrel to the duty on beer, he expected to obtain £1,650,000. But this still left him with a deficit of £15,000,000 to meet. He took £4,600,000 from the Sinking Fund to meet it—leaving a balance of £3,000,000 to be paid out of the annual revenue. The landed gentry attacked

MR. GLADSTONE.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

the Budget because it levelled up the succession duties on land till they [illegible] equal to those on personal property. The liquor trade attacked the [illegible] in the duties on spirits and beer—so that an excellent opportunity had [illegible] for the Tory-Parnellite coalition to deal a fatal blow at the Gov[illegible] another issue than that of continuing Coercion. Mr. Childers [illegible] £9,000,000 of the Vote of Credit (£11,000,000) would be needed, [illegible] the increase on the spirit duty, and limit the increased beer duty [illegible]

but without avail. Sir M. Hicks-Beach moved an amendment which united all the forces of the Opposition and the Parnellites, and defeated the Ministry on the 8th of June, by a vote of 264 to 252. Lord Randolph Churchill's* speech at Bow on the 3rd of June, was taken as a good guarantee that the Irish Party need not fear a Coercion Bill from the Tories if they got into office. "But," writes Mr. T. P. O'Connor, "even with so strong an assumption the cautious and realistic leader of the Irish Party was not satisfied; and the Irish Members did not go into the Lobby to vote against a Liberal Ministry about to propose coercion until there was an assurance, definite, distinct, unmistakable, that there would be no coercion from their successors." The scene when the numbers were announced will never be forgotten by those who were present. When it was known that the Government was defeated, the pent-up excitement of the House found vent in a terrific uproar. "Lord Randolph Churchill," writes Mr. Lucy, "leapt on to the bench, and, waving his hat madly above his head, uproariously cheered. Mr. Healy followed his example, and presently all the Irish members, and nearly all the Conservatives below the gangway, were standing on the benches waving hats and pocket-handkerchiefs and raising a deafening cheer. This was renewed when the figures were read out by Mr. Winn, and again when they were proclaimed from the Chair. From the Irish camp rose cries of 'Buckshot! Buckshot!' and 'Coercion!' These had no relevancy to the Budget Scheme; but they showed that the Irish members had not forgotten Mr. Forster, and that this was their hour of victory rather than the triumph of the Tories. Lord Randolph Churchill threatened to go mad with joy. He wrung the hand of the impassive Rowland Winn, who regarded him with a kindly curious smile, as if he were some wild animal. Mr. Gladstone had resumed his letter,† and went on calmly writing whilst the clerk at the table proceeded to run through the Orders of the Day as if nothing particular had happened. But the House was in no mood for business. Cries for the adjournment filled the House, and Mr. Gladstone, still holding his letter in one hand and the pen in the other, moved the adjournment, and the

* Whilst the anti-Coercionists in the Cabinet (Sir Charles Dilke, Mr Chamberlain, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre) were struggling with the Coercionists, the subterranean arrangements between the Tories and Parnellites were also publicly ratified in a speech delivered by Lord Randolph Churchill at the St. Stephen's Club, in which, amidst ringing cheers, he condemned the renewal of Coercion. Signs of disorder in Ireland, he argued, had passed away, and such being the case Government was bound by "the highest considerations of public policy and Constitutional doctrine to return to and rely on the ordinary law. They were all the more strongly bound at that time because they had just enfranchised the Irish people, and declared them capable citizens fit to take part in the government of the Empire."—*The Parnell Movement*, by T. P. O'Connor, Chap. XIII.

† After he wound up the debate, and during this exciting scene, Mr. Gladstone had been quietly writing his nightly report to the Queen of the proceedings of the House, on a sheet of note-paper which he held on his knee as a desk. Lord Randolph Churchill vainly endeavoured to rouse his attention by putting up his hand to his mouth as if it were a speaking-trumpet, and shouting through it mocking taunts of triumph at the Premier.

crowd surged through the doorway, the Conservatives still tumultuously cheering." *

On the following day (9th of June) Mr. Gladstone told the House that the defeat of the previous evening had caused the Cabinet to submit "a dutiful communication" to the Queen, then at Balmoral, but as an answer to it must take some time to reach London, he moved an adjournment till Friday (12th of June). Strangely enough, the resignation of the Ministry was unattended by any popular excitement. It was perfectly well known that the new Cabinet would be merely a stopgap Government, powerless to do anything except wind up the business of Parliament before the General Election. On the 12th of June the House was in quite a cheerful humour when it met to hear from Mr. Gladstone that the Queen had accepted the resignation of his Cabinet. It was curious that even this last act of his Ministerial life in the Parliament of 1880—85 was not free from blunder. "Her Majesty's gracious reply," said Mr. Gladstone, "was made upon the 11th accepting the resignation of *Lord Salisbury*," a slip of the tongue which the Premier had to correct amidst shouts of laughter. At first the Queen was unwilling to accept the resignation of the Government. She could not admit that Ministers were free to throw the State into confusion because of a defeat on an Amendment to a Budget. In fact, it is not quite Constitutional to coerce the free judgment of the Commons on the financial proposals of Government by threatening Ministerial resignation if these are not slavishly accepted in detail. Such a practice virtually ties the hands of the House of Commons as guardians of the public purse. The Queen, therefore, sought a personal interview with Mr. Gladstone, to hear his full justification for the course he had adopted, but on his instructing Lord Hartington to proceed to Balmoral, her Majesty's request was withdrawn. It now became apparent to her that the crisis was too serious to be dealt with from Balmoral. In the last weeks of the Session Parliamentary time was so valuable that it could not prudently be wasted over a stagnant interregnum protracted by the journeyings to and fro of Royal couriers between Aberdeenshire and London. It was accordingly announced that the Queen would return to Windsor at once—following the course she adopted in 1866, when confronted with a similar inconvenience. Her Majesty arrived at Windsor on the 17th of June, when Lord Salisbury had an interview with her. On the following day he and Mr. Gladstone [illegible] waited on the Sovereign—Mr. Gladstone delivering up the seals of [illegible]. There was, however, a difficulty to be overcome in the transfer of [illegible] which had been created by a tactical blunder of Lord Salisbury's. [illegible] had told the Queen that if he took office he must exact from Mr. [illegible] a pledge that the Opposition would not embarrass her new [illegible]

* H. W. Lucy's Diary of Two Parliaments, Vol. II., p. 478. (London: [illegible]

attacks, but loyally co-operate with it in the conduct of its business. Mr. Gladstone refused to waive his right of criticism, and he pointed out that he could not, even if he tried, arbitrarily dispose of the will of his supporters. All he could promise was that he would endeavour to give the new Cabinet "fair play," and deal with it on its merits. But Lord Salisbury was not at first satisfied with this arrangement, and the country was soon startled by hearing that he had revived the crisis, and that even at the eleventh hour he would withdraw his consent to serve as Premier. The Queen here intervened and persuaded him to abandon his pragmatic objections to Mr. Gladstone's assurances.*

The Ministry was formed after some fierce struggles in the Tory Party. Lord Randolph Churchill and his group not only insisted on having high offices, but they demanded the expulsion of Sir Stafford Northcote from the leadership of the House of Commons. Sir M. Hicks-Beach deserted his old chief, and not only went over to his enemies, but even offered himself as a candidate for his vacant post. The result was that Lord Salisbury became Premier and Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Stafford Northcote became Earl of Iddesleigh, and was appointed First Lord of the Treasury. Sir Hardinge Giffard was made Lord Chancellor; Lord Cranbrook, President of the Council; Lord Harrowby, Lord Privy Seal; Sir Richard Cross, Home Secretary; the Duke of Richmond, President of the Board of Trade; Colonel Stanley, Colonial Secretary; Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State for India; Mr. W. H. Smith, Secretary of State for War; Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons; Lord Carnarvon, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord John Manners, Postmaster-General; Lord George Hamilton, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. E. Stanhope, Vice-President of the Council of Education; Mr. A. J. Balfour, President of the Local Government Board; Sir W. Hart Dyke, Chief Secretary for Ireland; Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, a Civil Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Webster and Mr. J. E. Gorst, Attorney- and Solicitor-General. Sir H. D. Wolff was sent on a special mission for no very well-defined purpose to Egypt, so that every member of the Fourth Party, who had organised the obstructive alliance between the Parnellites and the Tories, was handsomely rewarded with remunerative places. Sir H. D. Wolff's appointment was severely criticised at the time, partly because of his intimate connection with the Anglo-Egyptian Bank. The only other striking incident in the crisis was that Mr. Gladstone was offered an earldom by the Queen — an honour which, however, he declined. †

* The controversy between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone was conducted through memoranda addressed to the Queen dated the 17th, 18th, 20th, and 21st of June. For the text, see Parliamentary Report of the *Times*, 25th of June, 1885.

† The offer, it is odd to notice, was almost an unprecedented mark of Royal favour. The elevation of Mr. Disraeli to an earldom was effected in the middle, not at the end of his service as Premier, and in the

DRAWING-ROOM IN BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

Very soon after Ministers took office Mr. Parnell exacted his price, and they had to pay it. The Crimes Act was abandoned. It was announced that the Irish 'Labourers' Act would be pressed on. Lord Ashbourne * promised to bring in a Land Purchase Bill. The Maamtrasna murders, and the cases of those condemned on account of them, were to be reconsidered—a somewhat momentous decision, for Lord Spencer's refusal to revise the sentence in these cases had been upheld by both Parties as a crucial point in the policy of maintaining law and order in Ireland. When the Government threw over Lord Spencer, and not only refused to defend him from Mr. Parnell's attacks, but through Lord Randolph Churchill disparaged his resolute Irish policy, it was clear that great Party changes were impending. Obviously no English Minister could again feel confident in governing Ireland with a firm and dauntless hand, after the Tories had flung Lord Spencer to the lions of Nationalism. Supported by Mr. Parnell and his followers, Ministers had no difficulty in hurrying through Supply. The Budget was revised in terms of the decision of the 9th of June, and Lord George Hamilton discovered a gross blunder in the accounts at the Admiralty, where Lord Northbrook had spent £900,000—part of the Vote of Credit—in excess of his estimates without having the faintest suspicion that he was doing anything of the sort. † Lord Ashbourne's Land Bill stipulated that when all the money was advanced by the State to the purchasing tenants, one-fifth of it should be retained by the Land Commission till the instalments were repaid. The Scottish Sanitary Bill passed. So did a Bill brought in by Lord Salisbury to embody the non-contentious points of the recommendations of the Commission on Housing the Poor. A Bill was also passed to relieve electors from disqualification on the ground that they had obtained Poor Law medical relief, and the Session closed with the demoralisation of parties on the 14th of August.

No event in 1885 gave the Queen more concern than the failure of Lord Wolseley's attempt to relieve Khartoum. The story of General Gordon's

moment of his triumph, not of his defeat It is, however, worth noting that at the end of his first Administration Mr. Disraeli accepted a viscountess's coronet for his wife. Lord John Russell was not Premier in 1859 when he became Earl Russell; in fact, his acceptance of the Foreign Office under Palmerston was supposed finally to put him in the background. Grenville, Liverpool, Wellington, Goderich, Grey, Melbourne, Derby, and Aberdeen were all Peers before they became Premiers. When Addington's Ministry resigned early in the century, the Premier, it is true, became Lord Sidmouth. Yet it was not an earldom but only a viscountcy—a rank often conferred on ex-Ministers who have not been Premiers—that was given to him Pitt was not actually First Lord of the Treasury—though no doubt he was the moving spirit in the Cabinet—when he became Earl of Chatham. In fact, for the Queen's offer there was no precedent later than 1742, when Walpole—the Minister to whom her House owe their crown—was created Earl of Orford when he resigned.

* Mr. Gibson had been elevated to the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland under this title.

† "Lord Northbrook," wrote the *Times*, "chose to regard the criticisms on this blundering way of keeping accounts as a personal attack on himself, and rested his defence, with more temper than lucidity, on the propriety of the expenditure incurred, which no one had thought of challenging."

mission to the Soudan has already been partially told. It was on the [illegible] of January, 1884, that he was instructed by the Cabinet to proceed to Khartoum to extricate the beleaguered garrisons. He writes, "It cannot be said I was ordered to go. The subject was too complex for any order. It was, 'Will you go and try?' and my answer was 'Only too delighted.'"* The truth is that Gordon doubted whether 20,000 Egyptian troops and colonists could be got out of the Soudan by a process of pacific evacuation. Still, if any one might achieve the feat he could, and to please the Government, he consented to "go and try." His and their idea was that by restoring the old native families to power he might buy a safe-conduct for the garrisons. On the 8th of February, when he arrived at Abu Hamed, he found that the country was less disorganised than he had supposed it to be when discussing its prospects with Cabinet Ministers in London. Therefore he suggested that a light suzerainty should be exercised over the Soudan, for a time at least, by the Khedive's officers. This conviction grew stronger when he reached Berber. He then said that his mission could not be carried out with credit to England unless some form of government less heterogeneous than that of the native chiefs were established, in place of the Egyptian administration which he was sent to withdraw. Hence, he suggested that Zebehr Pasha should be appointed Ruler of the Soudan under certain conditions, and he chose Zebehr because he was not such an atrocious slave-trader as the Mahdi; because he might be more easily curbed, and because his high descent from the Abbasides enabled him to exercise real authority over the Soudanese. Sir Evelyn Baring and Nubar Pasha agreed with Gordon. So did Lord Wolseley. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Kimberley too, though they had no love for Zebehr, thought that Gordon's opinion ought to be deferred to, but Lord Hartington only gave them a feeble, half-hearted support, and Lord Granville's opposition to Gordon's policy carried the Cabinet against Mr. Gladstone. Hence Zebehr was not sent. Zebehr naturally took this decision of the Cabinet as an insult, and forthwith opened up a treasonable correspondence with the Mahdi, the discovery of which led to his arrest and deportation to Gibraltar on the 14th of March, 1885.

After the refusal to send Zebehr to the Soudan, the Government seem to have treated Gordon as if they desired to provoke him to take the bit in his mouth, and in a fit of indignation leave Khartoum without definite orders. Had he done so Ministers could have successfully argued that having deserted his post without authority, they were no longer responsible for him. This game was keenly played between Gordon at Khartoum and Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet in London, aided by the Egyptian Government and its English advisers, Egerton and Baring, at Cairo. But every point in it was won by Gordon, who in [illegible] warned Egerton and Baring that they must decide quickly, for the [illegible]

* The Journals of Major-General C. G. Gordon, C.B., at Khartoum, printed from the [illegible] Introduction and Notes by A. Egmont Hake. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., [illegible]

running fast in the hour-glass. He also put in their hands a plan for getting the Government out of the difficulty without sending a relief expedition. He had not at that time so far committed the people at Khartoum against the Mahdi that it would be dangerous to leave them to make terms with the False Prophet. He had to prevent his armed steamers from falling into the Mahdi's hands, and Khartoum from being utilised as a base of operations against Lower Egypt. He therefore told the Government that if they held Berber, and accepted his proposal as to Zebehr, it was worth while to keep him (Gordon) at Khartoum. But if not, then he warned his masters that it was useless to hold on to Khartoum, for, he wrote, "it is impossible for me to help the other garrisons, and I shall only be sacrificing the whole of the troops and *employés* here. In the latter case your order to me had better be to evacuate Khartoum." On receipt of that order he proposed to send his intrepid lieutenant, Colonel Stewart, and the fugitives who wished to return to Egypt, down the Nile to Berber. He himself, and as many of his black troops as would go with him, were then to take the armed steamers, and the munitions of war from the arsenal of Khartoum, and make their escape southwards up the White Nile. He guaranteed, in that event, to hold the Bahr Gazelle country and Equatorial regions against the slave-traders, and pin the Mahdi in Khartoum by organising a negro State in his rear, which, like the Congo Free State, he suggested might be put under Belgian protection. But he warned the Government that if this plan were to be attempted he must get the order to quit Khartoum at once, for in a few days the way of retreat to Berber would be closed. The order never came. In fact, the only order he got from his superiors at this time, was to hold on to Khartoum till further notice. Had the instructions which he asked for been sent, there would have been no Nile Expedition with its many disasters, including the fall of Khartoum, and the massacre of its inhabitants.*

The tardy resolution to send a Relief Expedition to Khartoum has already been alluded to. On the 16th of December, 1884, Lord Wolseley joined the camp which had been pitched at Korti by Brigadier-General Sir Herbert Stewart, and received intelligence from Gordon, informing him that four steamers with their guns were waiting for the expedition at Metamneh, and that Khartoum could hold out with ease for forty days after the date of the letter (November 4th). It was not till the 30th of December that Stewart was able to dash into the desert with the Camel Corps to seize the wells of Gakdul. On the 31st a message from Gordon, dated the 29th of October, arrived, showing that Khartoum still held out, but that he was in dire straits, and, on the 1st of January, 1885, the first boats with the Black

* On this point see an entry in Gordon's Journal under date the 6th of October, 1884. It was not till the 17th of May, 1884, that Lord Granville wrote enjoining Gordon to adopt "measures for his own removal *and for that of the Egyptians at Khartoum* by whatever route he may consider best." But it was now too late to attempt the evacuation of Khartoum save in co-operation with a relief force.

Watch reached Korti. On the 3rd General Earle left to join his force which was proceeding up the river to Berber. On the 5th the Naval Brigade arrived, and Sir Herbert Stewart returned from Gakdul. On the 8th he began his march across the Bayuda Desert with a motley force of 120 officers and 1,900 men. The Mahdi, on hearing of the occupation of Gakdul on the 2nd of January, resolved to crush Stewart's force at the end of its Desert march, and Lord Wolseley's eccentric tactics gave him thirteen clear days in which to concentrate his forces at Abu Klea, where he barred the way to Metamneh.* It was not till the 16th of January that Stewart got touch of the enemy at Abu Klea. During the night our men were harassed by the Arab sharp-shooters, and next day Stewart was artfully drawn into a difficult position, and forced to march out in square formation and give his antagonist battle. When our skirmishers were within 200 yards of the enemy's flags, the square was halted to let its rear close up. Then, to the amazement of everybody, the Arabs sprang forth from the ravine where they had been hiding, as Roderick Dhu's warriors rose from the heather. Stewart's skirmishers ran back in hot haste. The Arabs charged furiously, and, when slightly checked at a distance of about 80 yards, they suddenly swept round to the right and broke the rear face and angle of the British square. For a moment there was dreadful confusion, and had the camels not checked the Arab onset Stewart's force would have been annihilated, like the army of Hicks Pasha at El Obeid. However, the enemy were beaten back with great loss of life, and the day was saved. It was in this affray that Colonel Fred Burnaby lost his life. The square was broken first, because the Gardner gun at the corner jammed, and was useless after the tenth round; secondly, because General Stewart foolishly trusted cavalry men and seamen to hold the exposed angles; † thirdly, because the cartridges of some of the rifles jammed, and shook the soldier's confidence in his weapon.

Stewart's losses, especially in camels, were so heavy that his first idea was to halt at Abu Klea for reinforcements. But he decided to push on, even at the risk of leaving his wounded behind him. The wells of Abu Klea were occupied, and it was then ascertained that the 10,000 Arabs who had been defeated, were but the advanced guard of a great army near Metamneh. Papers were discovered, among which was a letter from the Emir of Berber to the Mahdi, showing that Stewart's occupation of Gakdul had caused the

* Metamneh is 176 miles from Korti, but only 90 miles from Berber, and 98 from Khartoum, from which latter places the Mahdi brought up all the troops he could spare.

† "A cavalry man is taught never to be still, and that a square *can* be broken. How can you expect him in a moment to forget all his training, stand like a rock, and believe no one can get inside a square? . . . The sailors were pressed back with the cavalry, and lost heavily; they are very excited, and would storm a work or do anything of that kind well; but they are trained to fight in ships, and you cannot expect them to stand shoulder to shoulder like grenadiers."—From Korti to Khartoum, by Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., R.E., late Deputy Adjutant-General, Nile Expedition. Edinburgh (Blackwood), 1885, p. 36.

concentration of the Arabs in force at Abu Klea. The expedition was thus at the outset marred by a fatal blunder in generalship. If Stewart had gone straight across the Bayuda Desert, without wasting time at Gakdul, he would have had no enemy barring his path to Metamneh. By letting the Mahdi's troops concentrate at Abu Klea, he met with the check that delayed his progress till it was too late to save Khartoum.*

On the 18th of January Stewart made a forced night march towards the Nile, which he hoped to strike three miles above Metamneh. His column got into terrible disorder in the dark, for men and cattle were utterly exhausted from hunger and want of sleep. At 7 a.m. it came within sight of Metamneh—men and horses and camels being scarcely able to walk. It was resolved to rest for breakfast before attacking the town, but the Arabs closed round Stewart's zareba, and poured in a dropping fire, which did serious execution. At 10.15 a.m. Stewart himself was shot, and the command was assumed by Sir Charles Wilson, Chief of the Intelligence Department, who happened to be the senior colonel on the field. Sir Charles Wilson, though an officer in the Royal Engineers, was really a scholar and diplomatist who had spent most of his life in civil employment. Still, he did not shrink from the task which an unforeseen accident imposed on him. He undertook the strategic direction of the column, but prudently handed over the tactical control to Colonel Boscawen of the Guards. Having fortified the zareba, Wilson quickly formed his main body into a square, and determined to make a dash for the Nile. Had he not ventured on this perilous step, the whole column must have perished from thirst. Every inch of the way had to be contested, but happily Wilson's frigid temperament seemed to have in some degree communicated itself to his men. Hence, the same troops who at Abu Klea under Stewart's showy but exciting leadership got out of hand and fired wildly, were soon calm and steady, and held in complete check by their officers. They had not proceeded far when swarms of Arabs, as at Abu Klea, charged down upon the square from a ridge at a place known as Abu Kru. At first Wilson's troops began to fire at random as at Abu Klea, and no shot told. Then he ordered the bugles to sound "Cease firing," and the officers coolly kept the men at rest for five minutes, which steadied their nerves. By this time the enemy had come within 300 yards of the square, from which volley after volley was now suddenly poured forth, and with such deliberation that

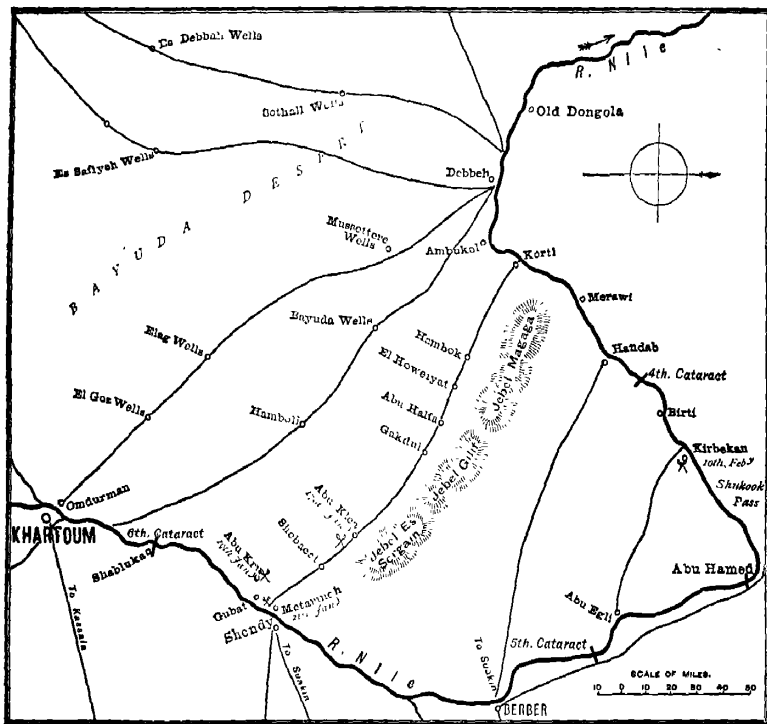
* Sir Charles Wilson strives hard to defend Lord Wolseley and Sir Herbert Stewart. He says that Stewart could not march straight across the Desert for lack of transport, though he admits that an additional thousand camels, which could have been easily got in November, would have saved the situation. Why were they not got? Moreover, the blunder of Lord Wolseley and Sir Herbert Stewart is inexcusable, because they acted in defiance of Gordon's last message. "Come," said he, "by way of Metamneh or Berber; only by these two roads. Do this *without letting rumours of your approach spread abroad.*" Stewart's first occupation of Gakdul, thirteen days before the Desert column was ready to move, was simply a gratuitous warning to the Mahdi of the English advance.

the Arab spearmen turned and fled, not one of them getting within fifty yards of Wilson's position. This is the only instance where British troops in the Soudan won a complete victory without being themselves touched by sword or spear. The square now hastened on to the river, and camped for the night. Next day (20th) they carried water to their wounded comrades in the zareba. They then conveyed them down to the camp by the Nile,* where they found some of Gordon's steamers waiting for them. Wilson's force was now in a sorry plight, and before he took command discontent was smouldering in its ranks. It had been kept toiling and fighting for four days with little food and less sleep. It had lost in killed and wounded one-tenth of its number. And now with its General disabled, it found itself encumbered by a heavy train of wounded, without means of communication with its base, menaced by a formidable fortress, and assured that two great armies were closing on it from Berber and Khartoum. Little wonder that the soldiers murmured sulkily that they had been led into a trap. Wilson's orders were, that on arriving at the river he must proceed to Khartoum with a small detachment, the mere exhibition of whose red coats Lord Wolseley imagined would cause the Mahdi to raise the siege. But Wilson was not to let his men even sleep in Khartoum, and he was only to stay there long enough to confer with Gordon! In plain English, Lord Wolseley ordered him to march twenty or thirty men into Khartoum and come away again, after telling Gordon, who was every day awaiting his doom, that he must expect no effective succour till far on in March. Wilson, however, resolved, like a loyal commander, not to desert his comrades until he had seen them safely entrenched—and till he had, by reconnoitring, allayed their dread of an attack from Berber. The Naval Brigade was so disabled that he was forced to use Gordon's crews for the steamers, and, in obedience to Gordon's instructions, he had to weed out of these crews all untrustworthy Egyptians. He had also to reconnoitre the fortress of Metamneh.

This work kept Wilson busy till the 24th of January, when he proceeded up the Nile, arriving on the 28th of January within a mile and a half of Khartoum. He found that the city had fallen on the 26th, when the Buri gate had been opened by treachery to the Mahdi's troops, who had rushed in and made the streets of the doomed town run red with blood. Gordon it seems was killed, on refusing to surrender, by a small party of Baggarahs, who met him coming out of his palace. While reconnoitring Khartoum, Wilson's two steamers were so hotly engaged with the enemy's batteries that he was forced to turn back.† On the return voyage he adroitly

* This is sometimes called Gubat, and sometimes Abu Kru.

† Gordon's diaries show that even on the 28th of November, 1884, when his men held Omdurman and the North Fort, Wilson could not have passed the junction of the Blue and White Nile without a strong land force to co-operate with his steamers. On the 28th of January, 1885, however, these positions were in the Mahdi's hands, and Wilson had no land force.

foiled the plans of some of his followers who attempted to betray him to the Mahdi, but unfortunately his steamers were wrecked, it is supposed, by the treachery of his pilots. He was, however, rescued by Lord Charles Beresford in one of the armed vessels from Gubat, to which Wilson brought back his party without loss of life.* Wilson found his force in safety, but sadly depressed because they had heard nothing from headquarters. He immediately

MAP OF THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN.

proceeded thither in terms of his instructions, to report the fall of Khartoum to Lord Wolseley, and urge him to relieve Gubat without delay.

Little need be said of the fall of Khartoum—the crowning disaster of the campaign. Gordon's Journals show how, alone and unaided, in defending the city, during a siege that lasted 319 days, he kept at bay the swarming hordes of the Mahdi. The romantic record of his life amply illustrates his higher

* Lord Charles Beresford was too ill to proceed up the Nile with Wilson, and, as he was the only naval officer available, it was prudent to leave him at Gubat. Had our position there been attacked, he would perhaps have been able to assist in its defence with Gordon's steamers.

qualities—the chivalry and loyalty; the sweet, gentle manners, the kindness of heart, the stainless honour, the infinite self-abnegation, the patient endurance, the stubborn valour, the natural and acquired military skill that made him

> "A soldier fit to stand by Cæsar
> And give direction."

His Khartoum "Journals" show more than that. They prove that from first to last through the long series of transactions that led up to the fall of the city, Gordon was the only man who kept his head cool, who acted from firm set purpose, who was not afraid to look on the facts with naked eyes, whose inexhaustible ingenuity in dealing practically with every fresh difficulty as it arose never failed him or his masters, and whose shrewd and sagacious prevision was never once ignored, save at the cost of cruel suffering to those who refused his guidance.* Valour and virtue such as his can indeed "outbuild the Pyramids." Of the millions of English men and English women, who mourned over the heroic defender of Khartoum, none grieved more bitterly for his loss than the Queen. To his sister she wrote as follows:—

"Osborne, 17th February, 1885.

"DEAR MISS GORDON,—*How* shall I write to you, or how shall I attempt to express *what I feel!* To *think* of your dear, noble, heroic Brother, who served his country and his Queen so truly, so heroically, with a self-sacrifice so edifying to the world, not having been rescued. That the promises of *support* were *not* fulfilled—which I so frequently and constantly pressed on those who asked him to go—is to me *grief inexpressible!*—indeed, it has made me ill! My heart bleeds for you, his Sister, who have gone through so many anxieties on his account, and who loved the dear Brother as he deserved to be. You are all so good and trustful, and have such strong faith, that you will be sustained even now, when *real* absolute evidence of your dear Brother's death does not exist—but I fear there cannot be much doubt of it. Some day I hope to see you again to tell you all I cannot express. My daughter Beatrice, who has felt quite as I do, wishes me to express her deepest sympathy with you. I hear so many expressions of sorrow and sympathy from *abroad*; from my eldest daughter, the Crown Princess, and from my Cousin, the King of the Belgians, the very warmest. Would you express to your other Sisters and your elder Brother my true sympathy, and what I do so keenly feel—the *stain* left upon England for your dear Brother's cruel, though heroic, fate!—Ever, dear Miss Gordon, yours sincerely and sympathisingly,

"V.R.I." †

After Gordon's death public interest in the "sad Soudan" slowly faded. The River Column under General Earle's skilful guidance had won a brilliant little victory at Kirbekan, where, however, its gallant leader lost his life. He was succeeded by General Brackenbury, who ascended the river steadily to Abu Hamed. Suddenly, however, Lord Wolseley ordered both columns to retreat on Korti, and hold Dongola till his autumn campaign of vengeance against the Mahdi could be undertaken. Meanwhile, General Graham, with 9,000 men, and an Indian and Australian Contingent, ‡ was to [illegible]

* *See* an analysis of General Gordon's Journals by the present writer in the [illegible] 28th of June, 1885. For criticism of Wilson's Expedition, *see* article, said to be by [illegible] *Blackwood* for June, 1885. † *See* The Letters of General C. G. Gordon. (London: [illegible]

‡ Gordon's death evoked from the Colonies in America and Australia profuse [illegible] of military aid. The only one accepted was that which was made by New South Wales.

tack Osman Digna at Suakin, and lay a railway from that port to Berber. Graham defeated the Arabs in several engagements, though in one of them the skill with which the Arabs surprised a zareba almost reproduced the disaster of Isandhlwana. But the dispute with Russia afforded a plausible excuse for freeing England from the incubus of the Soudan, and in April Lord Wolseley evacuated Dongola and fell back on the line of Wady Halfa. The Suakin railway was abandoned, and when Lord Salisbury's Government took office they, too, adhered to the policy of evacuation. The Mahdi died. Osman Digna became entangled in hostilities with the Abyssinian Ras Alula, who attempted to raise the siege of Kassala, and for a time it seemed as if all fears of disturbances on the Egyptian frontier were dispelled. Towards the end of the year, however, the Arabs attacked an advanced post beyond Assouan, where they were skilfully repulsed by General Stephenson at the battle of Kosheh.

Turning to the social events of 1885, the most remarkable was the sudden announcement on New Year's Day of the betrothal of the Princess Beatrice to Prince Henry of Battenberg, the younger brother of Prince Louis, the husband of the Princess's niece—Victoria of Hesse. For fourteen years the Princess Beatrice had been the close companion of the Queen, and their lives had in time become so closely intertwined that a separation could hardly be contemplated by either with equanimity. It was therefore quite natural that Prince Henry of Battenberg, whose fortune was hardly adequate to the maintenance of a separate establishment, should permit intimation to be made that he was to live with the Princess in attendance on the Queen. The announcement of the marriage was as surprising to the Royal Family as it was to the people. In the country the old prejudice against the marriage of a Princess who claimed a dowry from the State, with a person outside the Royal caste speedily manifested itself. Indeed, the feeling against the arrangement was even stronger than that which prevailed when the Princess Louise married the Marquis of Lorne. After all, the latter was the son of a great noble on whose birth no stain of ambiguity rested. Prince Henry of Battenberg, on the other hand, was the offspring of a "morganatic" marriage between Prince Alexander of Hesse and the Countess Hauke, the granddaughter of a Polish Jew, who had entered the service of the Hessian Court in a very subordinate capacity. It was difficult to get the populace to understand that a morganatic marriage was in a certain sense a legal union—not void, though possibly under pressure of State exigencies voidable by the Royal husband—that in fact there was nothing disreputable in such an alliance, save in the sense in which it is considered a social offence for a great noble to marry his mother's scullery-maid. The hostility of the German Crown Princess and the Court of Berlin to the connection did much to create an erroneous impression in England as to the status of Prince Henry. The Prince's lack of fortune did not redeem his lack of social position—and it was most unfortunate that his nearest connection

with Royalty was through his cousin the Grand Duke of Hesse. For the divorce suit raised by the Grand Duke against the Countess de Kalomine, a lady whom he had "morganatically" married in secret on the very night when his daughter, the Princess Victoria, was wedded to Prince Louis of Battenberg, had rendered his family extremely unpopular in England.

That some friction had been created in the Royal Family by the unexpected introduction of Prince Henry to its circle was soon made manifest. When Prince Albert Victor of Wales, the Heir-Presumptive to the Throne, came of age on the 8th of January, neither the Queen, nor the Princess Beatrice, nor Prince Henry of Battenberg—then at Osborne—graced with their presence the joyous celebrations at Sandringham, which were attended by all the other members of the Royal Family. It was also remarked that Prince Henry left England without receiving the congratulations of the Prince of Wales on his betrothal. At a Privy Council, which the Queen held at Osborne on the 26th of January, her Majesty's formal consent to her daughter's marriage was given.

Preparations had been made early in March for the Queen's Easter visit to Darmstadt, but owing to the death of Princess Charles of Hesse, mother of the Grand Duke, her Majesty's arrangements were altered, and it was decided that she should visit Aix-les-Bains first and take Darmstadt on the return journey. Her Majesty left Windsor on the last day of March for the Villa Mottet, a charming residence in the grounds of the Hôtel de l'Europe, Aix-les-Bains, while the Prince and Princess of Wales spent their Easter in paying a State visit to Ireland. The Queen's holiday was sadly broken by the diplomatic controversy with Russia as to the Afghan frontier. Piles of despatch-boxes were given to her when she started, and as many as fifty telegraphic messages a day in cipher were sent to her and answered. Before proceeding to Darmstadt, her Majesty, who had been using her influence with the German Court in order to induce Russia to accept an honourable compromise, offered to return to Windsor if Ministers desired her presence. Mr. Gladstone was not of opinion that this sacrifice was necessary, and on the 23rd of April she accordingly proceeded to Darmstadt, where she again occupied the new Palace on the Platz which had been built for the Princess Alice. At this time her Majesty was much grieved at the reckless and bellicose tone of London Society. She was so anxious to counteract it that the Prince of Wales, knowing her feeling on the subject, was supposed to have dropped some hints at Marlborough House which suddenly imparted quite a pacific tone to the fire-eaters of Piccadilly. [illegible] passed so frequently between the Queen and the German Emperor, who with the Crown Prince gave her Majesty much sympathetic aid and [illegible] throughout the crisis, that the German Press were alarmed lest the [illegible] was about to intervene as a mediator between Russia and England. [illegible] between the two nations would have been extremely inconvenient [illegible]

Family—in fact, it had been arranged in anticipation of such a calamity that the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh must break up their establishment in England, and retire to Coburg. Another circumstance forced a pacific policy on the Court. The Duke of Edinburgh had not concealed from the Sovereign the fact that the Fleet was effective solely on paper. Indeed, had Admiral Hoskins, who was ordered to hold himself in readiness to proceed with his squadron to the Baltic, attempted to carry out his instructions, he would have found himself paralysed, simply because he had neither efficient guns nor transport. On the 2nd of May the Queen returned to Windsor, where she held an anxious consultation with Lord Granville next day. On the 12th of May her Majesty held a Drawing Room at Buckingham Palace, but as on previous occasions, she stayed only a short time, leaving the Princess of Wales as usual to complete the function.

On the 14th of May, Mr. Gladstone carried a resolution in the House of Commons that an annuity of £6,000 a year should be granted to the Princess Beatrice on her marriage; and, by way of conciliating the House, promised that in the next Parliament a Committee would be appointed to consider the plan on which what he called "secondary provisions" for the younger members of the Royal Family, should be made.* The proposed annuity was opposed on the old ground that the Queen was rich enough to support her own family, and Mr. Labouchere argued that as she never had a right to the hereditary revenues of the Crown, the plea that she had given up her income for a Civil List was invalid. But it is certain that in the Royal Speech, at the opening of Parliament in 1837 the Queen said, "I place unreservedly at your disposal those hereditary revenues which were transferred to the public by my immediate predecessor," and in the Address the Queen was then not only thanked for her generosity, but promised an adequate Civil List in return. It was also forgotten that at least four impecunious princely families—those of the Duke of Albany, Prince Louis, Prince Henry of Battenberg, and Prince Christian—must be a charge on the private income of the Queen.†

On the 22nd of May the Court went to Balmoral. The Russian dispute was now compromised, so that the Queen was able to thoroughly enjoy her Highland visit. She spent much of her time in the cottages and homes of the peasantry, to whom she was unusually lavish this year with gifts commemorating her birthday. When she arrived she found that the celebrated cradle and rope bridge over the Dee at Abergeldie—which most of the Royal

* When Mr. Gladstone fell from power, and Lord Salisbury's Government took office in 1887, this promise was renewed. But in 1888 it was repudiated by Mr. W. H. Smith, the First Lord of the Treasury.

† The children of the Prince of Wales will probably be provided for by the State. The children of the Duke of Edinburgh, owing to the wealth of their parents, need no provision. The Duchess of Connaught inherited a large fortune from her father, the "Red Prince." The Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne, if she were to have a family, could provide for them as members of the House of Argyll.

personages in Europe had used at different times—was removed, [illegible] by a substantial footbridge which had been put up at her expense. [illegible] fall of Mr. Gladstone's Government shortened the Queen's sojourn in [illegible] and she had to return to Windsor on the 17th of June. Complaints [illegible] made that she was absent in Aberdeenshire when the Ministerial [illegible] occurred. But the crisis was unexpected, and since the Prince Consort's [illegible] the Queen has always preferred Balmoral to Windsor during Ascot [illegible]

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

week. The death of Prince Frederick Charles (the "Red Prince") of Prussia, [illegible] the comparatively early age of fifty-seven, deprived Germany of one of [illegible] ablest military tacticians, and sent the English Court into mourning. [illegible] was the father of the Duchess of Connaught, to whom he bequeathed a [illegible] part of his vast wealth. By a strange blunder which gave infinite [illegible] ance to the Queen, not only did the Prince of Wales appear at Ascot [illegible] the event, but her Majesty's order that Court mourning should begin [illegible] 16th was not officially proclaimed till the 18th. The Royal [illegible] Ascot on the afternoon of the "Red Prince's" death, caused [illegible] at the Court of Berlin.

On the 9th the Court removed to Osborne—the Queen being desirous of personally supervising the arrangements for the Princess Beatrice's marriage, which was to take place in Whippingham Parish Church. As there was no precedent for a Royal marriage in a country parish church, Sir Henry Ponsonby and the Court officials had considerable trouble in ordering the ceremony. They were further perplexed by the various instructions which day after day came from the Queen and the Princess. On the 23rd of July the marriage was solemnised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, the Dean of Windsor, and Canon Prothero, Vicar of Whippingham. The ceremony was one of demi-state only; and, although the wedding procession was very pretty, especially when seen in the golden light of a July day, it was not brilliant. The nieces of the Princess Beatrice were her bridesmaids, and most of her near relations were present. The family of Hesse-Darmstadt was well represented; and, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone, most of the leading personages in English Society were present. Yet somehow the ceremony seemed to lack the courtly importance and dignity of other Royal marriages, and the absence of the German Crown Prince and Princess, who were not even represented by any of their family, was only too noticeable. The German Emperor, who had been deeply incensed by the de Kalomine scandal, had not yet been persuaded to look kindly on the Court of Darmstadt; but the German Empress, on the other hand, testified her interest in the bride by sending Princess Beatrice a Dresden china clock and bracket as a wedding gift. After the marriage the Queen conferred the Order of the Garter on Prince Henry of Battenberg—adding one more to the already crowded companionship of Royal Knights. This distinction had never before been given to a foreign personage not a monarch *de facto*, or born in the Royal caste, and there can be no doubt that the other Royal Knights of the family would have considered the Order of the Bath a more suitable distinction for Prince Henry.* It was also intimated in the *Gazette* (July 24th, 1885) that Prince Henry would forthwith assume the title of Royal Highness—a rank, however, which could not be conceded to him outside of English territory.†

* The German Crown Prince and the Grand Duke of Hesse received the Order on marrying daughters of the Queen. But the Marquis of Lorne got the Order of the Thistle in similar circumstances.

† Continental diplomatists and publicists held that the notification in the *Gazette* was absolutely illegal, because it was a violation of an international agreement as to the assumption of this title arrived at by the Great Powers at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. This agreement, which was signed by the Duke of Wellington as the representative of England, is embodied in the "Protocol Séparé Séance du 11 Oct., 1818, entre les cinq Puissances," and it arose out of their refusal to permit the Elector of Hesse to assume the title of king. The Powers declared that the title Royal Highness used by the sons of kings, might be also used by grand dukes and their heirs-presumptive, but by no one of lower rank in sovereign circles. Prince Henry was neither a grand duke nor an heir-presumptive to a grand duke.

It is remarkable that no family objections were raised to the [illegible] of Lady Augusta Lennox, who had long been married to Prince [illegible] Saxe-Weimar, as the Princess Edward. Till 1885 she had only been [illegible] in Court as the Countess Dornburg, a title which had been "created" for her on her marriage, in spite of her high social position as daughter of the Duke of Richmond, to satisfy the exigencies of German etiquette.

After the close of the Parliamentary Session, the Court went from Osborne to Balmoral (August 25th), where the Princess Beatrice and her husband received a warm Highland reception. Life at Balmoral was somewhat dull, but in her walks and drives the Queen was now accompanied by Prince Henry of Battenberg as well as the Princess Beatrice. When not in attendance on the Queen, the Prince occasionally found amusement in deerstalking in the Balloch Pine and Abergeldie grounds. Her Majesty remained at Balmoral till the 18th of November, when she returned to Windsor to hold a Council, at which she sanctioned the dissolution of Parliament. On the 9th of December, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, the Queen presented medals for service in the Soudan to a number of Guardsmen at Windsor. On the 18th of December she left Windsor for Osborne. It was now plainly intimated to her Majesty that the royal rank and precedence conferred on Prince Henry of Battenberg would not be recognised at Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, the Courts at which capitals insisted on treating the marriage of the Princess Beatrice as a purely "morganatic" one. The difficulties which arose out of this incident were further aggravated when the Queen permitted the Count and Countess Gleichen to assume the rank and title of Prince and Princess Victor of Hohenlohe-Langenberg.*

In the spring of 1885 a rebellion of French half-breeds in the Canadian North-West, led by Riel, one of the pardoned insurgents who had been engaged in the Red River rising, was suppressed with great skill and ability by the Canadian Militia, under General Sir Frederick Middleton. Riel was tried and hanged for treason.

The misrule of Theebaw, the half-crazy King of Burmah, together with his intrigues with the French—then busy with the conquest of Tonquin—led to disputes between the Indian and Burmese Governments. The result was a war which ended in the deposition of King Theebaw and the annexation of Upper Burmah to the Indian Empire.

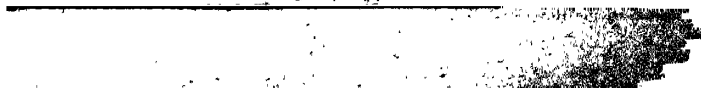
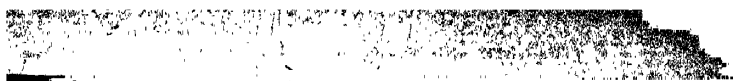
* When Prince Victor married the sister of the Marquis of Hertford, she was created [illegible] Gleichen, a title which the Prince also assumed, the marriage being on the Continent [illegible] "morganatic." *It was held that the Queen's order raising the lady to her husband's royal* [illegible] void and illegal outside the English Court, like the similar order with reference to the [illegible]

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE BATTLE OF THE UNION.

Mr. Chamberlain's Doctrine of "Ransom"—The Midlothian Programme—Lord Randolph Churchill's Appeal to the Whigs—Bidding for the Parnellite Vote—Resignation of Lord Carnarvon—The General Election—"Three Acres and a Cow"—Defeat of Lord Salisbury—The Liberal Cabinet—Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Scheme—Ulster threatens Civil War—Secession of the Liberal "Unionists"—Defeat of Mr. Gladstone—Lord Salisbury again in Office—Mr. Parnell's Relief Bill Rejected—The "Plan of Campaign"—Resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill—Mr. Goschen becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer—Riots in the West End of London—The Indian and Colonial Exhibition—The Imperial Institute—The Queen's Visit to Liverpool—The Holloway College for Women—A Busy Season for her Majesty—The International Exhibition at Edinburgh—The Prince and Princess Komatsu of Japan.

THE closing months of 1885 were devoted to preparations for the General Election. Mr. Chamberlain's speeches developed his doctrine of "ransom" with a vigour of language and directness of purpose that terrified the Whigs. At Bradford he demanded Disestablishment, and thus concentrated the malice of the Church on the whole Liberal Party. Mr. Gladstone issued a moderate manifesto to his constituents, known as the "Midlothian Programme," in which he attempted to neutralise Mr. Chamberlain's "unauthorised programme." The reform of Parliamentary procedure, and Local Government, the reform of the Registration Laws, and of land transfer were the famous "four points" on which he dwelt. As for Mr. Chamberlain's suggestions for disestablishment, for education, graduated Income Tax, and the abolition of the House of Lords, he put them aside, refusing to peer "into the dim and distant courses of the future." The Tory leaders professed themselves equally willing to reform Procedure, the Land Laws, and Local Government, and attacked the Whigs for their alliance with the Birmingham School of Radicals. Lord Randolph Churchill, in fact, appealed to the Whigs to coalesce with the Tories in resisting what Lord Hartington called "measures of a Socialistic tendency." Both parties in the State made high bids for the Irish Vote. Mr. Chamberlain offered to Mr. Parnell a scheme of Home Rule, under which Ireland would be governed by Four Provincial Parliaments—in fact, he furbished up an old idea which the venerable Earl Russell had shed from his mind when it was in the last stage of decay. The Tories, through Lord Carnarvon, offered Mr. Parnell some form of Home Rule under which Ireland was to have a Legislature of her own with the right to levy Protective Duties on imported goods.* Though Lord

* This intrigue was initiated by Mr. Justin McCarthy, who had long enjoyed Lord Carnarvon's personal friendship. Before finally selling the Irish vote, Mr. Parnell had a personal interview with Lord Carnarvon, at which the bargain was struck. Lord Carnarvon has denied various accounts of this interview, but he has never denied that as Viceroy of Ireland, he told Mr. Parnell that Irish

Salisbury's Newport address was ambiguous in its references to Home Rule, it rather gave colour to the prevalent belief that if the Tories could win a majority by the Irish vote, they would hold power by giving Ireland Home Rule. At the same time, it is but right to say that Lord Salisbury and his colleagues never appear to have committed the Cabinet to Lord Carnarvon's bargain with Mr. Parnell. Indeed, they even seem to have told Lord Carnarvon that, personally, they disapproved of his Irish policy. They, however, still retained his services as a Cabinet Minister, though Lord Salisbury had discovered that he was a Home Ruler.

Mr. Parnell issued a manifesto fiercely attacking the Liberal Party, and ordering all Irishmen to give their votes to the Government. The Liberals, on the other hand, appealed to the people for such a majority as would enable Mr. Gladstone to defy Mr. Parnell. The elections began on the 24th of November. They showed that in the boroughs the Liberal Party was shattered, though it had, through Mr. Chamberlain's doctrine of ransom, won in the counties all along the line.* The new House of Commons it was found would contain 333 Liberals, 251 Tories, and 86 Parnellites, not one Liberal having been returned by Ireland. In the circumstances it was hopeless for the Ministry to attempt a settlement of the Irish Question on Lord Carnarvon's lines.† They had, even with the Irish vote, only a majority of four. But then, if they dared to make concessions to Mr. Parnell, this majority of four would inevitably be converted, by the secession of the Ulster Tories, into a minority of eight. The Liberal Leaders, on the other hand, were in an equally difficult predicament. They, too, could not hope to govern the country save by the Irish vote. It was quite possible, moreover, for the Government, by conceding Home Rule, to detach from the Liberals a sufficient number of Radicals to more than counterbalance the Ulster secession. In these circumstances Mr. Gladstone towards the end of the year let it be known indirectly that he was in favour of giving Ireland Home Rule.

Ere Parliament opened on the 12th of January, 1886, the resignation of Lord Carnarvon indicated that Ministers had dissolved the connection between the Tory Party and the Parnellites. The House of Commons elected Mr. Peel as its Speaker, and when Mr. Bradlaugh appeared he took the Oath in the ordinary manner. The Queen's Speech was read on the 21st of January by her Majesty in person, but its references to Ireland were vague,

industries must be stimulated, and that he would give the new Irish Government power to levy Protective Duties. As taxation and representation go together, this concession implies that the Irish Government was to be vested with fiscal powers, which could only be exercised in co-operation with and under responsibility to an Irish Parliament.

* The doctrine of ransom in the counties took the form of a vague and ambiguous pledge to give every labourer who wanted an allotment "three acres and a cow," by purchase-money advanced from the rates.

† For a definite statement of Lord Carnarvon's policy as Mr. Parnell understood it, see Mr. Parnell's speech on the Home Rule Bill. *Times*, June 8, 1886.

though they foreshadowed the introduction of a Coercion Bill. In the preliminary skirmishes Mr. Gladstone threw out overtures to the Irish Party which Mr. Parnell and Mr. Sexton hailed with effusive delight. The Government, on the other hand, announced the introduction of a Coercion Bill, which would also suppress the National League. The Liberals and Parnellites now promptly united to support an Amendment moved by Mr. Jesse Collings, which censured the Ministry for refusing to bring in a Labourers' Allotments Bill, and the Coalition defeated the Government by a vote of 329 to 258. The opposition of Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen to the Amendment showed that the Whigs at least were afraid of Mr. Gladstone's return to office, after his vague and ambiguous promises of concessions to the Home Rulers. Lord Salisbury resigned, and when Mr. Gladstone formed his Ministry it was seen that many of his old colleagues, such as Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Forster, Lord Selborne, Lord Northbrook, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Cowper, and Sir Henry James, had refused to join him. The appointment of Lord Aberdeen as Irish Viceroy was not very significant. But that Mr. John Morley, the most pronounced of all the English advocates of Home Rule, should have been appointed as Chief Secretary for Ireland meant much. Lord Rosebery was made Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman Secretary at War. Both were known to be Home Rulers. Lord Spencer, disgusted at his betrayal by the Tory Party, had also become a convert to Home Rule principles, and was appointed President of the Council. Oddly enough Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, who were both pledged against Home Rule, had joined the Ministry. But they had been induced to do so on the assurance that, in the meantime, the policy of the Cabinet would be merely to examine and inquire into the Home Rule question.

During the spring nothing was done in the matter. The House of Commons refused to press Ministers upon their Irish policy, evidently deeming it reasonable that Mr. Gladstone should have time to work it out. Lord Hartington and the Whigs, however, adopted an attitude of independence which showed that Mr. Gladstone had failed to heal the divisions in the Liberal Party. Hence, when it was announced that Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, on being informed of Mr. Gladstone's proposals for the reform of the Irish Government, had resigned office, it was evident that the fate of the Ministry was sealed.

On the 8th of April Mr. Gladstone expounded the scheme, which set up in Ireland an Executive Government, responsible to an Irish Legislature capable of dealing with all matters save the Crown, the Army and Navy, Foreign and Colonial Policy, Trade, Navigation, Currency, Imperial taxation, and the endowment of churches. The Lord-Lieutenant, on the advice of Ministers, was to have a power of veto. The Irish Legislative Body was to consist of two Orders, voting apart, the first to comprise representatives

and members elected under a £25 property qualification, and the second members chosen by household suffrage. In the event of collision between the two Orders, the measure in dispute was to be held in suspense for three years, or until a dissolution. The Irish contribution to the Imperial Revenue was fixed at £3,242,000. On the 13th of April Mr. Gladstone introduced a Land Bill as a complementary measure to his Home Rule Bill. He proposed to give every Irish landlord the option of selling his land to an authority appointed by the Irish Government, who would sell it to the tenants, the purchase-money being advanced through the Imperial Exchequer by an issue of Consols. These advances the tenant was to repay in instalments spread over forty-nine years, and twenty years' purchase was taken as the basis of the price. The amount to be advanced at first under the Bill was to be £50,000,000, but in the original draft it was nearly £300,000,000. The repayments were to be secured on the Irish Revenue, and paid to a British Receiver-General in Ireland. The opponents of the whole scheme contended that it gave no effective guarantee for Imperial unity, that it put the loyal minority entirely in the power of the disloyal majority in Ireland, that it multiplied the risks of collision between Ireland and the Imperial Government, that, in point of fact, it was virtually a Bill to repeal the Union. Mr. Gladstone's chief argument in favour of the scheme was that the English democracy could no longer be trusted to hold Ireland down by repressive legislation, and that Home Rule was the only alternative to Coercion. Moreover, as Coercion bred Irish disloyalty, it weakened the Imperial power of England in the world. Though the Orangemen of Ulster plainly declared that they would plunge into civil war rather than submit to a Home Rule Government in Ireland, Mr. Parnell accepted the Bill in principle as an adequate concession of the Nationalist claims.

The weak points in the scheme were soon detected. One of these was the exclusion of the Irish Members from the House of Commons—the only proposal of Mr. Gladstone's which had been hailed with applause from both sides of the House when he expounded his Bill. The absence of the Irish Members from the House of Commons was taken as a visible sign, not only that the Parliamentary Union between Ireland and the United Kingdom was dissolved, but that the control and authority of the Imperial Parliament over Ireland was impaired. The Purchase scheme alarmed the taxpayers, who objected to pledge the credit of England in order to buy the Irish landlords out of Ireland. It is now known that, if Mr. Gladstone had made concessions by promising to reconsider the question of retaining the Irish Members at Westminster, and to remodel the Bill accordingly, the Second Reading would have been carried. A meeting of Liberals was indeed held at the Foreign Office to hear what concessions Mr. Gladstone would make. Subsequently, in explaining his speech at this meeting to the House of Commons, his phraseology seemed to the wavering Liberals so illusory that they refused to support him.

Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain accordingly organised their [illegible] (about fifty in number) into a separate Parliamentary party, describing [illegible] selves as Liberal Unionists, and at their first meeting a letter was read from Mr. Bright casting in his lot with theirs. They bound themselves to [illegible] against the Second Reading of Mr. Gladstone's Bills.

LORD TENNYSON.

(From a Photograph by H. H. H. Cameron, Mortimer Street, W.)

On the 7th of June the Home Rule Bill was rejected by a majority [illegible] 341 against 311. Mr. Gladstone obtained from the Queen permission [illegible] dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country. The Ministerial [illegible] at the General Election which followed, relied mainly upon the [illegible] that Home Rule was the only alternative to Coercion, and the [illegible] Liberal Unionists, on the other hand, pledged themselves to [illegible] without Coercion, and still retain the Parliamentary Union [illegible]

Liberal Unionists and the Tories formed an alliance for electoral purposes similar to that which Lord Malmesbury, in 1857, had vainly attempted to cement between the Peelites and the Derbyites. The Irish vote failed to balance the votes of the Liberal Unionists, and when the new House of Commons was elected it was found to consist of 316 Tories, 76 Liberal Unionists, 192 Liberal Home Rulers, and 86 Parnellites. Mr. Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury formed a Ministry, having unsuccessfully endeavoured to persuade Lord Hartington and the Liberal Unionist leaders to join a Coalition Cabinet. The services rendered by Lord Randolph Churchill in rousing the fanaticism of Ulster were rewarded with the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the leadership of the House of Commons. Lord Iddesleigh became Foreign Secretary; Mr. Matthews, Q.C., who had carried one of the seats in Birmingham, became Home Secretary; Sir M. Hicks-Beach was deposed from the leadership of the Commons, and relegated to his old post of Chief Secretary for Ireland. As soon as Lord Salisbury assumed office he found that a fresh agrarian crisis was menacing Ireland. The Irish farmers were demanding a revision even of the fixed judicial rents in terms of the recent fall in prices. There seemed no end to the difficulty, and, in a pessimist mood, Lord Salisbury, at the opening of the Session, declared that he was now in favour of getting rid of the dual-ownership of land in Ireland. In fact, he accepted the principle of a great Land-Purchase scheme, but he also broached the theory that, if judicial rents were cut down, the State should recoup the landlords for their losses.

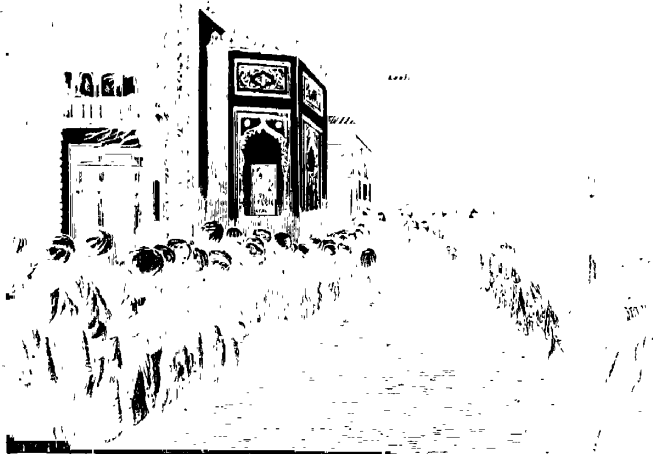
After the debates on the Address were over Mr. Parnell brought in a Relief Bill, allowing tenants who deposited half their rent in Court to claim from the Court a revision of their rents. The Bill was rejected by the combined vote of the Tories and Liberal Unionists. Mr. Dillon now advised the Irish tenants to refuse to pay more rent than they could afford. His suggestion was that they should combine on each estate, offer the landlord a fair rent, and if this was refused, deposit it in the hands of trustees, and use it to resist eviction. This was known as "The Plan of Campaign" against rack-renters, and it was widely adopted all over Ireland. Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Sir Redvers Buller, who had been sent to organise the police in Kerry, apparently discovered that there was much truth in Mr. Parnell's contention, that the fall in prices had made judicial rents impossible. The Irish Government, at all events, now put pressure on rack-renting landlords, in order to prevent them from demanding full rents and from evicting if they were not paid. But Ministers declined to legislate for Ireland till the following Session, though they appointed Commissions to amass materials for legislation. Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of September.

During the autumn the schism between the Liberal Unionists and the Liberals widened. At Leeds the Liberals pledged themselves anew to adhere to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy. On the 7th of December Lord

Hartington's followers held a Conference in London, at which further [illegible]ments were made for completing their organisation as a distinct Party, pledged to maintain the Union. As the year closed various rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet were promulgated. There had been a good deal of agitation against the wasteful extravagance and inefficiency of the spending departments of the State, and Lord Randolph Churchill was called on by public opinion to redeem the pledges in favour of economy which he gave at Blackpool on the 24th of January, 1884. In attempting to do this he found himself thwarted by his colleagues, and, to the astonishment of his Party, he resigned office. He was succeeded by Mr. Goschen, who entered the Cabinet, with Lord Hartington's sanction, as a Liberal Unionist, thereby illustrating afresh the closeness of the coalition between the Dissentient Liberals and the Tories.

During the year there was some agitation raised as to the sad condition of the unemployed in London. The Tories had taken advantage of this to revive the Protectionist Movement under pretence of advocating Fair Trade at meetings held in Trafalgar Square. On the 8th of February, however, the Socialists followed suit, and organised a demonstration in favour of their panacea for poverty. The police arrangements were somewhat defective. A crowd of roughs and thieves who hovered round the fringe of the mob evaded the constabulary, rushed along Pall Mall and Piccadilly smashing the windows of the clubs and sacking the principal jewellers' shops. The agitation proceeded, and a counter demonstration to the Lord Mayor's Show on the 9th of November was even planned. It was, however, prohibited by the police.

As the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee was now within measurable distance, already there were great manifestations of popular feeling in favour of Imperial Unity. In this year the Imperial Federation League was founded for the purpose of drawing closer the bonds between the Colonies and the Mother Country. The Indian and Colonial Exhibition at South Kensington was organised by the Prince of Wales on a scale of sumptuous splendour which attracted visitors to London from all parts of the globe. It was opened with great pomp and ceremony by the Queen in person on the 4th of May, in the presence of the more prominent members of the Royal Family, the great dignitaries in Church and State, and the representatives of India and the Colonies. This amazing display of the vast resources of the Empire soon degenerated into an evening lounge. But it brought together a vast number of able men from every quarter of the world interested in the problem of Imperial Federation, and the Prince of Wales dexterously seized the opportunity thus created for him to establish a centre and rallying-point for British Imperialism. He started the [illegible]ment that ended in the foundation of the Imperial Institute. The [illegible] visited the Exhibition several times, paying special attention to the [illegible] Court, and conversing graciously with the Indian workmen.

On the 11th of May her Majesty visited Liverpool to open the International Exhibition in that city. On the 13th she visited the Seamen's Orphanage, and afterwards sailed down the Mersey, contrasting the scene with that on which she gazed when, in 1851, she made a similar excursion with the Prince Consort. Then the Queen was the guest of Lord Sefton; on this occasion she was the guest of the city of Liverpool, the Municipality having fitted up Newsham House for her accommodation. On the 15th she returned to Windsor, the effect of her visit having been to vastly increase her popularity in the North of England. On the 26th of May the Court proceeded to Balmoral. During the absence of the Court in Scotland the Prince and Princess of Wales stimulated the gaiety of the London Season. It was remarkable for the prevalence of Sunday re-unions, the patronage of which by the Heir Apparent soon made them fashionable even among serious Church-going people. On the 30th of June the Queen opened the Royal Holloway College for Women at Egham, an institution for the higher education of women founded by the vendor of the famous ointment and pills. As women had been among the chief buyers both of the ointment and the pills, there was a touch of irony in Mr. Holloway's bequest that recalled the legacy left by Swift to found a madhouse for the use of the Irish people. On the 2nd of July her Majesty reviewed 10,000 troops at Aldershot, and on the 5th entertained a large number of the Indian and Colonial visitors at Windsor. She attended the brilliant garden-party given by the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House on the 10th; and on the 20th, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, left Windsor for Osborne, where she was soon absorbed in the business attendant on a change of Ministry. On the 17th of August her Majesty left Osborne for Edinburgh, where, on the 18th, she visited the International Exhibition. On the 20th the Queen went to Balmoral, where she remained till the 4th of November. On the 5th she visited the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch at Dalkeith Palace, and inspected the Hospital for Incurables at Edinburgh, returning to Windsor on the 6th. On the 22nd her Majesty received at Windsor, with much ceremony, their Imperial Highnesses the Prince and Princess Komatsu of Japan, and on the 29th the Court removed to Osborne.

OPENING OF THE INDIAN AND COLONIAL EXHIBITION: THE QUEEN'S TOUR.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE JUBILEE.

The Fiftieth Year of the Queen's Reign—Mr. W. H Smith Leader of the Commons—Sudden Death of Lord Iddesleigh—Opening of Parliament—The Queen's Speech—The Debate on the Address—New Rules for Procedure—Closure Proposed by the Tories—Irish Landlords and Evictions—"Pressure Within the Law"—Prosecution of Mr. Dillon—The Round Table Conference—"Parnellism and Crime"—Resignation of Sir M. Hicks-Beach—Appointment of Mr Balfour—The Coercion Bill—Resolute Government for Twenty Years—Scenes in the House—Irish Land Bill—The Bankruptcy Clauses—The National League Proclaimed—The Allotments Act—The Margarine Act—Hamburg Spirit—Mr. Goschen's Budget—The Jubilee in India—The Modes of Celebration in England—Congratulatory Addresses—The Queen's Visit to Birmingham—The Laureate's Jubilee Ode—The Queen at Cannes and Aix—Her Visit to the Grande Chartreuse—Colonial Addresses—Opening of the People's Palace—Jubilee Day—The Scene in the Streets—Preceding Jubilees—The Royal Procession—The German Crown Prince—The Decorations and the Onlookers—The Spectacle in Westminster Abbey—The Procession—The Ceremony—The Illuminations—Royal Banquet in Buckingham Palace—The Shower of Honours—Jubilee Observances in the British Empire and the United States—The Children's Celebration in Hyde Park—The Queen's Garden Party—Her Majesty's Letter to her People—The Imperial Institute—The Victorian Age.

IT was on the 20th of June, 1886, that the Queen entered on the fiftieth year of her reign. But her Majesty naturally refused to assume that she would live to the end of it, and she accordingly determined that the [illegible] celebration of her Jubilee should be put off till the 20th of [illegible] [illegible]. Thus it came to pass that 1887 will be known as the Jubilee [illegible] [illegible] Victorian period. It was a year that opened badly for the [illegible] The sudden resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill at the [illegible] [illegible]

rendered a reconstruction of the Cabinet necessary. Efforts were made in vain to induce some of the Whig Peers to join the Ministry, but, as we have seen, at last Mr. Goschen was persuaded to accept the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The leadership of the Commons was given to Mr. W. H. Smith, who was made First Lord of the Treasury; whilst Lord Salisbury, who held that office, assumed the Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs. This involved the enforced retirement of Lord Iddesleigh in somewhat painful circumstances, which were further heightened by his sudden death from heart-disease on the 13th of January. The discreditable intrigue, which began by deposing him from the Leadership of the House of Commons, thus ended tragically. Some of the leaders of the Liberal and Liberal Unionist Parties were also endeavouring to discover some means of reconciling these now hostile factions. Parliament was opened on the 27th of January, and the Speech from the Throne plainly foreshadowed the introduction of a Coercion Bill for Ireland. It hinted at a Land Bill as a possible measure; indeed, had it not done so the alliance between the Government and the Liberal Unionists would have been weakened. Other measures promised were Bills for reforming local government in England, Scotland, and, "should circumstances render it possible," in Ireland, for cheapening private Bill legislation, and land transfer. An Allotments Bill, a Tithe Bill, a Railway Rates and Merchandise Marks Bill, were also in the programme, which was large and varied. But the debate on the Address showed that no opposed Bills were likely to pass unless the House of Commons reformed its procedure, and to this task the Tory Party had most grudgingly to apply itself. Six sittings were spent on the Address as a general subject of discussion. After that amendments relating to the evacuation of Egypt and the Irish policy announced in the Queen's Speech were debated. Three Scottish amendments were next brought forward, so that when, at the sixteenth sitting of the House, Mr. Dillon began to denounce jury-packing in Dublin, the Speaker ruled him out of order. A motion for an adjournment was defeated, and a motion to consider the condition of unemployed labourers in England was declared by the Speaker to have been sufficiently discussed after two speeches were delivered. The Closure, so dreaded by the Tories in former Parliaments, was then applied by Mr. Smith, a vote taken, and the Address disposed of on the 17th of February.

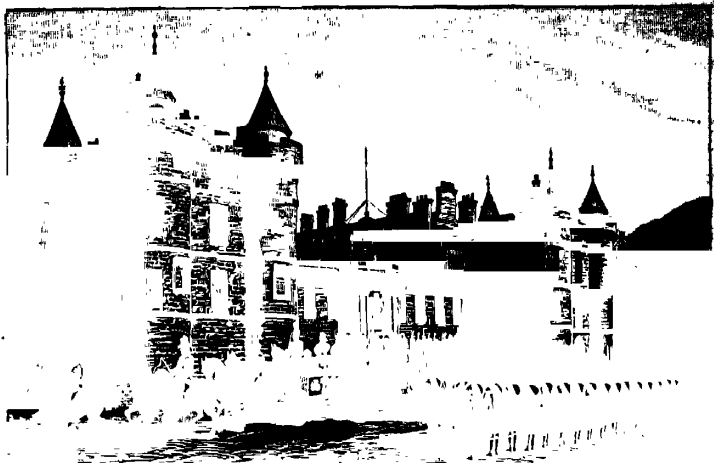
The Government lost no time in preparing to meet the obstruction with which their Coercion Bill was already threatened. They circulated their new rules for debates, and on the 21st of February Mr. W. H. Smith moved the adoption of the Closure, vesting the initiative in applying it not in the Speaker, which was the old rule, but in a bare majority of the House, provided always that at least 200 Members voted for it. The Liberal Leaders supported the proposal on principle, but complained that the new rule was

still too weak, and that it ought to be applied unconditionally. This view was confirmed in the following year, when Mr. W. H. Smith was forced to reduce the necessary quorum of 200 to 100. Meanwhile events had been moving apace in Ireland. The Chief Secretary, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, finding that the landlords were cruelly straining their rights against the poorer tenantry, urged them to be merciful for the sake of peace. He put upon them what he called "pressure within the law," which practically meant that he hinted to them that he would refuse them the aid of the police in enforcing warrants of the Courts. In other words, he seemed to be exercising the "dispensing power" of the Executive, little more than a year after Mr. Morley had been forced to apologise for even suggesting its exercise. In Ireland evictions were resisted by force, and lurid pictures of the state of the country were drawn by the supporters of the Government. The prosecution of Mr. Dillon and other Irish leaders for a conspiracy to defeat the law, because they advocated the Plan of Campaign, broke down through the disagreement of a Dublin jury. The negotiations between the Liberal Unionists and Liberals at the "Round Table Conference" were said to be producing happy results, and it was soon noised abroad that the Government not only hesitated to demand a Coercion Bill, but that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was ruling the Irish with a hand so light that they were lapsing into lawlessness. The *Times* published a series of articles designed to prove that Mr. Parnell and the Irish Home Rule Members were secretly in league with the Party of Assassination. Mutterings of mutiny were heard from the Irish Tories, and at this crisis Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, against whom these complaints were directed, suddenly resigned. This step, however, had been rendered necessary in consequence of his failing eyesight rather than from considerations of a political character. To his post Lord Salisbury appointed his nephew, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, pledged to carry out an unflinching policy of Coercion. Sir George Trevelyan, one of the secessionists from the Liberal Party, about this time showed by his public utterances that he had now returned to Mr. Gladstone's party.

On the 23rd of March Mr. Smith moved that the Crimes Bill have precedence over all other orders—and then the battle began. It was not till the 28th that Mr. Balfour was able to move for leave to introduce the measure, in a speech which seemed to show either that his case was exceptionally weak, or that he had not been able to master it.* The Bill gave magistrates power to inquire into crimes where no person was charged. It gave two resident magistrates summary jurisdiction and power to inflict imprisonment up to six months in cases of criminal conspiracy, boycotting, rioting, assaults on the police, and in cases of inciting to these offences. It gave the Lord-Lieutenant power to "proclaim" certain associations [illegible]

* The case for the Government, however, was strengthened and made more [illegible] went on.

dangerous, and to subject to the penal clauses of the Bill any one who after that took part in them. The Bill was to be a permanent measure, and not like former Coercion Bills, merely passed for a fixed period of time. Violent scenes occurred during the debates which led up to the Second Reading of the measure on the 28th of April, and the House was in an irritable mood because it had been forced to sacrifice most of its Easter holiday. In spite of the frequent use of the Closure, the first clause, which was scarcely a contentious one, was not carried in Committee till the 17th of May. When the fourth clause was reached, on the 10th of June, Mr. W. H. Smith moved a resolution that if the Bill were not reported at 10 p.m. on the 17th, the remaining clauses should be put to the vote without debate. When that hour struck Sir Charles Russell was speaking on the sixth clause. The Chairman stopped the debate, and put the question, the Irish Members leaving the House in a body. After the division the Liberal Members also left, and the rest of the Bill passed without any more opposition. It was read a third time on the 8th of July, and having been adopted by the Peers, it received the Queen's assent on the 19th of July. The determination of the Government to carry the Coercion Bill was natural. It had been admitted by all clear thinkers that, unless Home Rule were granted to Ireland, she could only be governed under Coercion. Moreover, the introduction of the Bill before the Liberal Unionists and Liberals had been reconciled, forced the former to vote for Coercion, which rendered the gulf between them and the old Liberal Party practically impassable. But ere the Liberal Unionists thus burned their boats, they had induced the Ministry to bring in a conciliatory Irish Land Bill in the House of Lords. The Peers sent it down to the Commons on the 4th of July, when the Second Reading was moved on the 12th. The Bill adopted Mr. Parnell's proposal of the previous year, to admit leaseholders to the benefit of the Land Act of 1881; it gave notice of eviction the same effect as the actual service of an ejectment writ, and gave the Courts power to stay execution, and arrange for payment of rent on easy terms when the tenants were in distress. But when insolvent, it provided for them relief from rent and all other debts by a process of bankruptcy, allowing them, however, to retain their farms. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman attacked the bankruptcy clauses, and demanded a revision of all Irish rents in terms of the fall in prices. To a general revision of rents the Government would on no account assent. But the revolt of one of the Liberal Unionists, Mr. T. W. Russell, compelled them to reconsider the bankruptcy clauses. The Tories argued that it was unjust to ask the landlord to accept a composition for rent from the farmer, when the tradesmen to whom he owed money were not expected to abate their claims. Mr. Parnell and Mr. T. W. Russell contended that no analogy could be drawn between rent and trade debts. The latter had never been disputed by the debtor. The former had been disputed. The tenant who owed money to his grocer or seed-merchant never denied that he had got value for it. But he did deny

that he had got value for the money his landlord claimed as rent, and he was able to prove this in court when the rent was cut down. To insist, as did Mr. Chamberlain, on relief from just and unjust claims being given with equal ease under a process of gentle bankruptcy, at which the State was asked to connive, was to make an attack on property and on credit from which even the leaders of the Paris Commune might have shrunk. It was tantamount to asserting that whenever a man was able to show that one creditor had overcharged him 30 per cent. he was entitled to refuse payment of his just debts to all creditors who had not overcharged him, unless they too took

THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO EDINBURGH (1886): HER MAJESTY LEAVING HOLYROOD PALACE.

30 per cent. off their bills. When this was made clear not even Mr. Chamberlain's advocacy sufficed to save the bankruptcy clauses, which were accordingly dropped. But by way of conciliating the landlords the Government insisted on applying the vicious principle to arrears of rent. No relief from unjust arrears was to be given unless they were to be dealt with in bankruptcy alongside just and undisputed trade debts. The result was that when the Bill passed it had a fatal defect in it. It prohibited landlords from evicting for unjust rents, but by this clause it left them free to evict for the arrears which had accumulated under rents which the Courts decided to be unjust. On the 19th of August the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland "proclaimed" the National League as a dangerous association, thereby enabling Mr. A. J. Balfour to suppress any branch of it he thought fit under the Crimes Act.

The Government were now compelled to abandon the bulk of their legislative programme. They, therefore, made no attempt to proceed [illegible]

measures unless they were so democratic that the Liberals could not with decency oppose them. Hence they passed a Coal Mines Regulation Bill, an Allotments Bill—disfigured, however, by the obstacles in procedure which it put in the way of labourers who applied for allotments—and a Bill to prevent substitutes for butter known as "Margarine," from being sold as butter. The success of this measure led to a demand for a similar Bill to prevent publicans from selling poisonous Hamburg spirit as "Fine Old" Cognac, or Scotch or Irish whisky. Baron de Worms, as representative of the Board of Trade, however, though eager to prohibit shopkeepers from selling a wholesome animal fat as butter, was shy of prohibiting the publicans—whose votes were of some value to the Tory Party—from selling poisonous Hamburg alcohol as old brandy. Mr. Goschen's Budget was introduced on the 21st of April. He described it himself as a "humdrum" Budget—though as a matter of fact, as Lord Randolph Churchill said, if *he* had proposed it the country would have denounced it as a scheme full of financial depravity. The Estimates had been taken to show a revenue of £89,689,000, and an expenditure of £89,610,000. The actual receipts, however, for the past year had been £90,772,000, and the actual expenditure £88,738,000. In spite of supplementary estimates, amounting to £1,129,000, there was a surplus on the year's accounts of £776,000. Mr. Goschen's general statement showed that not only were the taxes yielding less than they ever did, but that, though the rich and the poor had suffered much from commercial and agricultural depression, the profits of the middleman had not been reduced. For the coming year he took the revenue to amount, on the existing lines of taxation, to £91,155,000, and the expenditure he set down at £90,180,000, leaving a surplus of £975,000. To this he added £100,000 by increasing the duty on the transfer of Debenture Stocks, and by minor changes in the Stamp Duty. He then added to it a further sum of £1,704,000, by reducing the charges for the public debt. His surplus was thus inflated to £2,779,000, of which he spent £600,000 in reducing the Tobacco Duty, £1,560,000 in taking a penny off the Income Tax, £280,000 in relieving Local Taxation, £50,000 in aid of Arterial Drainage in Ireland, leaving him a probable surplus of £289,000. To manufacture a surplus by the simple process of ceasing to pay off debt, would certainly not have secured for any other Chancellor of the Exchequer, except Mr. Goschen, the reputation of a financial puritan. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Randolph Churchill demonstrated by unanswerable arguments the unwholesomeness of the financial policy which reduced the payments for the National Debt by cutting down the Income Tax instead of by cutting down departmental expenditure. But Mr. Goschen's Budget gave everybody a little relief all round, and was accepted quite irrespective of the unsound principles on which it was based. It was, in fact, the first illustration afforded by a Household Suffrage Parliament of the deteriorating influence of democracy on the financial policy of the nation. Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of September.

But public interest in politics faded as the Session grew old. Indeed from the beginning of the year, the attention of the country was more and more concentrated on the movements of the Queen. It was known that she had nerved herself to emerge from her seclusion, and, in some degree, discard the mourning weeds she had worn so long. The first note of the Jubilee was struck in India, where the great Imperial festival was celebrated on the 16th of February. In presidency towns, inland cities, the capitals of Protected States—even in Mandalay, the capital of the newly-conquered State of Upper Burmah, natives and Europeans vied with each other in acclaiming the event. Announcements of clemency, banquets, plays, the distribution of honours, reviews, illuminations, were not the only methods adopted for celebrating the Jubilee. At Gwalior all arrears of land-tax—amounting to £1,000,000—were remitted. Libraries, colleges, schools, waterworks, hospitals, and dispensaries were opened in honour of the Empress.

"These are Imperial works and worthy thee,"

might well be the comment of the chronicler on such celebrations. All over England preparations were now being made for the great anniversary. In every town meetings were held to decide as to the mode of its observance, and it was curious to notice that everywhere the people desired to localise their rejoicings. Public parks, libraries, town-halls, museums, hospitals—in a word, the foundation of works and institutions of public usefulness in each locality was universally regarded as the best means of honouring the occasion. There was only one Jubilee institution of national grandeur that won public favour—the Imperial Institute. It was originated, as has been noted, by the Prince of Wales, and it was to his energy and skill in appealing for public support that the enormous funds needed for its endowment were now collected. In March the congratulatory addresses began to come in—the Convocation of Canterbury, whose deputation headed by the Primate was received by the Queen at Windsor on the 8th of March, leading the way.

On the 23rd of March Birmingham, in spite of the boisterous weather, was *en fête* to receive her Majesty who arrived to open the new Law Courts in that town, and few who were present will ever forget the mighty shout of enthusiasm that rose up from the swarming throng, when the Queen's procession turned into New Street. Never was Royalty more loyally received than in the Radical capital of the Midlands. The Democratic demonstration at Birmingham gave point to the passage in the Laureate's Jubilee Ode, in which he wrote:—

"Are there thunders moaning in the distance?
Are there spectres moving in the darkness?
Trust the Lord of Light to guide her people,
Till the thunders pass, the spectres vanish,
And the Light is victor, and the darkness
Dawns into the Jubilee of the Ages."

On the 29th of March her Majesty, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, left Windsor for Portsmouth, where they embarked in the Royal yacht for Cannes. On the 5th the Royal party went to Aix-les-Bains, where the Queen occupied her old rooms at the Villa Mottet. Aix was wonderfully free from visitors, and she, therefore, enjoyed almost complete privacy during her stay. By the special sanction of the Pope her Majesty, on the 23rd of April, was allowed to visit the Monastery of the Grande Chartreuse, within whose precincts no woman's foot is permitted to tread. She returned to Windsor on the 29th of April. On the 4th of May she received at the Castle the representatives of the Colonial Governments, who presented her with addresses congratulating her on having witnessed during her reign her Colonial subjects increase from fewer than 2,000,000 to upwards of 9,000,000 souls, her Indian subjects from 96,000,000 to 254,000,000, and her subjects in minor dependencies from 2,000,000 to 7,000,000. On the 9th her Majesty held a court at Buckingham Palace, at which the Maharajah and Maharanee of Kutch Behar and the Maharajah Sir Pertab Sing were presented to her. On the 10th she held a Drawing Room, and afterwards visited a private performance of the feats of the American cow-boys, and Indians, and prairie-hunters at the "Wild West Show" at Earl's Court. On the 14th she opened the People's Palace at Whitechapel, an institution which had grown out of a suggestion in Mr. Walter Besant's romance of "All Sorts and Conditions of Men." The route of procession from Paddington was seven miles long, and it was thronged with people, who gave the Queen as warm a welcome as she had received in Birmingham. On her return her Majesty visited the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House. This was a remarkable event, for her Majesty had not entered the Municipal Palace since she had visited it with her mother two years before her accession. Her Majesty partook of tea and strawberries with her Civic hosts, with whom she spent fully half-an-hour, charming the company with her affability. On the 20th the Court removed to Balmoral, where the Queen found her mountain retreat covered with snow. On the 17th of June the Court returned to Windsor, and on the 18th her Majesty received at the Castle the Maharajah Holkar of Indore, and several Indian princes and deputations from Native States.

The Jubilee itself was celebrated on the 21st of June. The chief streets of London were given over to carpenters and upholsterers, gasmen, and floral decorators, who transformed them beyond all possibility of recognition. On the night of the 20th the town was swarming with people, who had come out in the hope of seeing some of the illuminations tried. As the day dawned crowds began to stream into the metropolis, and in the forenoon every face wore a festal aspect. Fabulous prices had been paid for seats along the line of procession, and those who had secured places were in possession of them early in the morning. Everybody was in good humour, and the police were

exceptionally amiable. At the point of departure—Buckingham Palace—there were no decorations, but the presence of the Guards and of the seamen of the Fleet, who were on duty within the gates, gave animation to the scene. As eleven o'clock—the hour of starting—approached, a strange silence seemed to fall over the noisy, gossiping crowd, as if men and women felt awed and touched at the sight of their aged Sovereign proceeding in State from her Palace to the old Abbey to thank God for permitting her to see the fiftieth year of her reign. Only thrice in the history of England had a Jubilee been celebrated, and in none of these cases was there, as now, ground for unalloyed joy. But for the founding of our Parliamentary System, none would care to recall the distracted reign of Henry III. That of Edward III., glorious as it was at its beginning, was clouded with disaster at its end. That of George III. cost the dynasty, not a Crown, but a continent. On the Jubilee Day of Queen Victoria there was, however, no room for any feeling save that of gratitude and pride that, under her gentle sway, the English people had gained and not lost dominion upon earth. It was not till the head of the procession moved along, and the Royal carriages came in sight, that the pent-up feeling of the dense masses of spectators found utterance in volley after volley of cheers. The Queen's face was tremulous with emotion, and yet there was triumph as well as grateful courtesy in her bearing as she bowed her acknowledgments to her subjects. Beside her were the Princess of Wales and the German Crown Princess, the latter beaming with happiness and delight to find that her countrymen still held her dear. The loyal tumult all along the line literally drowned the blare of bands and trumpets.

The first part of the procession consisted of carriages in which were seated the sumptuously apparelled Indian Princes, in robes of cloth of gold, and with turbans blazing with diamonds and precious gems, who had come from the far East to celebrate the Jubilee of their Empress. Following them came carriages with the Duchess of Teck, the Persian and Siamese guests of the Queen, the Queen of Hawaii, the Kings of Saxony, Belgium, and Greece, and the Austrian Crown Prince. Life Guards followed, and behind them came two mounted lacqueys of the Court. To them succeeded escorts of Hussars and Life Guards, followed by outriders in scarlet. In the first part of the procession were eleven carriages. Of these, five conveyed the Ladies-in-Waiting and the Great Officers of the Household. The sixth conveyed the Princess Victoria of Sleswig-Holstein, Princess Margaret of Prussia, and Prince Alfred of Edinburgh. In the seventh were seated the Princesses Victoria and Sophie of Prussia, Princess Louis of Batten-berg, and Princess Irene of Hesse. The eighth conveyed the Princesses Maud, Victoria, and Louise of Wales. In the ninth were the Duchess of Connaught and the Duchess of Albany. In the tenth were the Duchess of Edinburgh, Princess Beatrice, Princess Louise, and Princess Christian. Be-tween the eleventh carriage and the Queen's rode the brilliant [illegible]

Princess, whose appearance all along the route gave the signal for an outbreak of cheering. In the first rank rode the Queen's grandsons—Prince Albert Victor and Prince William of Prussia being among the most conspicuous. Following them came the Queen's sons-in-law, the German Crown Prince, Prince Christian, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and Prince Henry of Battenberg. The Marquis of Lorne had started with the procession, but his horse took fright and threw him, about 300 yards from the Palace, whereupon he returned on foot, and, borrowing a charger from an Artillery officer, rode by himself to the Abbey by Birdcage Walk. Of this group, the central figure was that of the German Crown Prince, whose white uniform and plumed silver helmet attracted general admiration. Covered with medals and decorations, most of which he had won by his prowess in battle, he sat his charger as proudly as a mediæval knight, in whom the spirit of old-world German chivalry lived again. His fair, frank face became radiant with delight, when he found that peal after peal of applause greeted him whenever he appeared. Partly owing to his picturesque figure, partly to his manly and heroic character, and partly, no doubt, to honest sympathy with his sufferings under the disease that had suddenly smitten him in the very prime of life, the German Crown Prince received an ovation more effusive even than that bestowed on the ever-popular Prince of Wales, and almost equal to that which greeted the Queen herself. After her sons-in-law came her sons, the Duke of Connaught, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Edinburgh. They, too, were hailed with cheering that was prolonged, and that deepened in volume till her Majesty's carriage passed. A gorgeous cavalcade of Indians brought the splendid procession to a close. Along the route, from the Palace up Constitution Hill, round Hyde Park Corner, on through Piccadilly, down Waterloo Place, past Trafalgar Square, along Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, every house was glowing with many-tinted draperies, with bunting, and with floral decorations, and every balcony and window were crowded with bright and happy faces framed in festoons of roses and laurel.

The scene in the Abbey was impressive. Municipal dignitaries, representatives of the Universities, civic functionaries of the higher order, representatives of the Church and the Law, Lords-Lieutenant and their deputies, High Sheriffs, Officers of the Auxiliary Forces, Diplomatists, Ministers of State in Windsor uniforms, Officers of the Household, Foreign Princes and Potentates, and their suites—in fact every invited guest privileged to wear robe or uniform, contributed to the mass of varied colour that, after a time, almost tired the eye. Among the earliest arrivals were the Princess Feodore of Saxe-Meiningen, the Prince Albert, and the Princess Louise of Sleswig-Holstein, the Princess Alice of Hesse, the Princesses Mary, Victoria, and Alexandra of Edinburgh, the Princess Frederica, Baroness Pawel von Rammingen, Baron Pawel von Rammingen, Prince and Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar, the Prince and Princess of Leiningen, Prince and Princess

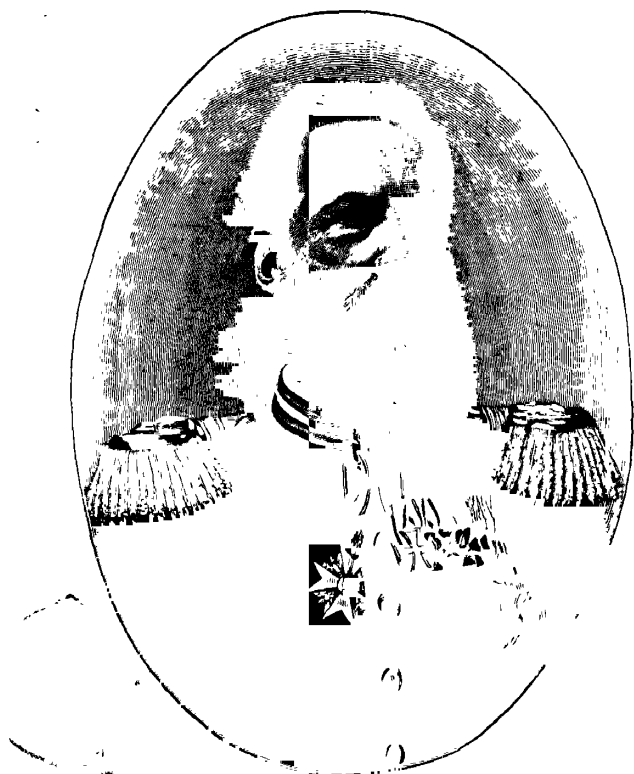
Victor of Hohenlohe, with the Countesses Feodora and Victoria Gleichen, [illegible] Count Edward Gleichen. Then entered the swarthy Chiefs and Princes [illegible] India, among whom the stately and resplendent Holkar was very [illegible] The Queen of Hawaii followed, and after her came the Princess [illegible] of Teck, and the Princes Adolphus, Francis, and Alexander of Teck, Prince Frederick of Anhalt, Prince Ernest of Saxe-Meiningen, the Duke and Duchess of Teck, the Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenberg, Prince Ludwig of Baden, Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg, the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, G.C.B., Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, the Duke of Saxe Coburg-Gotha, the Infante Don Antonio of Spain, the Infanta Donna Eulalia of Spain, the Duc d'Aosta, the Crown Prince of Sweden, the Crown Prince and Princess of Portugal, the Austrian Crown Prince, the Grand Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the King of Saxony, the King and Queen of the Belgians, Prince George of Greece, the Crown Prince of Greece, the King of Greece, and the King of Denmark.

Half-an-hour after the appointed time the silver trumpets announced the coming of the Queen's procession, headed by the six minor and the six residentiary canons of Westminster, the Bishop of London, Archbishop of York, the Dean of Westminster,* the Primate, all attired in sumptuous canonicals. They were followed by heralds and other functionaries, who were followed by the members of the Royal procession walking in ranks of three, in the inverse order of precedence always enforced at Royal ceremonials. These were—

The Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Meiningen.	Prince Christian Victor of Sleswig-Holstein.	Prince Louis of Battenberg.
Prince Henry of Prussia.	Prince George of Wales.	The Hereditary Grand Duke of Hesse.
The Grand Duke Serge of Russia.	Prince Albert Victor of Wales.	Prince William of Prussia.
Prince Henry of Battenberg.		The Marquis of Lorne.
Prince Christian of Sleswig-Holstein.	The German Crown Prince.	The Grand Duke of Hesse.
The Duke of Connaught.	The Prince of Wales.	The Duke of Edinburgh.

The Queen, clad in black, but with a bonnet of white Spanish lace glittering with diamonds, and wearing the Orders of the Garter and Star of India, entered, escorted by the Lord Chamberlain, as the organ pealed forth the strains of the march from Handel's "Occasional Oratorio." The solemnity of the spectacle, and the reflection that the Queen-Empress is about to give thanks to God for the crowning triumph of her life, surrounded by the ashes of her predecessors, repress all manifestations of feeling. Reverently does her Majesty take her place on the Royal daïs, and, when the Princes [illegible]

* As successor of the old abbots, the Dean of Westminster, in the Abbey, takes [illegible] all ecclesiastics except the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Princesses in her train arrange themselves, the picture is one of imposing magnificence. Surrounding this shining group of Princes a vast throng, representing the genius, the rank, the wealth, and the chivalry of Britain, filled every nook of the sacred fane in which the Queen celebrated her golden wedding with her people. Towering high above all his peers the Imperial form

THE CROWN PRINCE, AFTERWARDS THE EMPEROR FREDERICK III., OF GERMANY.

(From a Photograph by Reichard and Lindner, Berlin.)

of the German Crown Prince, clad in the white uniform of the Cuirassiers, stood forth as the most majestic figure in that magnificent pageant.

The Thanksgiving Service was brief and simple. The Primate and the Dean of Westminster officiated, and the music was largely selected from the compositions of the Prince Consort. Prayers and responses invoking a blessing on the Queen were intoned. The Prince Consort's *Te Deum* was given. Three special prayers were offered up by the Archbishop of Canterbury,

after which the people's prayer—*Exaudiat te Dominus*—was [illegible] lesson (1 Pet. ii. 6—18) was next read by the Dean, and Dr. [illegible] Jubilee anthem, "Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted [illegible] set thee on the throne to be king for the Lord thy God," a piece [illegible] the theme of the National Anthem is suggested, was sung. Two [illegible]

THE CROWN PRINCESS, AFTERWARDS THE EMPRESS VICTORIA, OF GERMANY.

(*From a Photograph by Reichard and Lindner, Berlin.*)

prayers were then offered up, and the ceremony, impressive from the grandeur of the surroundings, and yet thrilling and pathetic by reason of its devotional earnestness and simplicity, ended with the Benediction. Here the [illegible] who was several times overcome with emotion, is seen by the spectators [illegible] make a movement as if she would rise from her seat on the sacred [illegible] tion Stone of Scone and kneel on the *pris-dieu* in front of her. [illegible] cannot reach so far, and she sinks back into her place, veiling her [illegible]

with her hands. She then glances round, and her eyes fill with tears when they rest on her sons and her daughters, and her sons-in-law and their children. The pent-up feeling of that dazzling group of Princes and Princesses can no longer be restrained, and the solemn pageant of State suddenly assumes the aspect of a family festival. The Prince of Wales bends forward and kisses the Queen's hand, but her Majesty raises his face and salutes him affectionately on the cheek. The German Crown Prince pays his homage with chivalrous grace and stately courtesy, and the Grand Duke of Hesse follows him. But the emotion of the moment is too strong for Court ceremonial. The Queen with an impulsive gesture discards the Lord Chamberlain's etiquette, and embraces the Princes and Princesses of her house with honest and unreserved motherly affection. Then she turns to the German Crown Prince with a loving smile, and as he comes forward she kisses him warmly on the cheek. The Grand Duke of Hesse is also saluted, and her Majesty, making a profound bow to her Foreign guests, which they return, quits the scene as the "March of the Priests" in *Athalie* peals forth from the organ. The procession was now formed again, and as the Sovereign returned to Buckingham Palace, it was noticed that the reception which was given to her was even more enthusiastic than that which greeted her on her way to the Abbey. It is, perhaps, only once in a generation that it falls to the lot of a monarch to be hailed in the streets of her capital with such passionate demonstrations of loyalty, and the Queen seemed to be filled with the emotion of the hour.

The rest of the day was kept as a public holiday by the people, and when the shades of night fell on the metropolis its streets were ablaze with light. The art of the illuminator was indeed exhausted in providing novel and varied designs, and gas jets and electric lamps, arranged so as to display every conceivable device expressive of loyalty, turned night into day. Nor were gas and electricity the only agents employed to give splendour to the festivity of the evening. In many places festoons of Chinese lanterns shed their soft and mellow radiance over a scene not unworthy of fairyland. The Queen, who had borne the fatigue and excitement of the Thanksgiving pageant wonderfully well, rested a little while after her return to Buckingham Palace, and there, as a special compliment to the "Senior Service," she came out and held a review of the 500 seamen of the Fleet who had formed her guard of honour at the Palace doors. In the evening she gave a grand banquet, at which sixty-four royal personages were present.

All over England and in the North of Ireland the Jubilee was also celebrated as enthusiastically as in London. The illumination of the city of Edinburgh was said to be even more effective as a brilliant spectacle than that presented by the metropolis. It was only in Cork and Dublin that riotous demonstrations of disloyalty took place. Eight peerages, thirteen baronetcies, and thirty-three knighthoods were conferred in honour of the

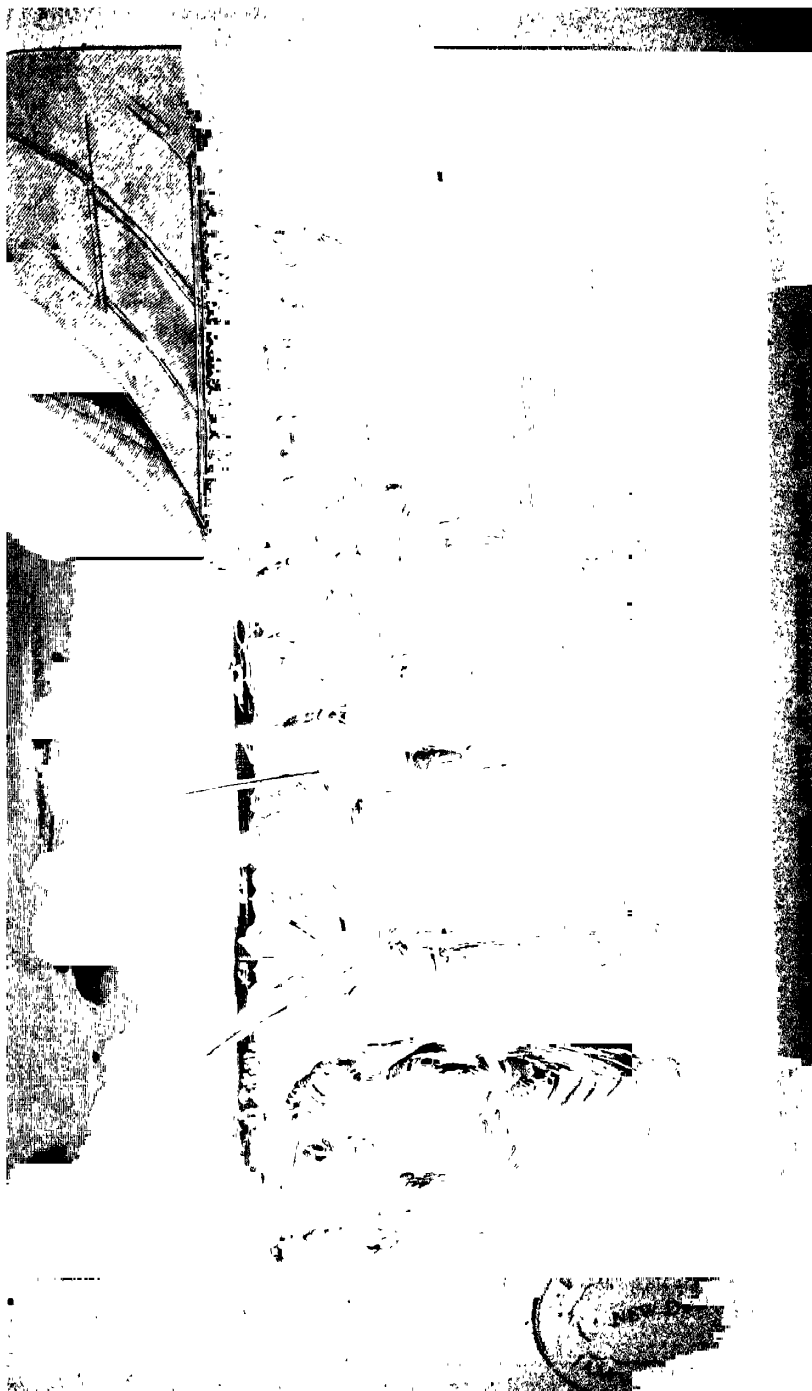
event. A Royal amnesty to deserters from the army was also proclaimed. In the Colonies the day was celebrated even more joyously than in England. In foreign lands the British residents also held Jubilee festivals. But in the United States the citizens of the Republic freely joined the British residents in honouring the occasion as if it were one of as much interest to them as to their kith and kin in the old home of their race. The most glowing of all the Jubilee orations was in fact spoken by Mr. Hewitt, Mayor of New York, at the grand Thanksgiving Festival in the Opera House of that city, in the course of which he elicited the passionate enthusiasm of his countrymen by recalling the events of the Civil War. "In the hour of our trial," he exclaimed, "when the flag under whose broad folds I was born was trailing in the dust, it was my fortune to journey to another land on matters of great moment. There I learnt—and I know whereof I speak—that we owed to the Queen of England the non-intervention policy which characterised the Great Powers of the world during our struggle for life and death. I had no purpose to open my lips here, but when you call on me for a testimony to her who was our friend, as she is your Queen, my lips ought to be palsied if I were such a coward as not to give it." A speech so simple and unexpected, received as it was by a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm from the American citizens in the audience, it need hardly be said produced a profound sensation.

But of all the Jubilee celebrations perhaps the most charming and novel was one which was held in Hyde Park. A few weeks before Jubilee Day it occurred to a kindly and generous gentleman, Mr. Edward Lawson, well known in society as the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, that there was a fatal omission in the Jubilee programme. Elaborate arrangements had been made to interest all classes in the festival save one—the school-children of London—the boys and girls who must form the men and women of the next generation. Mr. Lawson contended that this defect should be remedied, and the whole town was immediately taken with his idea. Everybody wondered that nobody had put forward the suggestion before, and Mr. Lawson soon found himself honorary treasurer of the Children's Jubilee Fund, to which he himself was one of the most prominent subscribers. Foolish efforts were made to check the movement, and people were warned that it was impossible to entertain 30,000 children in Hyde Park, as Mr. Lawson proposed, without accidents to life and limb. It was, however, in vain that he was denounced as the organiser of a juvenile Juggernaut. The fund was raised with ease, and Mr. Lawson, by skilful organisation, not only got 27,000 children into Hyde Park from all parts of London on the 22nd of June, but sent them back unhurt and happy to their homes. Great ladies of fashion helped him to carry out his arrangements. The little ones were entertained with the sports and shows dear to boys and girls of their age, and the Queen not only came out and greeted them in person, but [illegible]

was received with a delight that touched her profoundly. The Princes and Princesses and many of the foreign visitors also witnessed this strange but interesting incident in the Jubilee celebrations.*

On the 24th of June, an evening party was given at Buckingham Palace, which was attended by nearly all the members of the Queen's family, by the foreign sovereigns and Princes then in London, and by a gay throng of distinguished persons. On the 25th of June, a singularly beautiful and touching letter, evidently straight from the Queen's own pen, to the Home Secretary, thanking the nation for their display of loyalty and love, appeared in the *London Gazette*. In this communication it almost seems as if the Queen laid her heart open to the people with a frank and simple confidence rare in the relations that subsist between sovereigns and their subjects. On the 27th her Majesty received at Windsor Castle congratulatory deputations from municipalities, friendly societies, professional associations, and public bodies, representing almost every phase of English life, and thought, and enterprise. Her Garden Party at Buckingham Palace on the following Wednesday was a brilliant reunion at which were present several thousands of guests. On the 2nd of July the Queen from Buckingham Palace reviewed 28,000 Metropolitan Volunteers, and military men were amazed at the skill with which the troops were handled by their officers in the narrow and confined space. It was, however, unfortunate that at this review a slight was cast on the Royal Navy. As is natural in a seafaring nation, the naval forces of the Crown always take precedence of the land forces. Hence, the phrase "Senior Service" used to distinguish the Navy from the Army. But at this review the claim of the Royal Naval Volunteers for precedence over the grotesque and motley body known as the Honourable Artillery Company of London, a force which belongs neither to the Army, the Militia, nor the Volunteers, and which has been permitted even to repudiate the authority of the War Office, was disallowed.

On the 4th of July the crowning event of the Jubilee Festival occurred. On that day the Queen laid the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute in the Albert Hall. Noting the growing Imperialism which the Jubilee evoked, the Prince of Wales determined to fix it by embodying it in some permanent institution. In spite of distracted counsels, inter-Colonial jealousy, and much anti-monarchical opposition, the necessary funds for the purpose were raised, but it was universally admitted that had not the Prince toiled without ceasing the scheme must have collapsed. The Institute was and is meant to stand as an outward and visible sign of the essential unity of the British

* When the children got to the Park Mr. Lawson, like a practical man, put them in good humour by feeding them. They were taken in squads to tents, and each child got a bag with a meat pie, a piece of cake, a bun, and an orange; also a plated medallion portrait of the Queen. A Jubilee mug of Doulton ware was also given to each boy and girl, and during the day lemonade, ginger beer, and milk were to be had for the asking.

Empire. It was to be a rallying-point for all Colonial movements, a centre of instruction for those who desire information as to Colonial trade and Colonial resources. In a word, what the Queen "inaugurated" on the 4th of July, at Kensington, as the culminating function of her Jubilee, was a vast and ubiquitous Intelligence Department for her far-stretching dominions. The decoration of the building in which the ceremony took place was chiefly floral, and, indeed, the scene suggested sylvan freshness and beauty. Eleven thousand people were seated in the chief pavilion.

When the Queen entered, preceded by the officers of her household and escorted by her family, she took her seat on the draped daïs, and found herself again surrounded by a majestic throng of Kings and Princes. The Prince of Wales read aloud to her Majesty the Address of the organising Committee of the Institute, describing its aims and its prospects. The ode, written for the occasion by Mr. Lewis Morris,* and set to music by Sir Arthur Sullivan, was performed by the Albert Hall Choral Society, aided by a full orchestra. After it was finished, the Queen, assisted by the Prince of Wales and the architect, Mr. Colcutt, laid the first solid block of the building—a piece of granite three tons in weight. Prayers, read by the Primate, followed, after which the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 presented an Address, congratulating the Queen on the celebration of her Jubilee. Her Majesty then, leaning on the arm of the Prince of Wales, left the hall, while the band struck up "Rule Britannia." The ceremonial differed from that which took place in the Abbey in one respect. The Thanksgiving Service threw the minds of Sovereign and subject back on the past, with all its trials and all its triumphs. But the function in the Royal Albert Hall invited speculation as to the future, and as to the part which the Monarchy must inevitably play in the evolution of the English-speaking race, and the development of their spreading dominion over strange lands and under strange stars. The Institute typified the inheritance of Empire which Englishmen had won during the reign by their toil and their enterprise. As Mr. Morris sang,

> "To-day we would make free
> The millions of their glorious heritage.
> Here, Labour crowds in hopeless misery;
> There, is unbounded work and ready wage.
> The salt breeze calling, stirs our Northern blood,
> Lead we the toilers to their certain goal;
> Guide we their feet to where
> Is spread, for those who dare,
> A happier Britain 'neath an ampler air.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> First Lady of our British Race,
> 'Tis well that with thy peaceful Jubilee
> This glorious dream begins to be."

* Lord Tennyson's health did not admit of his officiating as Laureate on this occasion, and Mr. Browning has always declared himself unable to produce ceremonial odes to order.

With this great function of State the record of the Queen's [illegible] through half a century, and of the public affairs which her life influenced and which influenced it, may close for the present. A retrospective glance over that record suggests curious reflections.

Only seventeen years elapsed between the death of George III. and the accession of the Queen to the sovereignty of a people who had let a [illegible] continent slip from their grasp, and who were not only exhausted by wars, but whose wars had also exhausted the nations that trafficked with them. England had then but one hope of recovery. It was to bind the forces of Nature to the tarrying chariot-wheels of her Industry. To this end she bent the energies of her highest intellect and genius. For this reason, perhaps, the Victorian period, in which the Queen stands out as the central figure, represents the triumph of the applied Sciences, rather than the apotheosis of the Arts and the Humanities. "The true founders of modern England," says Mr. Spencer Walpole, "are its inventors and engineers."* The mighty power which the British Empire now represents has therefore been built up under the Queen's sceptre, not on the red fields of war, but in the laboratory, the workshop, and the mine. Three facts alone will serve to give the distinctive character of the Victorian age. When the Queen was crowned railway travelling was almost unknown; steam navigation had hardly emerged from the region of experiment; the telegraph was but a toy of the physicists. As we reflect on what the railway, the steamship, and the telegraph have done for England, we can measure the extent and discern the nature of the peaceful revolution in affairs over which the Queen has presided. The national resolve arrived at after the death of George IV. to recover the power and wealth which seemed to have vanished during the last years of his reign, and to recover it by gaining fresh dominion over the forces of Nature, naturally shaped the whole course of public policy. If England was to be resuscitated in the laboratory, the workshop, and the mine, the Sciences, rather than the Arts and Humanities, must be fostered. Capital must be set free. The dignity of Labour must be recognised. Commerce must be unshackled, and perfect freedom, combined with unbroken order, established in the land. The swift decay of privilege that marks the course of political reform during the last half century, the spread of popular education, the wide distribution of political power, the wise revision of the penal laws, the humane legislation designed to better and brighten the lot of Toil, the subjection of authority to opinion, the subjugation of Art to Industry, the absorption of literature by the Press, are but natural results of a struggle on the part of a masculine race to build up its power on the achievements of the inventor, the experimentalist, and the pioneer.

Nor can the harvest of its toil be deemed altogether unsatisfactory. [illegible]

* History of England, Vol. V., p. 537.

poor we have still with us, but their condition has been vastly improved since the reign of William IV. Save in one respect, that of house rent in large towns, the necessaries of life have been cheapened, while the purchasing capacity of the people has been increased. As for the upper and middle classes, their wealth in comparison with their numbers has been multiplied twofold since the Queen ascended the throne.

So far as the public life of the Queen has affected her House, these pages prove that it has done so in one way. At her Accession the Crown had almost entirely lost its authority as a governing order in the State. At her Jubilee the Crown held a position of authority higher than any to which it has attained since the time of William of Orange. According to Mr. Gladstone, the success of the Queen's dynastic policy has been due to her determination to acquire influence rather than power for the Monarchy. *Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est.* But if the Roman historian be right in holding that power can be most surely kept by the means whereby it has been acquired, he who runs may read the lesson of the Queen's life. Its record, showing how her influence has been won, must also show those who will some day take her place, how alone it can be retained and strengthened.

CHAPTER XXXI.

UNIONISM IN EXCELSIS.

A Year of Volubility—Who Broke up the Round Table Conference?—Highland Crofters and their Grievances—"Remember Mitchelstown"—Bloody Sunday—Italy completes the Triple Alliance—Unionists and Tories in Agreement—Defences of Greater Britain—Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Balfour—The Right of Open-air Meeting—Reform of the House of Lords—Mr. Goschen's National Debt Conversion Scheme—The Budget of 1888—The Local Government Bill—The Charges and Allegations Bill—Mr. Gladstone at Birmingham—Drawing Lord Sackville—Jack the Ripper—Deaths of the Emperors William I. and Frederick III.—The Queen's visits to Glasgow, Paisley, and Dundee.

After the Jubilee, politics in England degenerated into a free faction fight. Only it was a rhetorical contest conducted on the platform, and it led to no effusion of blood. The Liberal Unionists seemed to be nervously anxious to explain their attitude towards other parties in the State, and Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Derby never missed a chance of defending their position or of attacking that of Mr. Gladstone's followers. Mr. Gladstone and his lieutenants were naturally compelled to meet speech with speech, and thus the Jubilee year will long be remembered as the one in which Parliament out of session was more active and voluble than it had ever been in the Queen's reign. As for the country, it looked on with suspended judgment, hearing both sides and favouring none. The Ministry had shown that it could quiet mobs by coercion, both in Tipperary and in London, but it had incurred unpopularity in consequence. The Opposition were as feeble as ever, and their failure to come to terms with the Liberal Unionists at the Round Table Conference greatly weakened their reputation for statecraft. Sir George Trevelyan had returned to the Gladstonian party, and he delivered many speeches trying to explain the concessions which Mr. Gladstone had made to him on the Home Rule Question. But the effort to discover them, as Mr. Brodrick said, was "as hopeful as the enterprise of the Yankee who tried to find a black hat on a dark night." Mr. Balfour, also, in a speech at Manchester (December 14), diverted the country by likening Sir George to Mr. Pliable who, when he fell into the Slough of Despond, used bad language to his former companion, and, after struggling in the mud, got out on the wrong side, returning to the City of Destruction, where "he was held greatly in derision amongst all sorts of people." Sir George contended, on the other hand, that Mr. Gladstone had met his views by agreeing to retain Irish members at Westminster, and by consenting to state precisely what powers were to be given to an Irish legislature, instead of specifying those that were reserved for the Imperial Parliament, and then giving the Irish Legislature everything else. At the time it was said that Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. Chamberlain had [illegible] to be on speaking terms when the Round Table Conference broke up, [illegible]

cause alleged being that Mr. Chamberlain had been treacherous to his colleagues. This view was not accepted by those who remembered that considerably more than a fortnight after Mr. Chamberlain was said to have behaved with disloyalty in connection with the Conference, Sir George Trevelyan delivered an eloquent eulogy at Liskeard on the Liberal Unionists, specially selecting for adulation Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Henry James.* Outside Parliament the question—who broke up the Round Table Conference?—was keenly canvassed, and the facts elicited seem to be as follows.

The attempt of the Tories to coalesce with the Whigs produced the Conference. The negotiations between Lord Hartington's friends and the Government made the Radical Unionists nervous. They therefore hinted, through Mr. Chamberlain, that a reunion of the old Liberal party was possible. Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to Sir William Harcourt (January 2nd, 1887), encouraged the project, and so the conference between Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan on the one part, and Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt on the other, under Lord Herschell's presidency, was organised. It was agreed to treat the old Home Rule Bill as dead. The Unionists then said they must demand the retention of the Irish membership at Westminster. They also insisted that Parliament should control and revise all Irish legislation passed by a Home Rule Legislature. Separate and special provisions must be made for the government of Ulster. The business of maintaining law and order and controlling the Royal Irish Constabulary must be left to the Imperial Government. Sir George Trevelyan as well as Mr. Chamberlain stated these concessions were necessary, as conditions precedent to any conference at all.

It does not, however, appear that Mr. Morley, Sir William Harcourt, and Lord Herschell ever committed themselves officially to the acceptance of them. All that can be said is that, knowing they formed the basis on which Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. Chamberlain consented to negotiate, the Gladstonian leaders negotiated with them. The concessions demanded were taken down in writing by Mr. Gladstone's representatives for reference to him. He, however, gave no sign as to what he thought about them. The Conference was therefore repeatedly adjourned, but according to Sir George Trevelyan (July 26) the meetings had been very friendly and promised to lead to satisfactory results. No meeting took place after the 14th of January, and on the 6th of February Sir William Harcourt told Sir George Trevelyan that Mr. Chamberlain's recent speeches had given great offence to Mr. Gladstone's friends.† Mr. Chamberlain's friends, on the other hand, contended that the

* "It is difficult to conceive how anybody who has watched the proceedings in Parliament during the last session and this session can doubt that the non-recognition by the Liberal party of Lord Hartington, Sir Henry James, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Courtney is not only a great misfortune to the Liberal party, but a great national danger."—Sir G. Trevelyan at Liskeard, *Times*, March 17th, 1887.

† At Wolverhampton on the 20th April, 1887, Mr. Morley said Mr. Chamberlain "in the private conclave was as reasonable, conciliatory, and friendly as a man could desire" but that his speeches revived irritation.

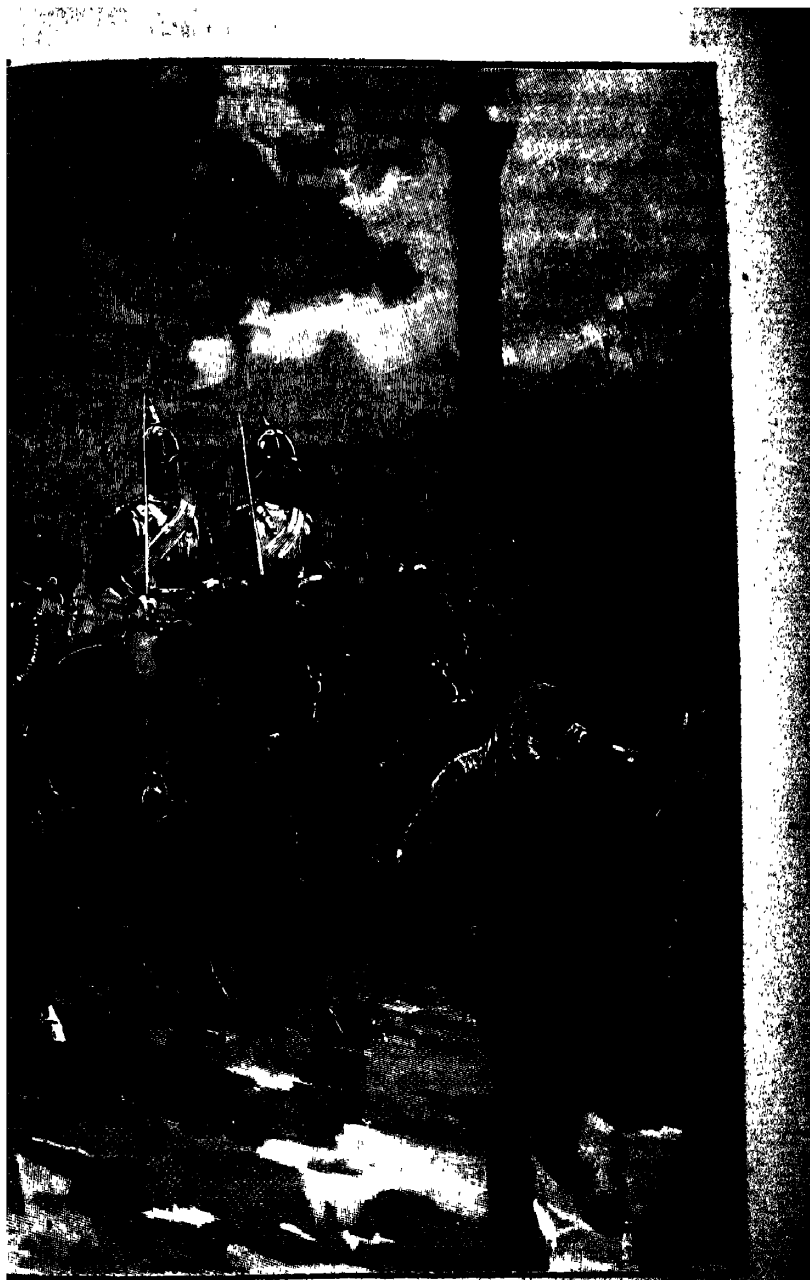
manner in which he was attacked by Gladstonian critics provoked resentment, and suggested that the negotiators were not in earnest. All difficulties were, however, smoothed over at a dinner given by Sir William Harcourt at his house in Grafton Street on the 14th of February, at which it seemed the union of the Liberal party was at last within sight. At this time, however, offensive attacks were again made on the Liberal Unionists by the Gladstonian press.* The refusal of Mr. Chamberlain to vote against the Government when it was forced to appropriate the nights of private members, was made the pretext for an irritating assault on him. The action of the Government was approved by public opinion, but it had incidentally prevented Mr. Dillwyn from bringing forward a proposal for disestablishing the Church in Wales. Mr. Chamberlain was therefore rather unfairly branded as a traitor to his principles for supporting the Leader of the House, not only in closing the wearisome debate on the Address, but in refusing to set aside a special day for Mr. Dillwyn's motion. To these attacks Mr. Chamberlain replied in a temperate article which he wrote specially for the *Baptist* newspaper, saying that charges of treachery and threats of expulsion levelled against him would not re-unite the Liberal Party, and that instead of uttering them Liberal critics and speakers would be better employed in supporting Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt, then engaged in the work of reconciliation. This article appeared on the 25th of February. On the previous day the proceedings of the Round Table Conference had been submitted to Mr. Gladstone, who had drawn up a memorandum on them. That document was never published, and the historic Round Table Conference came to an end. Mr. Gladstone's representatives said that Mr. Chamberlain's article in the *Baptist* † rendered further friendly relations with them impossible. Mr. Chamberlain's friends said that Mr. Gladstone's memorandum refused the concessions which were the basis of negotiation, and that Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt seized the *Baptist* article as an excuse for avoiding the production of that important document, and the embarrassment of confessing that Mr. Gladstone declined to make those concessions to the Liberal Unionists which even Sir George Trevelyan thought necessary. In deciding between these opposing views, two facts universally admitted are of supreme significance. Mr. Gladstone's memorandum has never been published, and yet its publication would at once show whether he was or was not responsible for the failure of the Conference. Rather than let the Conference come to naught, Mr. Chamberlain wrote to Mr. Morley a letter offering to withdraw from public

* In the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1887, in an article on "The Liberal Party and Home Rule," the Rev. Dr. R. W. Dale describes these.

† The only words in it that could possibly be disagreeable were these: "The plans [illegible] for settling the Irish Question which have been rejected by the country must be laid aside, and [illegible] alternative must be found which will take account of the objections conscientiously [illegible] many good and consistent Liberals."

life altogether, in order that any difficulties in the way of reunion which might conceivably be traceable to his speeches or action, might be removed. Mr. Chamberlain afterwards challenged publication of the record showing the agreement which the Gladstonian negotiators had arrived at with the Liberal Unionists, about the Land Question. Mr. Morley, at the beginning of 1889, said he had no objection to publish it, provided Mr. Chamberlain's concessions to the Home Rulers were also set forth at the same time. At Bacup, on the 28th of May, 1889, Mr. Chamberlain met Mr. Morley's challenge by stating that he had been willing to be bound by his well-known scheme of provincial Home Rule for Ireland on the Canadian model, and that "the plan discussed at the Round Table was one based on provincial lines." In spite of this professed willingness of both sides to lay the records of the Conference before the country, they were never published.

The spirit of impatience under oppression, ending in distressing conflicts with authority, was active among the people at the end of the Jubilee year. Highland Crofters, infuriated by neglected grievances, had been tried and imprisoned for rioting early in the year. Meetings in Edinburgh and Glasgow had been held to sympathise with them, and in November a band of hungry cottars raided the Forest of Lochs and killed many of the deer. Her Majesty's gunboat *Seahorse* was sent to overawe the district, and the ringleaders surrendered themselves. Crofters seized pasture lands belonging to the Duke of Sutherland at Clashmore in Assynt, and the *Seahorse* was sent to Lochinver. This discontent was not perceptibly allayed by the reduction of rents varying from twenty to fifty per cent. which the Crofters Commission were effecting. Emigration to British Columbia for the surplus population was now pressed on the Government as a remedy.

In Ireland the Government began to attack the organisers of the Plan of Campaign, when it was applied for strategic purposes to good landlords as well as bad ones. The prosecution of Mr. Dillon was abortive, but on February 16th it elicited incidentally from the Irish Court of Appeal the decision that the Plan was illegal, and in July Mr. Dillon went to Bodyke to stimulate the people to resist evictions. Mr. Balfour retorted by proclaiming Ireland under the repressive clauses of the Crimes Act. The National League was also proclaimed, and Mr. O'Brien was prosecuted for a speech at Mitchelstown (August 9) urging resistance to the police, and encouraging the Campaign against the Kingston Estates. After the proceedings at the Mitchelstown Court House on the 9th of September had ended in the issue of warrants against Messrs. O'Brien and Mandeville, a public meeting of Leaguers, at which some prominent English Liberals were present, was held in the square of the town. When Mr. Dillon was speaking a Government reporter, who had come late, tried with the help of twenty policemen to push his way through the crowd to the platform. This annoyed the people, and there was hustling and scuffling and struggling, which ended

in the police retreating to their barracks. They were apparently in fear of a serious attack from their pursuers, for when they got under cover a volley was fired from the windows of their quarters, which killed two persons and seriously wounded many others. Violence and panic apparently marked the conduct of the police in this business; and when Mr. Balfour refused to prosecute the County Inspector and three constables for murder in terms of the verdict of a coroner's jury, the untoward incident was for some years used as a weapon against him by the leaders of the Opposition. "Remember Mitchelstown" became Mr. Gladstone's favourite war-cry. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, an English Roman Catholic Conservative and a Home Ruler, was put in prison for taking part in a "proclaimed" meeting held at Woodford on the 23rd of October. Mr. O'Brien was also sent to gaol, and his refusal to wear prison dress was the subject of some theatrical controversy on both sides. That it soon became tiresome to the executive was suggested when Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Lord Mayor of Dublin, who had been prosecuted for publishing in the *Nation* reports of suppressed branches of the League, was imprisoned as a first-class misdemeanant, which freed him from the obligation to wear prison uniform, and when priests in similar circumstances were treated with equal consideration. A quarrel broke out between the Fenian and Nationalist parties at the meeting of the Gaelic Association at Thurles, the former carrying the election of a chairman by a vote of three to one. The last days of the year, however, brought to Ireland the good news that the Land Commissioners had, under the Land Act, ordered reductions ranging from six to twenty per cent. on all judicial rents fixed by Mr. Gladstone's Act. This cost the landlords about £360,000 a year, and they naturally resented it. As for the Nationalists, it did not conciliate them, for they demanded further abatements.

In November the social question and anxiety as to foreign affairs troubled the nation. Gatherings of unemployed workmen were held day after day in Trafalgar Square, and doubts arose as to their genuineness. The attempts of the authorities to regulate them failed, and Sir Charles Warren, the Chief Commissioner of Police, at last issued an order suppressing them. The Radical and Socialist clubs then announced that they intended to hold a meeting on the 13th of November—"Bloody Sunday," as it came to be called—to protest against the imprisonment of Mr. William O'Brien, whereupon Sir Charles Warren forbade all organised processions to enter the Square. The contest that ensued between the clubs and the police might have led to serious loss of life, had not two squadrons of the Life Guards appeared on the scene. Some of the leaders of the mob, including Mr. Cuninghame Graham, M.P., and Mr. John Burns, were arrested. Another conflict was avoided on the following Sunday in consequence of prudent advice which Mr. Gladstone in a letter tendered the secretary of one of the Bermondsey clubs. The appeal for special constables to enrol in aid of the police did not bring

more than 6,000 into the field, the general feeling being that as the meetings had been latterly got up for political purposes, Mr. Gladstone's warning would probably put a stop to them. Though they certainly ceased after his letter appeared, they furnished the Opposition with an opportunity for engaging the House of Commons in discussions next year as to their legality.

The clouds on the horizon of affairs abroad had risen when it was known that Italy had joined the Austro-German Alliance. This was a League of Peace, and a good guarantee for preserving the political equilibrium in the Mediterranean—a matter of importance to England, which, as a Naval Power, had no possible enemy to fear but France. Had England joined the League of Peace? Or, had she only agreed to defend the Italian coast against an attack from France? Was the concentration of Russian troops in Poland and the south-west provinces of Russia ominous of war in the spring? Such were the questions that were anxiously asked. France was, however, helpless, because at the time her Parliament, enraged at the system of corruption which the aged President of the Republic had tacitly permitted to grow up under the cover of his name, had driven him from office, and a new President, M. Sadi Carnot, reigned in his stead with a new government absorbed in questions of domestic and administrative reform. At the Guildhall Banquet Lord Salisbury on the 9th of November reassured the nation by his statement that he knew nothing that could give cause for uneasiness. But the uneasiness existed, and it accounted for the political apathy of large numbers of Liberals in the country who dreaded Mr. Gladstone's influence on foreign politics, and were too glad to defer serious attacks on the Ministry till the Continent had become quieter.

The weariness of strife which marked the close of the old year was carried into the new, and yet, when 1888 opened, it was clear that party divisions were becoming more accentuated. The Liberal Unionists were drifting farther than ever from their old moorings. As Sir Henry James said at Glasgow on the 9th of January, they might dislike the stringency of the Irish Crimes Act, but they had to admit its necessity; and Mr. Bright's letters in support of the Unionist cause neutralised Gladstonian attacks on the Ministerial policy. The consolidation of the alliance was manifestly a reality when Lord Salisbury at West Derby warned his audience that it would have to be paid for, and appealed to them not to blame the Ministry if its measures were tinged with Liberal convictions. This meant that the Cabinet had decided to introduce a Radical County Government Bill. It was also predicted by cynical observers that, when the session opened, Mr. Gladstone would be seen at his very best—namely, as the genial, sympathetic critic of the Government, anxious to co-operate with it in the furtherance of public business for the public good; for Mr. Parnell, through the Freeman's Journal, had indicated that factious obstruction had been a failure. Instead of

the Government from getting their measures discussed and keeping "coercion" to the front in the hope of splitting up the Liberal Unionist and Conservative alliance, it would, he argued, be better to help Ministers to produce their legislation. "They may agree about bullying or dragooning Ireland," said he, "but they will undoubtedly part company over their English legislation." Though the Ministerial scheme of Local Government proved to be much more Radical than any to which Mr. Gladstone had ever committed himself, it did not, as he and Mr. Parnell had expected, shatter the coalition. Nor was the Cabinet weakened at the beginning of the year by Sir M. Hicks-Beach's retirement on account of ill-health, or by the resignation of Lord Charles Beresford, a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, on the ground that the Treasury stinted the Intelligence Department of the Navy.

Jaded by barren controversy over the Irish Question, the people were ready to interest themselves in a fresher subject. This, oddly enough, was furnished by Lord Brassey and the London Chamber of Commerce, before which he laid the result of an inquiry into the defences of "Greater Britain," conducted during a yachting tour round the world. The Duke of Cambridge, who was at the meeting, expressed the popular view of the case when he said it was idle to appeal to the politicians. If pressed to find money for Imperial defence, a politician, he remarked, would "do quite right" if he refused it, for if he did not, he and his party might be turned out of office by their opponents accusing them of financial extravagance. It was for commercial men, then, to insist that Governments of both parties should make adequate provision for the protection of British Colonies and ocean-borne commerce, and strike the mean between partisan pessimism and official optimism.

On the 9th of February Parliament was opened with a colourless Queen's Speech, which touched as lightly as possible on controversial politics. It alluded to provisions for Imperial defence, the reorganisation of Local Government, to Bills dealing with land transfer, technical education, employers' liability, railway rates, and limited liability companies—a Universities Bill, a Police Bill for Scotland, and a measure of land purchase for Ireland, being also promised. The debate on the Address in the House of Lords was tame and brief. In the Commons the discussion opened peacefully. Mr. Gladstone had to accommodate himself to Mr. Parnell's change of tactics, and thus, to the surprise of his English followers, he declared that the Opposition did not desire "to renew the constant agitations and combats of last session." If Home Rule were discussed the debate would not be prolonged, and he promised to help the Government as far as he could in reforming procedure and Local Government. But Mr. Parnell's amendment, declaring that, though the remedial legislation of last session had tended to diminish crime in Ireland, the harsh administration of the Crimes Act had also diminished the respect of the Irish people for the law, stirred strife. His own speech

was cool, logical, and even hopeful, and there was strong sense in his appeal to the Government, "now that there was breathing time in Ireland," to deal with the unredressed grievances of tenants forced to defend themselves by the Plan of Campaign. But the debate soon drifted. Sir George

SIR G. O. TREVELYAN.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Chancellor and Sons, Dublin.)

Trevelyan maintained that his own Coercion Act had been more effectual in reducing crime than Mr. Balfour's, which, if true, would not have been surprising, seeing that it was a harsher one; and Mr. O'[illegible], released from prison on February 16th, delivered a ferocious attack on the "malignant cruelty" and "miserable impotence" of Mr. [illegible]

administration. It was in this debate that Mr. Balfour first perfected his system of dealing with his Irish critics. Mr. Parnell he always took seriously; but for the rest, he treated them with good-natured contempt, as if they were a company of amusing political comedians, whom he could afford to tolerate because, whenever their stage-tricks bored him or became mischievous, it was easy to send them to gaol. He was perpetually pretending to ask pardon from the House, as he did in this debate, for not considering such attacks as Mr. O'Brien's violent. To him they were mild when compared with those that had been made on Sir George Trevelyan and Lord Spencer, who had been described as members of "the foulest brood of Ministers that ever English rule in Ireland had produced." When, said Mr. Balfour cheerily, Mr. O'Brien's newspaper vowed that he "lusted for slaughter with an eunuchised imagination," he easily consoled himself by remembering it had said of Sir George Trevelyan that "if nature had denied to him the resources of the skunk and the cuttlefish, she had enabled him to supply their place." As for the Opposition, from Mr. Gladstone down to Sir George Trevelyan, Mr. Balfour's favourite plan was to answer them with extracts from their old speeches, and with ironical references to their own administrative acts, the cruelty of which he would demurely insinuate he was too soft-hearted to emulate. By carrying out this scheme of defence with brilliant audacity, he did not actually simplify the task of solving the Irish problem, but he temporarily inoculated the House of Commons with the belief that nobody was really in earnest about Irish grievances or Home Rule, except Mr. John Morley, and perhaps Mr. Parnell. Every charge was met with a counter-charge and a flat denial. Every set of statistics on the one side was neutralised by contradictory figures brought forward by the other. The end of the long and detailed impeachment of Mr. Balfour's coercive policy was therefore the rejection of Mr. Parnell's amendment by 317 votes to 229, the Government being supported by 50 Liberal Unionists. The solemnity and pathos of Mr. Gladstone's concluding appeal to the consciences and hearts of his old followers among the Unionists affected them but little, for the practical result of the debate was to show that, after hearing Mr. Balfour's defence, only three Liberals felt it necessary to desert the Unionist Coalition because of his repressive method of ruling Ireland. In the meantime the House of Lords was more usefully engaged in passing Lord Herschell's Bill to protect workmen's tools and poor people's bedding from distraint, and in appointing, at the instance of Lord Dunraven, a strong Committee to investigate the abuses of the sweating system in the East End of London.

The House of Commons, after closing the debate on the Address, adopted new rules of procedure. By these, it was to meet at 3 p.m. and close its sittings at 12.30 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. The closure was to be applied, if not fewer than 100 members voted in the

majority for it. The Speaker was empowered to take a division by [illegible] ordering the minority to stand up in their places and recording their names. Rules to prevent disorderly conduct, irrelevant debate, and obstructive motions for adjournment were passed. Sir George Campbell's proposal to appoint a Grand Committee for Scottish business, though supported by Mr. Gladstone, was summarily rejected by a vote of 214 to 137. Mr. Rathbone's proposal for a Welsh Committee, defended by Mr. Osborne Morgan, on the ground that "Wales had a nationality, a language, and a literature, whereas Scotland had merely an accent," was, however, only defeated by a vote of 135 to 112.

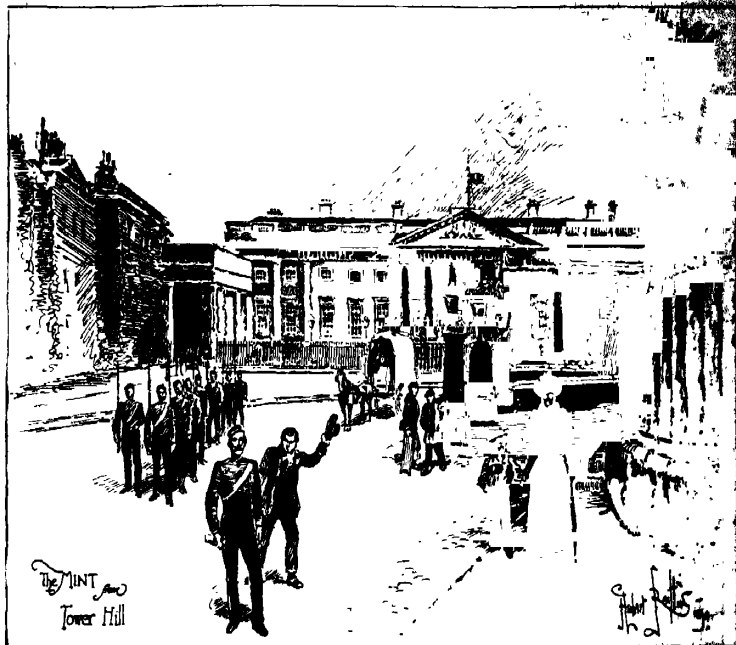
On the 1st of March Sir Charles Russell attacked the Home Secretary for suppressing all public meetings in Trafalgar Square by the mere ukase of the Chief Commissioner of Police. Here it may be explained that at the Central Criminal Court (January 19), when Mr. Cuninghame Graham, M.P., and Mr. John Burns were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment for taking part in the prohibited Trafalgar Square meetings, Mr. Justice Charles had ruled that the Common Law of England conferred no right whatever to hold public meetings in places used as thoroughfares. He also ruled that the Chief Commissioner had not only the right to stop meetings likely to be disorderly, but was liable to criminal proceedings if he did not do so. Many attempts had been made to hold gatherings to test this *obiter dictum*, but nobody succeeded in getting it reversed. In the course of the debate the Opposition leaders attempted to convict Ministers of trying to do away with public meeting altogether, and they posed as if traversing the ruling of Mr. Justice Charles. The Home Secretary, however, merely said what was true—namely, that as Trafalgar Square was Crown property, the Government could stop all meetings in it if it chose, and that there was no legal right of open-air meeting anywhere except on private ground by permission. Indeed, Sir Charles Russell really said the same thing from a different point of view when, denying on the one hand that the obstruction which a meeting caused in a thoroughfare made it an illegal meeting, he admitted on the other that those present could be prosecuted for the offence of blocking the road. Moreover, he practically threw up his brief when, in the middle of the Home Secretary's defence, he rose and, to the manifest chagrin of the Radical members, admitted that the authorities were within their right in forbidding the meeting on "Bloody Sunday." The law, therefore, seemed to be clear enough, and, as the Attorney-General had said that the prohibited meetings might be permitted again when there was no longer any reason to stop them, it was hopeless to persuade the House that an inquiry into the right of public meeting was necessary. Sir Charles Russell's motion for inquiry was accordingly rejected by a vote of 316 to [illegible].

On the 14th of March Mr. Bradlaugh moved the second reading of a bill —which ultimately became law—authorising anyone who objected to take an oath to make an affirmation. Mr. Parnell on the 21st of March [illegible]

supported by Mr. T. W. Russell, a Radical Unionist from Ulster, failed to get the sanction of the House for a Bill that would have enabled the courts to postpone the execution of decrees against poor tenants for rent, so as to let them pay by instalments where the value of the farm was less than £100. This proposal was really defeated by the Liberal Unionists from England, who carried an amendment declaring that the Bill must apply to all debts as well as rent.

About this time a current of public opinion was setting in favour of the reform of the House of Lords. On the 9th of March Mr. Labouchere moved, though he failed to carry, an abstract resolution condemning the principle on which any person was made a member of the Legislature by mere right of birth. In the House of Lords an academic motion of inquiry proposed by Lord Rosebery, was also defeated. Lord Dunraven, with greater courage, brought in a Bill to amend the constitution of the Upper House, which he withdrew because Lord Salisbury promised to introduce a scheme to facilitate the creation of Life Peers. This the Prime Minister did on the 18th of June, his proposal being—(1) that there should be fifty Life Peers created, (2) that not more than five could be created each year, (3) that of these, three were to be chosen from an official circle, including judges, admirals, generals, ambassadors, and colonial governors, and two from all persons not in this class who might be selected for special merit. To get rid of "the black sheep," as he called the peers whose bad character disgraced the House, the Queen was empowered to deprive any peer of his right to receive a Writ of Summons. This Bill was dropped after its second reading on the 10th of July. The debates in both Houses showed that, though nobody—not even the extreme Radicals—wanted to dispense with a Second Chamber, everybody was convinced it could not safely rest on the hereditary principle. Mr. Rathbone said he would have fifty members of the Upper House elected by each new House of Commons from the peerage till one hundred and fifty were chosen. He would let them sit for three Parliaments. With them he would associate the Law Lords, the Chairmen of the County Councils, and a limited number of Peers created by the Ministry. Mr. Curzon thought that the Upper House could be strengthened by sending to it "notables" taken from the non-established Churches, the Colonies, and the public services. Lord Rosebery proposed to limit the number of peers, and give the County Councils, the Municipalities, and the House of Commons the right of choosing them from the hereditary nobility. He thought peers not chosen should be eligible for seats in the House of Commons, and he approved of life peerages, and of admitting the Agents-General of the Colonies to the Upper House. If the two Houses disagreed, he thought they should sit together, and consider any dispute as a Council of the Realm, and decide it by a joint vote. Lord Dunraven's Bill created a House of four hundred members, including

princes, spiritual peers, Lords of Appeal, Lords of Parliament, ... County Councils, representatives of the various Churches, of ... Literature and Art, and of the Colonies and Dependencies. Lord ... suggested that the simplest reform would be to give the Crown ... to create from one hundred to two hundred life peers.

The really curious thing in these debates was the expression of a

THE MINT, LONDON.

unanimous desire that there should be a Second Chamber, in the constitution of which, heredity, divested of irresponsibility, must be recognised. But it was easy to see that most of the zeal professed in the House of Commons for reforming the House of Lords masked a real, though concealed, hostility on the part of the Liberals to any such project. They saw clearly enough that whatever tended to strengthen the House of Lords by investing it with popular authority must proportionately diminish the monopoly of ... power which the House of Commons claimed as the sole responsible representative of public opinion.

Mr. Goschen's scheme for converting the National Debt was ... a Committee of the House on March 9. Mr. Goschen created a ...

on which for fifteen years 2¾ per cent. interest must be paid, 2½ per cent. being thereafter guaranteed for twenty years. Holders of the debt who refused to take up this stock would, if they chose, be paid out in cash, which Mr. Goschen could easily borrow at a lower rate of interest than the State had at the time to pay them. Those who held the £160,000,000 of "New Threes" then afloat could be bought out without notice and in any sums. Holders of Consols (£323,000,000) and of "Reduced" (£69,000,000) must, of course, be bought out in sums of not less than £500,000, and only after a year's notice. But to induce them to convert their holding into the new stock, afterwards called "Goschens," the Chancellor of the Exchequer offered to give them all, even the holders of "New Threes," who could be bought out at once, 3 per cent. for the first year, the 2¾ per cent. rate to run afterwards for fourteen years. Holders of "New Threes" would be assumed to consent to the arrangement if they did not notify refusal before March 29. If the holders of "Reduced" and Consols waived their right of a year's notice and came in by April 12, they were to get a cash premium of five shillings per £100. On conversion transactions in these two stocks authorised agents were to get a commission of one and sixpence per cent. The saving to the taxpayer Mr. Goschen estimated would be from April, 1889, equal to £1,400,000, and after April, 1903, to £2,800,000 a year. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Childers generously assisted Mr. Goschen to carry his plan, and it had no serious opponents except Mr. Henry Fowler, the Radical member for Wolverhampton, and Sir C. Lewis, the Conservative member for Londonderry. Their opposition was, however, rendered futile by the complete success of the scheme, which was assured on April 12, when assents representing £450,000,000 out of a total of £558,000,000 of debt were received.

This was a great historic achievement which raised the credit of the country to a pinnacle at which foreign nations—to whom credit meant fighting power—gazed with envy. For in place of the three well-known national stocks, Mr. Goschen suddenly, as if by a stroke of a wizard's wand, had substituted one stock of about £530,000,000 with security to the investor against change in its interest for a third of a century. On that stock the taxpayer paid a reduced interest, and it was created without any disturbance or tightening of the money market—without adding to the nominal capital of the debt, or purchasing relief to the present generation of the taxpayers at the expense of posterity. There were plenty of critics, however, who held that Mr. Goschen's bribe to the bankers was enough to secure the success of the scheme. As to which, says Sir Thomas Farrer, the ablest of all Mr. Goschen's hostile critics, it was not so much any small profit or small commission, "as the value attached by bankers to a large, simple, and easily convertible stock, which procured the favour of the great bankers."*

* Mr. Goschen's Finance, 1887-1890, by Sir Thomas H. Farrer. London Liberal Publication Department, 1891, p. 8.

The estimates for the Army and Navy created an unusual amount of popular interest. Those for the Army showed an expenditure of £2[illegible], of which £3,027,000 was for non-effective services. Mr. Stanhope, however, thought the time had come to carry out the recommendations of the Carnarvon Commission, appointed in 1879, which reported on the insecurity of our military ports and coaling stations. He therefore proposed to spend £2,999,430 on their protection, less £799,430 for ammunition and lighter defensive material, which was to be charged to the income of the year. In order to prevent this work from being interrupted by factious obstruction of the annual estimates in the House of Commons, Mr. Stanhope took the sanction of Parliament for the scheme as a whole, spreading the expenditure for the works and buildings over three years. It was easy to meet the attacks of the Opposition, whose leaders complained that the Ministry were removing public expenditure from the annual criticism of the House of Commons by citing the precedent of the Military Forces Localisation Act of 1872. The Navy Estimates showed an expenditure of £13,082,800, the decrease being due partly to the rapid carrying out of the building programme and partly to reform in dockyard administration.

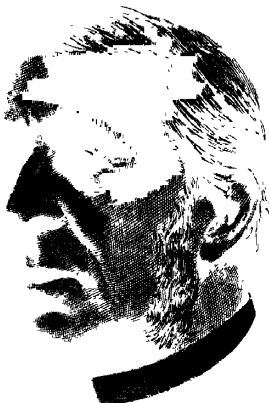
But Mr. Goschen's Budget was the subject which soon overshadowed others. First came the Imperial Budget. In the past year Mr. Goschen having received £1,454,000 more than he expected, had spent £422,650 less than had been estimated. He had enjoyed three "windfalls," two estates of over £3,000,000 and one of over £1,250,000 having fallen in for probate and succession duty. Then it had been Jubilee year, and a loyal people had toasted the Queen so assiduously that the drink duties had vastly increased their yield. His surplus and his balance in hand were, therefore, so large that he said he could afford to pay the holders of "New Threes"—if they objected to his debt conversion scheme—cash down for their stock. Yet he had reduced the National Debt by £7,601,000, of which he had paid £7,292,000 out of the revenue of the year—a feat without a parallel since 1872–73. For the coming year he put expenditure at £86,910,000 and revenue at £89,287,000, so that if he kept taxes as they stood he would have a surplus of £2,377,000. But no sooner had he laid hold of it for the remission of taxes than it began to vanish. If he was able to profit by the withdrawal of £2,600,000 of Imperial subsidies from local authorities, he had, on the other hand, to surrender to them certain licences and half the Probate Duty. This cut down his surplus to £1,252,000, though his proposed addition of one-half per cent. to the Succession Duty brought it up to £1,302,000. What he called "minor reliefs" then reduced it to £1,277,[illegible], and on this he thought income-tax payers had the first claim. To lower the income-tax to sixpence on the pound would need £1,550,000, so [illegible] look for new taxes to stretch out his shrunken surplus. By [illegible] collection—adding one shilling per cent. to the stamp duty on [illegible]

and fivepence to the duty on contract notes, by imposing a duty of £1 per £1,000 on the registered capital of new Limited Liability Companies, and of five shillings a dozen on bottled wines—he brought his surplus up to £1,762,000. So he said he could cut a penny off the income-tax and at the end of the year have in hand £212,000, after providing for his expenditure.

It was now necessary to start on a fair financial footing the new County Governments, which were to be formed by Mr. Ritchie's Local Government Bill. Hence Mr. Goschen handed over to them existing licences, chiefly those of publicans (£3,000,000), and new licences (£800,000), with power to increase the latter within limits; establishment licences (dogs, guns, carriages, etc.), worth £1,600,000; and half the Probate Duty, amounting to £1,704,000. Local authorities would therefore get £5,500,000 in lieu of their old Imperial subventions—or a net gain to them of £2,900,000 in relief of local taxation. By adding one-half per cent. to the Succession Duty Mr. Goschen raised it to one and a half per cent. As the Probate Duty was three per cent. and half of it was now surrendered to local authorities, only one and a half remained for the Imperial Government. Thus, for the first time in history, the principle of these democratic reformers who contended that real and personal property should contribute equally to Imperial taxation, was practically adopted. As for the demands of the Admiralty and War Office on account of Imperial defence, Mr. Goschen parried them artfully. He charged the Naval requisition as an annuity for ten years against the Navy estimates, and this arrangement, with the colonial contributions, enabled him to pay off the capital of the loan he borrowed without imposing new taxes. As for the War Office, he found the money it needed by simply pawning the Suez Canal shares. In other words, he forestalled for four and a half years the annual revenue (£570,000) which they must yield after 1894, and applied it to meet the cost of fortifying military ports and coaling stations.

The great measure of the year—Mr. Ritchie's Local Government Bill—deprived Quarter Sessions of administrative as distinguished from judicial functions. It put the government of counties in the hands of councils elected every three years by the ratepayers as in boroughs. To the Council thus elected, its members added one-fourth, chosen by themselves, from within or from without their body, to serve as Aldermen. Large cities like Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Bristol, Nottingham, Hull, and Newcastle, were made into Administrative Counties.

Under the County Councils there were to be District Councils taking the place of existing Local Boards—a part of the scheme abandoned for lack of time to carry it—and London as defined in the Metropolis Management Act—was to be made a county by itself—its County Council taking over the functions of the Metropolitan Board of Works, which ceased to exist. It has been said that the measure which did most to educate the people of England in the art of self-government was not Lord Grey's Reform Bill

of 1832, but Lord John Russell's Municipal Corporations Reform Bill of [illegible]
That measure, however, only roused the urban populace from political [illegible]
Mr. Ritchie, however, did for the counties what Lord John Russell had [illegible]
for the towns, thereby giving life as well as power to the rural [illegible]

MR. GOSCHEN. (*From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*)

of England. As for London, he may be said to have enfranchised a new kingdom and added the political forces of a new nation to those that already moulded the policy and destinies of the Empire. Yet the weak point in [illegible] Bill was visible at a glance. Mr. Ritchie gave Committees of the Coun[illegible] power to grant or refuse licences to publicans and increase at [illegible] the duty by 20 per cent. But if they refused a licence, except [illegible] conduct, they were to pay compensation on the basis of the difference [illegible] the values of the publican's house with and without a licence. The [illegible] a publican's licence had, however, no legal vested right of [illegible]

for the existing licensing authority can cancel it at discretion. The Bill, therefore, gave publicans compensation for the loss of a property they did not possess. Although popular opinion was in favour of giving some recompense as an act of grace, it was, as the defeat of the Conservative candidate at the Southampton election showed, against giving it as a legal right, and Mr. Ritchie prudently withdrew all his licensing clauses on the 12th of June. Mr. Heneage failed to carry an amendment giving County Councils sole control of the police, which was left in the hands of a joint committee of County Councils and Justices of the Peace. The measure was passed on the 27th of July. A Bill practically extending the same privileges to Ireland was introduced by Mr. Carew on the 25th of April, but though supported by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Randolph Churchill, it was defeated by a vote of 282 to 195, Mr. Chamberlain voting with the majority.

A still more serious reverse for the Irish party was the condemnation of the Plan of Campaign by the Pope, whose envoy in Ireland, Monsignor Persico, had reported on it to the Congregation of the Holy Office.* The Papal condemnation, though published in the Irish churches, did not seem to affect the conduct of the Campaigners in the very least.

An exciting controversy arose out of proceedings for libel which Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, formerly a Member of Parliament, had raised against the *Times*, which, in a series of articles, had accused many members of the Nationalist party of being privy to the intrigues of assassins. The *Times* published what it called a facsimile of some compromising letters from Mr. Parnell, in one of which he apologised to a correspondent for condemning the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. On the 6th of July Mr. Parnell told the House of Commons that the charges were false and the letters alleged to be written by him forgeries. The *Times* persisted in asserting that its accusations were true, and on the 12th of July Mr. Parnell asked whether Government would appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the matter. Mr. Smith proposed the appointment of a Commission, with full power to investigate the allegations made against the Parnellites in the action, O'Donnell *v.* Walter. Mr. Parnell, however, complained not unreasonably that the Commission was really one for raking up the ancient and well-known history of the Land and National Leagues, and their connection with Irish-American revolutionary societies; and he and Mr. Gladstone strove, though without success, to narrow the scope of investigation to the personal charges made against the Irish members. There was a very strong feeling at the time that Government handled the affair imprudently.

* The condemnation was based on three grounds: (1) The breaking of voluntary contracts, (2) That the land courts gave adequate redress to tenants, (3) That funds were extorted from unwilling contributors. Boycotting was condemned because (1) It was contrary to natural justice and Christian charity, (2) That it persecuted people who were willing to pay rent, or who were only exercising a legal right to take vacant farms.

Party passions ran so high in the debates, according to Mr. Courtney, that "reason seemed to be abandoned and the very Bench itself bespattered." People asked why Mr. Parnell and the *Times* could not be allowed to fight out their quarrel in the ordinary law courts. Even if the three judges who were to form the Commission reported that the letters were genuine, and that Mr. Parnell had lied when he denied that he wrote them, the Irish difficulty would remain and there would not be one Home Ruler the less in Ireland. Government, however, carried their "Charges and Allegations Bill" embodying Mr. Smith's proposal on the 8th of August. Parliament was adjourned on the 13th of August.*

The naval manœuvres on the coast attracted attention, because they suggested that the effective blockading of an enemy's ports in these days was scarcely possible, and that it was equally impossible to protect ocean-borne commerce and open coast towns. Then followed a long series of acrimonious autumnal speeches, by which the Irish controversy was embittered. The only new feature in them was Mr. Gladstone's increasing tendency to stimulate the Home Rule feeling of Wales and Scotland. The presence of Mr. Gladstone at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Birmingham in November had raised some hope that he might make conciliatory overtures to the Radical Unionists. On the contrary, he attacked them with virulence, scornfully treating their scruples as "stale or pettifogging" objections. But he formally accepted for the first time the principle of retaining the Irish Members at Westminster; while the Federation adopted payment of Members, disestablishment in Wales, and the reform known as "one man one vote," which makes residence a necessary qualification for the franchise, as part of their programme.

The United States Senate had rejected the Fisheries Treaty which Mr. Chamberlain had negotiated, and as a Presidential election was approaching, in which the capture of the Irish-American vote was of importance, it was supposed that political capital might be made by manufacturing a sham dispute with Great Britain. The Republican Party, therefore, got an agent—pretending to be an Englishman—to write from California to the British Minister asking his advice confidentially, as to how he, as one interested alike in the land of his birth and adoption, should vote in the contest. Lord Sackville replied, also under the seal of confidence, indicating that the policy of President Cleveland and the Democratic Party was, on the whole, most likely to promote friendly relations between the two countries. The letters were published, and the Republicans appealed to the Irish to support them against the Democrats who were the friends of England. President Cleveland, in the interests of his party, then proceeded to quarrel ostentatiously

* An alternative offered to Mr. Parnell, but declined by him, was the prosecution of [illegible] for libel at the expense of the State in the name of the Attorney-General. Mr. Parnell, [illegible] was to select his own counsel if he chose to do so.

with the British Minister. On the strength of loose statements made by newspaper interviewers, he pretended that Lord Sackville had questioned the good faith of the United States Government in rejecting the Fisheries Treaty, and rudely insisted on his leaving the country. With ironical solemnity, Lord Salisbury therefore placed the British Legation at Washington for a time in charge of Mr. Herbert, the senior Secretary.

Parliament met on the 7th of November to finish its business. The House of Commons plunged into detailed criticism of the Estimates. Mr. Balfour's Bill—for advancing a further sum of £5,000,000 to enable Irish tenants to buy their holdings—was stoutly opposed by Mr. Gladstone, because, as he said, he disliked Land Purchase when "in homœopathic doses." Some of his own followers, like Mr. Haldane and Sir Edward Grey, refused to support him, but the Bill (which consisted of only one clause) made not unsatisfactory progress, for it passed on the 29th of November. Parliament was prorogued on Christmas Eve. Mr. Gladstone agreeably surprised his party by appearing at Limehouse on the eve of his eightieth birthday and delivering a speech adopting Mr. Morley's "Clerkenwell programme," which included "one man one vote," shorter parliaments, taxation of ground rents, leasehold enfranchisement, free education, disestablishment in Scotland and Wales, and control of the police by the London County Council—a concession to be given not at once, but sometime in the future.

Late at night on the 29th of August a woman was found murdered and mutilated in Thomas Street, Whitechapel, within three hundred yards of the place where two other women of the same class of "unfortunates" had been slain in similar circumstances. Seven crimes almost identical in character, and apparently the work of the same hand, followed, and were all committed in the same locality. The utter failure of the police to detect the murderer, nicknamed by the populace "Jack the Ripper," his daring and his ferocity, created a panic. The police were blamed for incompetence, and Sir Charles Warren, the Chief Commissioner, defended them in an article in *Murray's Magazine*. He had made himself unpopular by his stern fidelity in enforcing the Home Secretary's veto on meetings in Trafalgar Square. He had also resisted an attempt to make Mr. Monro, Chief of the Detective Department, practically independent of his authority; the result being that Mr. Monro, who was said to hold all the threads of the Irish conspiracy in his hands, resigned. Mr. Matthews, taking advantage of a rule which forbids officials in Sir Charles Warren's position from writing to the press, censured him, thereby gratifying personal and popular resentment at the same time. Sir Charles, as a matter of course, resigned, and Mr. Monro was appointed in his place.

The death of the German Emperor, William I., sore stricken with the burden of ninety-one years, on the 9th of March, had saddened the Royal family. The Queen felt the bereavement keenly, for the Emperor had been

one of her oldest friends, greatly loved and honoured by her and the late Prince Consort, because of the nobility of his character and the grand Imperial mould in which it was cast. Though the silver wedding of the Prince and Princess of Wales was therefore celebrated on the 10th of March with a certain amount of reserve, the Queen was able to be present at the State banquet at Marlborough House, and it was not till near midnight that

FUNERAL OF THE EMPEROR FREDERICK. (See p. 774.)

she returned to Windsor. On the 22nd she left Portsmouth for Cherbourg, and on the 24th arrived at Florence, having passed through the Mont Cenis Tunnel. Here she remained in restful leisure till the 23rd of April, deeply touched by the cordial endeavour of all classes, rich and poor alike, to make her visit pleasant.* Then she left for Berlin, where she was received with great enthusiasm by the people. This visit was a sad one. Her son-in-law, the Emperor Frederick, was dying. The English surgeon, Sir Morell Mackenzie, who was attending him, still cast doubt on the opinion

* Her Majesty lived in the Villa Palmieri, twenty minutes' drive from Florence on the road to Fiesole. Boccaccio houses the tellers of the Decamerone tales in it.

of the German surgeons that the laryngeal disease, from which His Majesty had been suffering, was cancerous. But everybody knew that it was hurrying the Emperor to his grave, and his deathbed was, unhappily, the centre of much discreditable intrigue. The Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, was the enemy of the Empress, to whose influence over her husband he attributed those sympathies with German Liberalism which his first public utterances after accession reflected. The inspired scurrility of his "reptile press" was fully echoed at this time by the hags who sell perishable articles in the streets of Berlin. It was their humour to include in one's purchase something rotten—a fish, an egg, or an apple, and then when one objected, to say—"I do not charge you for it, because you may need it to throw at 'the Englishwoman' when she comes to Berlin." The project of marriage between Prince Alexander of Battenberg and the Emperor's daughter the Princess Victoria, favoured by the Empress, was opposed by the Chancellor, and in the effort to gain the dying Emperor's consent Prince Bismarck threatened to resign if it were given. He, however, withdrew his threat in deference to petitions which he received from his friends and flatterers in the National and Conservative parties; and it was known that the long interview which the Queen had with Prince Bismarck on the 26th of April would mend his bad manners and mitigate his truculence.

On the 27th Her Majesty returned to London, and on the 28th she attended a performance of Sir Arthur Sullivan's "Golden Legend," at the Royal Albert Hall. Then, on the 15th of June, came the news, long looked for and long dreaded, that her best beloved son-in-law was dead. During his brief reign he had given promise of great skill in guiding the destinies of Germany along the path of social progress. His life was one of almost romantic nobility of aim and achievement—alike in the arts of war and peace. He was, as Chaucer has it, "a very perfect gentle knight," a strong, helpful, tender-hearted, brotherly man, honest, brave, accomplished, and most dutiful. The charm of his sympathetic manner, his unfailing kindliness, and serene, even temper attached his family and his friends to him with a devotion that was almost passionate. No foreign prince connected with the Royal Family was ever so popular in England, especially among scholars, artists, and men of letters. His death rendered the festivities that had been planned to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's coronation on the 28th of June impossible. But it did not deter the Queen from visiting Glasgow on the 22nd of August to open the new municipal buildings in which the government of that great city is sumptuously housed; nor from proceeding to Paisley on the 23rd, to rejoice with it, as "Countess of Renfrew," over the fourth centenary of its existence as a borough. Scotland was high in Royal favour this year, for on the 30th of November the Provost of Dundee received notice that Her Majesty had resolved to elevate his town to the rank of a city.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EMERGENCE OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

A New Departure—The Morier Incident—The County Council Elections—Opening of Parliament—"The Jacobyns"—The Naval Defence Scheme—Local Government for Scotland—Free Education—The Court and the Commons—Marriage of Princess Louise of Wales to the Duke of Fife—"Secondary" Royal Grants—Cruelty to Children—The Dock Strike—Strikes of Sympathy—The Docker's Tanner—Labour War of the Thames—The Gas Strike—The Collapse of the Case against Mr. Parnell—The Queen's Visit to Spain—Death of the Duchess of Cambridge—The Queen a Prussian Colonel—Royal Visit to Wales—Death of Mr Bright—The Influenza—Trouble with Portugal—Failure of Strikes—Report of the Parnell Commission—Shabby Treatment of Mr Parnell—The Plan of Campaign—Irish Land Purchase—Mr. Goschen's Budget (1890)—The O'Shea Divorce Case—Fall of Mr Parnell—Committee Room No. 15—The Scramble for Africa—Mr Goschen's Budget (1891)—Free Education—Death of Mr. Bradlaugh, Archbishop Magee, Lord Granville, Mr W. H. Gladstone, the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Mr. Parnell—Character of Mr. Parnell—Court Life in 1891—More Influenza—Death of the Duke of Clarence, Cardinal Manning, and Mr Spurgeon—Mr Balfour's Local Government Bill—The Small Holdings Bill—A "Humdrum Budget"—The General Election—Defeat of Lord Salisbury—Mr Gladstone's Ministry—The Queen's Holiday on the Continent—Court Life in 1892

It is always difficult to fix the exact point at which a new line of departure in public life can be drawn. But it may be approximately correct to say that the year 1889 witnessed the beginning of those changes in the English mind which gradually substituted realism for art in politics. For the first time since the suppression of the Chartist movement the social question gradually but peremptorily pushed all others aside—except, perhaps, in Parliament, and in the caucuses. The discovery that unskilled Labour could organise itself, even at the London Docks, and more than hold its own against the most powerful forces of Capital, convinced close observers that England, at the end of 1888, was entering a new era in which the problem of bettering the lot of the working classes would soon absorb all the resources of statecraft. This was not an agreeable discovery for the leaders of the Liberal Party. Their followers by natural instinct desired to guide this new movement, and to their chagrin they found that Mr. Gladstone had mortgaged all their strength to the service of Parnellism in Ireland and Particularism in England, Wales, and Scotland. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, was disappointed to find that any issue but that of Home Rule interested the masses to whom he had appealed for support against "the classes." Partly because the politicians were tired of speaking, partly because the people were tired of listening to them, the opening days of the year were not vexed by the Irish controversy.

The "Morier Incident" was, therefore, an agreeable diversion for the New Year. It arose out of the arrogant policy of the Bismarck family, who fondly imagined they had the young German Emperor under their [illegible] Everyone obnoxious to the Imperial Chancellor and his son, Count [illegible] Bismarck, more especially if they chanced to be friends of the [illegible]

mpress Frederick, was attacked in the "reptile press," or, like Professor effcken, harassed by legal proceedings. The prosecution of the Professor for riticising events in the Franco-German War in a manner distasteful to Prince ismarck was a mistake, perhaps due to lack of humour. It was as if Mr. ladstone on becoming Prime Minister demanded the prosecution of Professors yndall and Huxley for speaking evil of his Irish policy. A more important ictim was, however, discovered in Sir Robert Morier. He was to have been ent to the Court of Berlin as British Ambassador on Lord Ampthill's death, ut having been peremptorily objected to by Prince Bismarck, he was ppointed to the Embassy at St. Petersburg. The German Chancellor now uspected that Sir Robert was avenging himself by trying to weaken the lliance between Russia and Germany. In order to discredit him, Count erbert Bismarck put about, not only in London but in Berlin, some gossip the effect that when Chargé d'Affaires at Darmstadt in 1870, Sir Robert orier had betrayed the movements of the German Army to Marshal Bazaine. he libel found its way on the 16th of December, 1888, into the *Kölnische eitung*, a journal redolent at this period of the local odours which Coleridge nmortalised.* Sir Robert promptly obtained from Marshal Bazaine the ost unqualified denial of the story. This, with his own denial, he sent to ount Herbert Bismarck, appealing to his honour as a gentleman to get a ntradiction inserted in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Count Herbert plied with a rude refusal written in the tone, not of a dignified diplomatist, ut of a mess-room cub. Sir Robert Morier's cutting answer, and the mments it evoked all over Europe, evidently moved Prince Bismarck soon fterwards to soothe British susceptibilities, which had, however, not been iffled, by proclaiming the dependence of Germany on English co-operation East Africa.

The County Council elections ended in the return of excellent and subantial citizens as representatives of the ratepayers, and the new governing odies were obviously permeated by strong Liberal ideas. The London ounty Council was captured by the Progressive Party, the Conservative rateayers having made the mistake of starting candidates who scarcely conealed their contempt for the body to which they sought election. Members the old Metropolitan Board of Works, which had perished in corruption, ere, as a rule, ignominiously rejected, only six out of thirty-seven being turned. Battersea chose as its representative a Socialist working-man— r. John Burns, who, it will be remembered, had been imprisoned for his are in the "Bloody Sunday" meeting in Trafalgar Square. The Progressive ajority elected some distinguished men—of their own way of thinking—as

* The hatred of the Bismarcks to Sir Robert Morier really dated, not from the war of 1870, but m that of 1866, when the husband of Princess Alice, whose confidence and friendship Sir Robert rier enjoyed, took the side of Austria against Prussia. The Crown Prince also interfered, under glish influence, to prevent the annexation of Hesse-Darmstadt to Prussia after the war

aldermen, and Lord Rosebery and Sir John Lubbock were chosen as Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the first Home Rule Parliament of London.

The session of Parliament opened on the 21st of February, with a modest programme. On the 25th Mr. Morley moved a vote of censure

MR. LABOUCHERE

(From a Photograph by Maclure, Macdonald and Co., Glasgow.)

on the Irish administration, which on the 1st of March was defeated, the Ministry being in a majority of 70. A small Radical fringe now formed a separate party under the intermittent leadership of Mr. Labouchere, which was nicknamed "the Jacobyns," because Mr. Jacoby, the member for Mid-Derbyshire, was one of its "whips." Their object was to stop all public business till they forced the Ministry to resign, but they soon came in conflict with Mr. Gladstone, and then their strength abated. On the 7th of March Lord George Hamilton introduced his National Defence Bill, asking

Parliament to vote £21,000,000 to be expended over seven years not only in making good defective vessels, but in adding seventy fighting ships to the navy.* The people who had created a panic about the weakness of the Navy had said that 40 battle-ships and 200 cruisers were absolutely necessary, but they praised the scheme of the Government. There was little to assail, for the practical effect of it, when picked to pieces, was merely to add during the following five years one ironclad and one cruiser more than would have been added to the Navy in the ordinary way. Mr. Childers, on behalf of Mr. Gladstone, moved an amendment condemning the proposal to vote the money for seven years, his argument being that the control of Parliament over expenditure was being weakened. As Mr. Gladstone had practically done the same thing when he financed Lord Palmerston's futile Fortification Scheme in 1859-60, and again when he took three millions, not from a vote of the House of Commons, but from the Sinking Fund, to strengthen the Navy in the panic of 1885, Government easily carried their proposal, and their next great measures were the Scottish Local Government Bills.

It must here be explained that when Mr. Goschen in the previous session proposed to devote the Scottish share of the Probate Duty to the relief of rates, Mr. W. A. Hunter, the Member for Aberdeen, rather startled the House by warning it that owing to a difference in the system of rating which prevails in Scotland, the grant would give only a trifling relief to ratepayers. The average rate in Scottish counties was low, and it was already divided between landlord and tenant. Whereas in England the whole Probate duty went to the tenant, in Scotland half of it would go to the landlords. As the sum to be disposed of was very nearly equal to the total amount of the school fees paid in elementary board schools, Mr. Hunter suggested that Mr. Goschen would spend his grant to greater advantage by abolishing school pence in Scotland. Mr. Goschen refused to do so, but agreed to allocate the money for local purposes for one year only. Mr. Hunter's proposal was frowned at by the Liberal leaders and their organs. In the London press only one newspaper —the *Daily Chronicle*—advocated it boldly, because it said it would give the English people leverage for forcing Mr. Chamberlain's project of Free Education for England on the Government. In Scotland Mr. Hunter's suggestion became so popular that the official Liberals ceased intriguing against it, and the Government were induced by his persuasive influence to be guided in the matter by Scottish public opinion. Their Local Government Bills for Scotland therefore established County Councils on the English model, only without encumbering them by selected aldermen. They re-organised the Parochial Boards, corresponding to "the guardians" in England, and appropriated £170,000 of the Scottish share of the surrendered Probate Duty for the payment of fees in the necessary standards of elementary schools.

* These were to consist of eight first-class and two second-class battle-ships, and sixty cruisers of from 7,300 to 735 tons' burden.

The proceedings of Parliament became personally interesting to the Queen as the summer advanced. In June it was announced that the Prince of Wales had sanctioned a project of marriage between his eldest daughter, the Princess Louise, and the Earl of Fife. This raised the whole question of those "secondary grants" to the Royal Family which Mr. Hume—like the late Prince Consort—had predicted would one day be troublesome. Unfortunately the Government had for two years evaded a promise to appoint a Committee for the investigation of these subsidies, a fact of which Mr. Labouchere and the Radicals reminded Mr. W. H. Smith when, on the 22nd of July, he introduced a Bill to make provision for the eldest son and daughter of the Heir Apparent. Mr. Smith had ultimately to appoint the Committee, and then Mr. Labouchere and the "Jacobyns" revolted against Mr. Gladstone's leadership. They induced Mr. Bradlaugh to move an instruction to the Committee which would have led to a close scrutiny into the Queen's private affairs.* The motion was defeated by a vote of 313 to 125. On the 9th of July the "Jacobyns" still further irritated Mr. Gladstone by opposing the list of Members of the Committee which had been drawn up by himself and Mr. Smith. In this quarrel 136 Liberals deserted their leader. The Ministerial list was, however, carried, and a compromise suggested by Sir Reginald Welby on behalf of the Royal Family, in private negotiation with Mr. Gladstone, was—much to the amazement of the Opposition—agreed to. Thus the allowance of the Prince of Wales was increased by £30,000 a year, on condition that he undertook to make all future provision himself for his children. The Committee also thought the Queen had a fair claim for grants for her grandchildren. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley opposed this view, Mr. Gladstone, however, supporting the Ministry after the majority of the Committee decided in favour of them. On the 26th of July a Bill giving effect to these proposals, though it was hotly attacked by the Radicals, was carried by the help of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell, and some of their more loyal followers.

The marriage of the Princess Louise of Wales took place on the 27th of July, 1889, in the chapel of Buckingham Palace—an old conservatory converted by the Prince Consort into a place of private worship. The ceremony was attended by the Royal Family and all their friends and chief servants, whether of the State or the Household—though otherwise it was conducted with great privacy and simplicity. The bride and bridegroom drove away in the sunshine through the bright streets and lanes to their pretty suburban home at Sheen, where it was announced the lady would keep no State household. Her husband was elevated to the Dukedom of Fife, whereby the Princess was curiously enough promoted to a privileged rank.

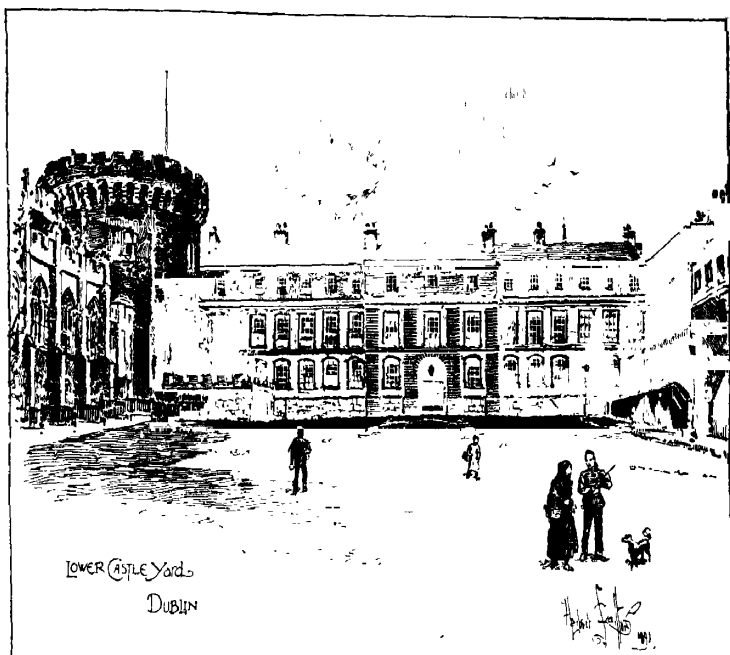
* The lobbies of Parliament rang with complaints from the Lord Steward's office about the mismanagement of the Queen's household—the expenses of which for mere housekeeping were said to amount to £80,000 a year!

As the daughter of the Prince of Wales she had no other civil status than that of any other young Englishwoman. As Duchess of Fife she ceased to be a commoner, entered the charmed circle of the peerage, and by the Act passed in the reign of Henry VI. acquired the right, if accused of crime, of being tried by a jury of peers of the realm. Unless the daughters of English Royal Princes and Princesses marry English peers or are created peeresses in their own right, they remain simple commoners, whose very titles are only conceded to them by courtesy.

A Bill empowering County Councils to subsidise technical education was carried in spite of opposition on the plea that the measure was a slight to school boards. The Ministry lost their Land Transfer Bill in the House of Lords. They had to withdraw their Sugar Convention Bill because consumers feared it would raise the price of sugar. Their Tithes Bill was sacrificed to clumsy management. If they had only inserted in it a provision of one of their own early drafts, laying the tithe directly and not indirectly on the landlords, they would not have irritated Conservative tenant farmers, against whose hostile influence, applied by Mr. Gray, when combined with that of the advocates of disestablishment in Wales, it was hopeless to contend. One useful Bill passed was the result of a crusade against cruelty to children, which had been carried on for many years by the Rev. Benjamin Waugh, Honorary Director of the National Society for the prevention of this species of barbarity. Its provisions for the first time gave to the offspring of men and women the protection against ill-treatment which had long been enjoyed by that of the lower animals. It was, however, encumbered by a clause prohibiting the employment of children under ten years of age in theatres, which provoked long and acrid debates. The dramatic critics made fun of it, contending that parents would be tempted to stunt their children's growth to fit them for juvenile parts in plays.* But a compromise was accepted by which the Lord Chamberlain was empowered to license their employment. Parliament adjourned on the 30th of August, the interest in its proceedings having been diminished by the strike of the Dock Labourers at the Port of London. This strike had at last brought the social question to the front of practical politics.

The revolt of casual and unorganised Labour at the London Docks began in August, the men demanding that wages should be raised from 5d. to 6d. an hour, and that regular should be substituted for casual employment. Though public opinion was in favour of the strikers, the Dock Companies

* "An anecdote told (I think) of Forrest," wrote "W. A." in the *World*, "will probably repeat itself. He was playing Rolla one evening at a country theatre where the child was for the nonce represented by a dwarf. The tragedian was quite unprepared for this, and snatching up the child in the darkness of the wing, thereby noticed that it was unusually heavy, so that he had to rest it on his shoulder instead of carrying it at arm's length. What was his consternation then, as he dashed across the rickety bridge, to hear the terrible infant growl into his ear in a deep bass voice, 'Steady, you —— fool, or you'll have me over.'"

refused to yield. The Docks were then "picketed" and the Home Secretary refused to let the police interfere with unionists who dissuaded men from taking service on the Companies' terms. Workmen in several other trades also struck "in sympathy" with the dockers; and efforts that were of no avail were made to organise a general strike and stop all manual work in London by way of intimidating the Companies. Never before

LOWER CASTLE YARD, DUBLIN. *(From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)*

had the country received such a strong object lesson in Socialism, or such a convincing proof that the unskilled workers were beginning to understand and taking action to realise the "solidarity" of labour, skilled or unskilled. Some wharfingers and shipowners, who were unfriendly to the Dock Companies, encouraged the alliance between the Dockers and allied riverside trades, and it was feared that the water-borne traffic of the Port of London would be ruined. Money in support of the strike was liberally contributed by the colonies, notably by Australia. A Committee of Conciliation, consisting of Cardinal Manning, the Lord Mayor, and Mr. Sydney Buxton, after much difficulty, induced both parties to accept an arrangement which

conceded "the Docker's tanner," as the sixpence an hour claimed was called, and penalised the custom of giving irregular and casual employment. Out of this struggle the Dockers' Union emerged powerful and triumphant under the leadership and organisation of Messrs. Mann, Burns and Tillett. The lightermen were equally successful in their dispute with their employers—but the luck of Labour changed when the strike among the stokers at the South Metropolitan Gasworks was decreed. Mr. Livesey, the manager of the company, had offered a bonus on wages to all men who would sign an agreement to serve for a specified time. The Union resenting this as an attempt to weaken its control over its members, organised resistance, and the sympathetic strikes among the coal porters and gasworkers north of the Thames that followed threatened to leave London in darkness at the end of 1889. The music of the bells that rang the old year out, therefore, fell on the ears of a sullen and discontented proletariat.

Abroad the world was at peace—even in Brazil, where the Emperor Dom Pedro, an amiable scientific busybody, was politely but firmly deposed, and a republic proclaimed, the revolution was bloodless. In South Africa the Portuguese raised a claim to the Shiré Valley, a country opened up by Livingstone and peopled by Scottish missionaries and planters, and the aggressive behaviour of Major Serpa Pinto heading a Portuguese Scientific Expedition in this region, caused a controversy between the Portuguese and British Governments.

Two sensational events marked the history of the year—the collapse of the more serious charges brought by the *Times* against Mr. Parnell, and the agitation which grew out of the trial of Mrs. Maybrick, a lady of good family, for poisoning her husband at Liverpool. This case excited the public and the House of Commons, and the convict's importunate friends worried the Home Secretary so persistently on her behalf that it was said his health was impaired. The judge who tried the criminal refused to assist the Home Office with his advice, and the extraordinary course was therefore taken of referring the matter to the Lord Chancellor, who decided that Mrs. Maybrick had given the arsenic to her husband which the analysts detected in fatal quantities in his body, but that it was doubtful if he had really died from the poison. Mrs. Maybrick was therefore saved from the gallows but doomed to penal servitude for life.

On Wednesday, the 27th of February, to the amazement of the country, the only important part of the case against Mr. Parnell which had been pressed by the *Times* broke down. Nobody except politicians took the least interest in the argument that Mr. Parnell must be deemed an assassin because the Land League of which he was one of the leaders had been associated for certain common objects—not necessarily criminal—with revolutionary organisations using criminal methods for the attainment of ends with which the latter were exclusively concerned. Everything that could be known about

this phase of the Home Rule movement had been known not only to Mr. Forster, who had stated that he never believed Mr. Parnell to be implicated in murderous conspiracies, but to Lord Carnarvon and the Tory leaders when they engaged with Mr. Parnell in alliance and intrigue. The facsimile letters said to be written by Mr. Parnell, proving that he was privy to the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, could not, however, have been known to anyone till the *Times* reproduced them, and they therefore contributed the only portion of the case against Mr. Parnell which had not been condoned by the Conservative and Liberal leaders, who had alternately fawned on him for support. It was now clearly proved that Mr. Parnell told the truth when he informed the House of Commons that the letters given in the *Times* were forgeries of his handwriting. The *Times* had bought the papers from one Houston, the son of an old gaoler in a Dublin prison, who had become secretary of an anti-Home Rule Association. It turned out he had obtained them from Richard Pigott, long a trusted leader of the Home Rule party, and editor of the *Irishman*, a newspaper greatly admired by Irish patriots because of its lying libels on England and Englishmen and on everybody connected with the Irish Government. Pigott was one of the obscene creatures of prey who feed on the vanity and credulity of the Irish democracy. Latterly it came to be known that he was a traitor to the Irish cause, and he had an evil reputation in Dublin as a spy, a surreptitious dealer in foul books, and an inveterate blackmailer. When Mr. Parnell prudently bought him out of the *Irishman* newspaper, Pigott came to London and, by proffering for sale secrets of the Irish party, obtained some employment on certain newspapers and other periodicals. There was, therefore, nothing exceptionally stupid in the conduct of the managers of the *Times* who accepted his aid in their attack on Mr. Parnell. But under Sir Charles Russell's cross-examination it was proved he had forged the incriminating letters, for the publication of which both Mr. Walter, the proprietor, and Mr. Macdonald—an able and conscientious man, who was so profoundly affected by the wrong he had unwittingly done that he died soon afterwards of a broken heart—were equally responsible. Sir Richard Webster was blamed not only in the House of Commons, but throughout the country, for persistently acting as advocate for the *Times* and also as adviser of the Government, whose position in the business was one of neutrality. He was condemned, not unfairly, because he apparently knew from the first that the letters had been obtained from Pigott, whom he must have discovered to be an unspeakably disreputable witness if he had made the least inquiry about him in Dublin. Pigott fled to Madrid, where he committed suicide on the 1st of March.

In spring the Queen went to Biarritz, and on the 27th of March met the Queen of Spain at St. Sebastian—the first time a Spanish and British sovereign ever met on Spanish soil. She returned to Windsor on the [illegible]

of April, and on the 6th the Royal Family were again in mourning—on this occasion for the death of the Duchess of Cambridge, at the age of 92, a princess noted for her tenacious vitality and her caustic wit. At Eton on the 18th of May the Queen laid the foundation stone of new school buildings; and on the 4th of June, for the first time she witnessed the procession of boats from Eton to Surly Hall, by which the collegers celebrate the anniversary of her Royal grandfather's birthday. On the 13th of August her Imperial grandson gazetted her as honorary Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Prussian Dragoon Guards, and on the 23rd she visited North Wales, staying at Pate Hall, which had been put at her disposal by Mr. Robertson, the owner. Mr. Gee, Chairman of the Denbighshire County Council, and one of the leaders of the Gladstonian party in Wales, published a letter in the vernacular press urging the Welsh people to hold aloof from all demonstrations of a loyal welcome, because the Tithes Bill was not satisfactory to him. His appeal was without effect, however, for nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which Her Majesty was greeted at Wrexham, Ruabon, and Llangollen, which she visited before going to Scotland.

The death of Mr. Bright on the 27th of March was the only occurrence that seemed to soften the hostility of the Liberal Unionists and Home Rulers. For a moment parties called a truce over the grave of the staunch patriot and popular tribune whose temperament reflected most of the distinctive qualities of English Democracy. His seat in the House had been really vacant long before he "went over to the majority," and his death left Mr. Gladstone the sole survivor of the more illustrious of his comrades in the political strife of the reign. The secret of Mr. Bright's influence and perhaps the clue to his limitations was his unconquerable habit of applying to everything one test—that of moral obligation as he understood it, and then in explaining the result in language vibrating with restrained passion, glowing with hidden fire, but plain, direct, and easily understanded of the people. Abraham Hayward wrote of him, or was said to have written of him, as follows in the *Quarterly Review*: "'Genuine Saxon, by the Soul of Hengist!' was the exulting shout of Cedric on hearing the name of a Saxon knight who had been a victor in the lists. 'Genuine Saxon' will be the exclamation of every critical listener to Mr. Bright. His look, his tone, his choice of words and illustrations, his stubborn independence, his boldness, his pugnacity, are all redolent of race. A Foxite adduced Peel's preference for Latin compounds as an all-sufficient proof of habitual ambiguity. Apply a similar test to Mr. Bright, and no further proof will be needed of his straightforwardness. His diction is drawn exclusively from the wells of English pure and undefiled. Milton and the Bible are his unceasing study. There was a time when it was rare to find him without 'Paradise Lost' in his hand or pocket. The use of Scriptural imagery is a marked feature of his orations, and no imagery can be more appropriately employed.

to illustrate his views; for Mr. Bright, in all his grand efforts, rises above the loaded, unwholesome atmosphere of party politics into the purer air and brighter skies of patriotism and philanthropy." This just and generous tribute is all the more remarkable that it appeared in a Tory

MR. BALFOUR.

(From a Photograph by Lafayette, Dublin.)

organ, in 1872, when Mr. Bright was one of the leaders of a party on which the Conservatives, rendered insolent by unexpected victories at bye-elections, were waging "war to the knife." But he was not a constructive statesman, and as an administrator he was slow and conservative, as became one who believed that the less governments meddled with the people the better. It is as an orator that he will live, for his resonant eloquence kept the democracy of the Victorian period true to the loftiest ethical ideals, and roused statesmen to find remedies for the abuses he denounced.

Social life all over the kingdom was disorganised by one of its minor miseries at the beginning of 1890. Influenza in an epidemic form had been steadily travelling westwards from Russia for about two months, and four days after the New Year began it smote London with some severity. The malady was not so malignant in England as it had been on the Continent, but few escaped from its attacks. Rich and poor, young and old, suffered alike. Schools were decimated; places of business and public offices were crippled by the sudden and simultaneous disablement of large numbers of their workers. Medical men seemed powerless to cope with the disease, which was as merciless to them as to their patients. The controversy as to the real cause and character of the complaint was copious but futile; though there was among medical men a pretty general agreement that it was most effectively treated by drugs that quickly reduced the temperature of the sufferer—the sudden and alarming evolution of animal heat being one of the most characteristic symptoms. The use of quinine and salicin as preventives also became so general that the market-price of these drugs was rapidly enhanced, greatly to the advantage of speculators. Though the epidemic almost monopolised public attention, it increased the death-rate not by its direct fatality but by the ravages which its after-effects produced upon those in whom the power of resisting disease was weak.

It pleased satirical people at the time to say that the nation was also afflicted by a political influenza. This was a mistake. The contending parties in the State were, no doubt, drifting from their anchorages. Their power and prestige were decaying, but the national life was growing more vigorous and wholesome. Outside the arena in which the politicians were fighting for office it was observed that the best minds in the country in every rank of life were becoming preoccupied with the social question. In every class of society the conviction was being formed that a serious attempt must be made to procure for Labour a juster share than it enjoyed of the conquests of Civilisation.

The country was more prosperous than it had been, and rumours of war abroad had ceased. The policy of the Government, whatever might be its defects, was not antipathetic to the new spirit in which social questions were being discussed. It was a policy that was peaceful abroad and mildly progressive at home. It, therefore, did not excite the alarmists on either side; and even in Ireland, where it was least successful, it not only maintained the *status quo* with the *minimum* of friction possible in the circumstances, but was accompanied by a considerable increase in material well-being.

Some progress—more apparent than real—was made with the practical discussion of the Irish Question. Nothing could be more remarkable than the cautious, conciliatory, and statesmanlike tone of Mr. Parnell's speeches after his visit to Hawarden in November. He seemed to be straining the resources of his prestige to moderate the ambitions and hopes of Irish Nationalists. The ideas of those who in England and Scotland had any of their own about

the Irish problem were gradually grouping themselves round three men—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain. Although there were a few Home Rule politicians, like Mr. Asquith, who inclined to a policy of federalism, the great body of the Opposition favoured what they imagined to be Mr. Gladstone's view, that his old Home Rule Bill, (1) modified by the retention and severe curtailment of the Irish representation at Westminster, (2) by the Imperial control of the judicature and armed police for a limited number of years, and (3) by a Land Purchase scheme not involving any practical or serious risk to the English taxpayer, could be revived. The majority of the Tories thought that the *status quo* could be maintained if Ireland were conciliated by schemes for developing her resources, and by a Local Government Bill with stringent provisions to prevent abuse of power on the part of elected local authorities. A third party, consisting of independent thinkers on both sides, was disposed to agree that an Irish Local Government Bill would have to be accompanied by some measure popularising the central and controlling administration at Dublin Castle, so as to render it sensitive to Irish public opinion. Some believed that an Irish Legislative Council might be evolved from the Irish County Councils and urban municipalities. Others fancied that Mr. Chamberlain's scheme for forming Provincial Legislative Councils in Ireland with legislative powers would meet most difficulties, provided that no concessions were made to the Provincial Legislatures which either impaired or diminished the concurrent power of the Imperial Parliament to make laws for and levy taxes in Ireland. An Irish National Parliament, Provincial Parliaments, and elected County Councils thus represented the leading ideas of the politicians who professed to hold the key of the Irish problem. Outside their circle interest in the question was beginning to fade slowly, but surely, and people seemed to have no definite opinion except that "something should be done" to meet Mr. Parnell's views, in the first place, because he had become surprisingly reasonable, and, secondly, because he had been unfairly persecuted and spitefully maligned by the *Times* newspaper on the strength of forged letters uttered by a perjured witness.

Foreign critics marvelled that so much interest and excitement were roused by the dispute with Portugal that it even threatened at one time to make Englishmen ignore the influenza. The truth, however, is, that the question interested the people because it was taken to mean that the Foreign Office would not permit the interests of Britain in Africa to be ignored in any arrangements which Continental Powers might make among themselves—not even though they might be of the rank of France and Germany. The Portuguese had made conventions with these two nations, recognising the sovereignty of Portugal over the belt of Africa between Angola and Mozambique. A group of independent Democratic politicians, Unionists and Home Rulers alike, had a strong feeling in favour of preventing any break in the continuity of the sphere of British influence in Africa, and they protested against the

Portuguese claims. They had the support of Radical Scotland, which had a strong sentimental interest in the lands David Livingstone revealed to the world. Scotland had also planted industrial mission stations in Nyassaland, so that her interests were even more than sentimental. Lord Salisbury had, therefore, powerful allies among the Radicals not only when he resisted the Portuguese claims, but when, patient remonstrance being seen to be futile, he sent an *ultimatum* on January 11th, demanding that all Portuguese forces should be withdrawn from the Shiré Valley and Mashonaland. If this were not done he instructed the British Minister to withdraw with the Legation to H.M.S. *Enchantress*, which was at his disposal at Vigo. At the same time he ordered the British East African Squadron to Mozambique, and sent the Channel Fleet to sea with sealed orders, instructing it to take positions off the Tagus, the Cape de Verd Islands, and the Azores. Portugal, however, complied with the British demands, and in summer concluded a convention with England, withdrawing her claim to the territory that would have separated Nyassaland from the Cape Colony.

The strike among the stokers of the South Metropolitan Gas Company ended in the defeat of the workmen, and an attempt to renew the dock strike, made at Hay's Wharf, failed. Lord Dunraven, representing the younger school of Toryism, at Liverpool and Bermondsey delivered speeches on January 6th and January 9th exhibiting strong sympathy with the demand to limit by legislation the working day to eight hours, while Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden (January 9th) condemned projects for nationalising the land, contending that the best system is the present one under which the soil is owned by "one set of men," and tilled by another. Lord Randolph Churchill spoke in support of Lord Dunraven's views at St. James's Hall (January 10th), and as Mr. Morley and Mr. Labouchere had both discouraged the agitation for an eight hours' day it seemed as if Labour must look more particularly to the left wing of the Tories for sympathy. The representatives of the Miners' Federation further obtained promises of support for the principle of their Eight Hours Bill from Lord Dunraven and Lord Randolph Churchill (February 18th). Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, said he neither "could nor should" pass it. Out of the long series of barren party speeches that followed, the only fresh point noted was Mr. Morley's suggestions at Liverpool (January 31st) for "mending," not "ending," the House of Lords.*

When Parliament met on the 11th of February people were wondering—not what the Queen's Speech would say—but what the report of the Parnell Commission, which was expected every day, would set forth. The Royal Speech

* It could, he said, only be abolished by violence or law. He objected to violence, and the other plan would take too long. Peers, he said, should have the option of abandoning their rights, and getting elected to the House of Commons, and their veto on legislation should only last for a certain time, after which if the Commons passed a Bill twice intact, the veto of the Peers should no longer destroy it.

promised only two measures of primary practical importance—a Land Purchase Bill for Ireland, and a Local Government Bill for Scotland. There were several others in the list; but as it was more than doubtful if they would pass, they did not interest anybody except their special supporters. The game played by the Opposition in the House of Commons was to try to extort from it an expression

MR. GLADSTONE'S STUDY, HAWARDEN CASTLE.

of opinion in favour of Mr. Parnell on the strength of the withdrawal of the forged letters. The Government desired to prevent any expression of opinion whatever till the report on other points in the case was published. Sir William Harcourt moved an amendment to the Address, condemning the *Times* as guilty of breach of privilege. Sir John Gorst met it by a counter-motion declining to treat the publication of the "forged" letters as a breach of privilege; the acceptance of the word "forged" being forced on the Government by Mr. Parnell. As Sir William Harcourt was beaten only by a majority of 260 to 212, it was plain that Mr. Smith, as Leader of the House, had been guilty of a grave error of judgment in not devising some means whereby Government could permit the House to record the general opinion of the people, which was that Mr. Parnell had in this affair at least been ill-used by his opponents. The debate on the Address attracted little attention, because on the 13th of February the

Report of the Parnell Commission was laid before Parliament. It exonerated Mr. Parnell from the only charges brought against him by the *Times* that were of supreme importance. It freed the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party from the charge of direct personal complicity with crime. But it found them guilty of joining a conspiracy to promote their policy by methods which they must have known must lead to violence and outrage. Perhaps public opinion on the Report may fairly well be reflected by saying that the Commission found nothing new in the charges against the Parnellites that were true, and nothing true in those that were new. Long wearisome debates followed. Mr. Gladstone and his friends tried to make Parliament record its satisfaction that Mr. Parnell had obtained a verdict of "Not Proven" on those counts of the indictment which charged them with being directly concerned in committing revolting crimes. The Tories tried to get this pronouncement qualified by a condemnation of the Irish Party for conniving at or inciting to the commission of crimes which they must have known would follow from their methods of agitation. Ministers prudently took the middle course of inviting Parliament merely to adopt the report, without any formal expression of opinion. This ought not to have been objectionable to those who thought that it recorded a triumphant acquittal of the Irish Party, or to those who considered that it branded them as malefactors. As the offences brought home to them were well within the knowledge of the leaders of both parties in Parliament, when in turn they intrigued with Mr. Parnell's representatives for his political support, it would have been only generous to express some satisfaction that politicians with whom they had co-operated in party warfare had cleared themselves from imputations that rendered them unfit to associate with decent men. The Government, however, carried their point after much exasperating debate. In the meantime the Plan of Campaign was enforced on the estates of Mr. Smith-Barry, admittedly an excellent landlord, his offence being that he had helped another landlord, Mr. Ponsonby, to resist the demands of his tenants. Mr. Smith-Barry owned most of the business part of the town of Limerick, and his thriving tenants there had to submit to eviction. The League then built for them some wretched sheds, which they called "New Tipperary," and in these the poor shopkeepers gradually drifted to ruin. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick denounced as wicked the application of "the Plan" to the Massarene Estate, and was in turn denounced by Messrs. John Dillon and William O'Brien. In the autumn a riot was organised on the occasion of Mr. John Morley's visit to the town. Mr. Balfour was undismayed by the extravagance and violence with which the legal proceedings that followed were met, and accordingly when he persisted in prosecuting Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien they broke their bail-bonds and fled to the United States.

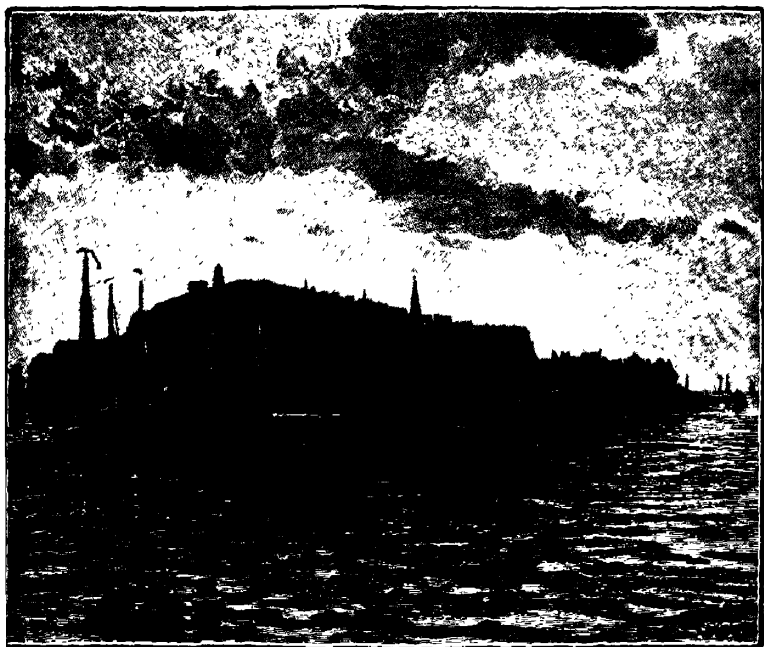
During the first part of the session the Government made no progress

with business. Lord Salisbury, at a meeting in the Carlton Club, implored his followers to assist him in pushing forward an Irish Land Purchase Bill, a Tithes Bill, and a measure for giving free, or, as he called it, assisted education to the people. Accordingly, on the 24th of March, Mr. Balfour introduced the Irish Land Purchase Bill. He proposed that the landlord and tenant should first voluntarily agree upon a price for a farm—not exceeding twenty years' purchase of the net rent.* Supposing this were £100 a year at seventeen years' purchase, a Land Department would buy out the landlord with £1,700 in Government Land Stock bearing 2¾ per cent. interest, and irredeemable for thirty years. For the first five years the tenant would pay 80 per cent. of the existing rent, and for the following forty-four years 70 per cent., after which the land would be his own. The holding could only be sold by the State on default, and, if involuntary, the default was to be met by the Assurance Fund created by the additional 10 per cent. of instalment exacted during the first five years. To conciliate those Radicals who objected to pledge the taxes for the convenience of the landlords, Mr. Balfour provided that when the Assurance Fund was exhausted the Imperial grants for Irish local purposes should be drawn on. If they failed, then one-fifth of the landlord's capital stock could be taken. When capitalised these different securities represented £33,000,000, and that was to be the limit of the State advances. Of course, as the money was repaid it could be lent out again on the same terms. Congested districts were to be put under a Special Board, which might make land purchase compulsory, assist emigration and migration, and develop local resources. Their fund was to consist of £1,500,000 left from the old Irish Fishery Board and the Irish Church Surplus. On the whole the Bill was well received, save by some Liberal critics, who ridiculed its complexity. Though the Irish Nationalists denounced the measure, Mr. Parnell said very little about it. He was believed to be in favour of its principle, but thought, as did Mr. Chamberlain, that local authorities ought to have some control over transactions under it.

The Tithes Bill, read a second time on the 28th of March, made the owner liable for tithe with power to recover it out of the rent if need be, through the County Court, the judge of which might abate it when it exceeded the letting value of the land.

After the Easter holidays came the Budget which Mr. Goschen presented on the 17th of April. His surplus was not so large as had been expected. There had been a saving of £116,000 in expenditure, but the revenue amounted to £3,000,000 more than he had looked for, chiefly because of "the rush to alcohol" which marked the social history of the year. He estimated for the coming year a revenue of £90,406,000, and an expenditure of £86,617,[illegible]. That gave him a probable surplus of £3,788,061 with which he might reduce taxes. Mr. Goschen did nothing heroic with it. He frittered

* Net Rent in Ireland is actual rent, landlord's rates being deducted.

away in small doles for barrack expenditure, volunteer equipment, reduction of ocean postage, the abolition of the duty on gold and silver plate, the reduction of the duty on currants. As for the masses, he sought to please them by taking 2d. a pound off the tea duty—it was not unfair, he said, to "make the tipplers pay for the tea"—and, to ease the burden of "the people who begin to wear a black coat," he reduced the tax on houses

HELIGOLAND.

below a £60 rental. It was necessary to find a source of revenue in place of the ill-fated wheel-and-van tax which he had withdrawn, so as to provide the promised subsidies to local governments. Mr. Goschen, therefore, ceded to them the additional duty he had put on beer and a tax of 6d. a gallon on home and foreign spirits. In England £300,000 of this was to be spent on Police pensions, £350,000 for buying up licences, and the balance for general local purposes. Mr. Goschen failed to please the temperance party by his proposal to suspend the granting of new licences, and it was soon seen that his Local Taxation Bill would be obstructed under popular sanction, because it empowered County Councils to spend part of the new spirit duties in buying up licences. This proposal was the revival of Compensation in disguise.

Business lagged sadly between Easter and Whitsuntide. After five nights' debate the second reading of the Land Purchase Bill was, however, carried on the 1st of May, the sensational speech of the debate being one in which Mr. Parnell abandoned the principle of purchase and put forward a modification of Mr. Shaw Lefevre's scheme for "fining down" rents with the State advances.* The Conservative Unionists would have accepted the

MR. H. M. STANLEY.

principle of this scheme, but their Radical allies challenged it on the ground that the object of the Unionist Party was to pacify Ireland by promoting the extinction of rent, whereas Mr. Parnell's plan perpetuated rent and rendered its payment objectionable, because it would go to mere rent-chargers on the land. After Whitsuntide the indecision of the Ministry seemed to encourage obstruction, and the Opposition invented the process, as Mr. Smith said, "of smothering Bills with instructions to Committee." The

* Mr. Parnell proposed an advance of £27,000,000 to all landlords, on condition they would [illegible] their heaviest encumbrances and reduce rents of all farms under £50 a year by 30 per cent. [illegible] accepted, would have meant that in the nine brief years of his career Mr. Parnell would have [illegible] to cut 50 per cent. off all Irish rents under £50 a year.

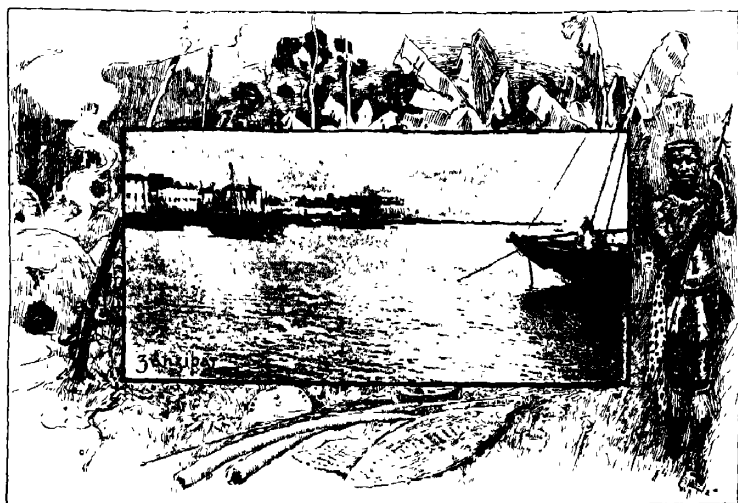
Speaker therefore ruled out all those that were inconsistent with the principle of each measure, and so the Tithes Bill and Local Taxation Bill began to move at last. But all other Bills seemed doomed, and Mr. Smith on the 17th of June accordingly proposed a new Standing Order enabling Bills in Committee to be revived next session at the same stage as that which they had reached when the House was prorogued. Day after day was wasted in barren talk, and finally the Government offered to withdraw the licensing clauses in the Local Taxation Bill—"ear-marking" the taxation it levied, so that it might be appropriated by future legislation. The Speaker, however, ruled that the taxes raised in the session must be disposed of in the Appropriation Bill of the year—the result being that the clauses were withdrawn altogether, and the money applied to relieve rates. The new Standing Order was so bitterly opposed that the Ministry resolved to abandon all their Bills and take them up again unconditionally in an autumn session which was to meet in the last half of November. The Estimates were wrangled over in the usual manner, and the Police Bills, the India Councils Bill, and the Savings Banks Bill were carried after much barren strife. But when Parliament met again in November the whole situation was changed as if by the stroke of a magician.

The verdict in the long-pending divorce case, O'Shea *v.* O'Shea and Parnell, was given on the 13th of November, and it convicted Mr. Parnell—who never offered any explanation of his behaviour—of committing adultery with the wife of Captain O'Shea, a politician whom he had made member for Galway, greatly to the displeasure of his more pious Catholic followers. Nevertheless, the Irish Party held a great meeting in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, at which they bound themselves to adhere to Mr. Parnell as their leader, in spite of what had happened. When Parliament met, therefore, Mr. Parnell was unanimously re-elected "sessional chairman," or leader of the Irish Home Rulers. In the meantime, the Gladstonian Nonconformists insisted that either Mr. Parnell or Home Rule must be thrown over. Mr. Gladstone bowed to the storm. He wrote to Mr. Morley a letter in which he said that if Mr. Parnell continued to lead the Irish Party his own leadership would be "reduced to a nullity." Then disruption overtook the Irish Party, and in the course of the contest between the contending factions in Committee Room No. 15, in the House of Commons, Mr. Parnell revealed what he said was the general drift of Mr. Gladstone's new Home Rule Bill, as communicated to him at Hawarden in November, 1889. He also offered to withdraw from public life if the Home Rule members could extract from Mr. Gladstone a promise that he would give the Irish Parliament control of the police, the magistracy, and the law courts. Mr. Gladstone gave no such promise, and the end was that the majority of the Irish members seceded from the old independent Irish Party, and formed themselves into a Nationalist Party, under the wise

and benignant leadership of Mr. Justin McCarthy. A vacancy now occurred in Kilkenny, and Mr. Parnell exerted himself to defeat Sir John Pope Hennessy, the "anti-Parnellite" candidate, whose election was easily carried by the efforts of the Roman Catholic priests.

While the fight was going on in Committee Room No. 15, a strange, one might almost say a holy, calm had come over the House of Commons, during which ministers put through all the Bills they desired to carry—the Tithes Bill, the Purchase Bill, the Free Education Bill, and the Bills enabling the Irish Government to relieve distress by advancing money for seed potatoes, opening up light railways, and developing local resources in poor districts—with great rapidity. Parliament adjourned till the 22nd of January, 1891.

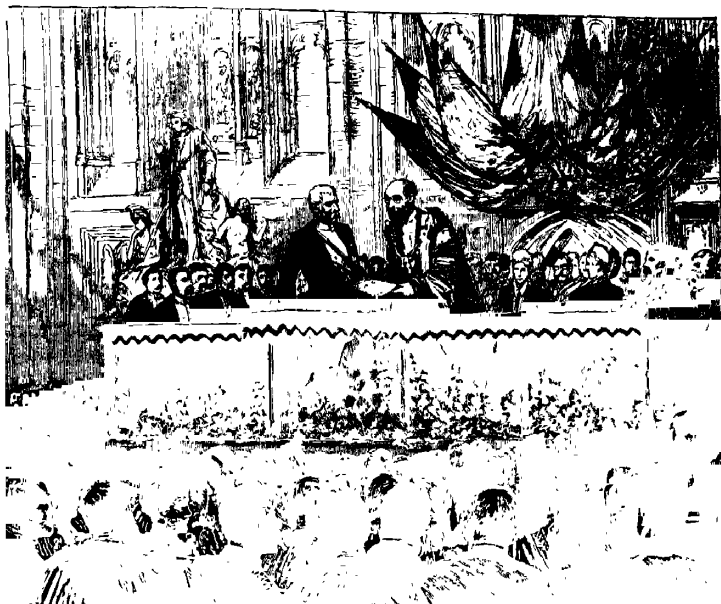
The most striking political event of the time in England was her share in the scramble for Africa. The Portuguese, at the beginning of the year, had recalled Major Serpa Pinto from Nyassaland, and Mr. Stanley had made his way to Zanzibar with Emin Pasha, Egyptian Governor of the Equatorial Provinces, whom he had been sent to rescue. His weary marches and voyages from the mouth of the Congo through the heart of Africa gave him material for a thrilling tale of perilous adventure. But politically his exploration was important because, when passing through the Lake region, where he made important discoveries, he had also negotiated treaties which practically put Uganda and its tributaries under British influence. Uganda is probably the only region in Central Africa worth holding, alike on account of the comparatively civilised character of its people and of its resources, and it was only natural that Germany should covet it. The German Government started a theory that everything behind their coast-frontage was German "Hinterland," and by drawing their boundaries not straight but diagonally to north and south they modestly included in German Africa nearly the whole of the continent that was left to be scrambled for. A draft treaty had been agreed on, some of the provisions of which were in substance revealed by the *Daily Chronicle*, which accused Lord Salisbury of weakly surrendering Uganda—"The Pearl of Africa"—as well as the greater part of Nyassaland to Germany. The addresses of Mr. Stanley—upon whom the freedom of London City had been conferred on the 13th of May, at the Guildhall, before a distinguished assembly—all over England also roused public opinion, and the affair of the Anglo-German agreement hung fire. The attacks of the Radical Unionists again grew stronger, and the result was that a fresh arrangement was made by which Germany surrendered to the British sphere Vitu and the region north of a line drawn through Victoria Nyanza, while Zanzibar was put under a British protectorate. English rights on the Zambesi and in the direction of Nyassaland were also recognised. The German sphere, on the other hand, was to extend from the coast to Lake Tanganyika. On

whole the bargain was such a good one for England that only a few complained that it was purchased by the cession of Heligoland to Germany and the recognition of dubious French rights in Madagascar—France having a just claim as a guarantor of the independence of Zanzibar to veto a British Protectorate over it. Her sphere of influence was still further recognised as extending from Algeria to Lake Tchad and the sources of the Niger. Abroad, the retirement of Prince Bismarck from office and the appointment of General Von Caprivi in his place did not produce any striking effect. The change was accepted by Germany as inevitable when it was seen that

ZANZIBAR.

the young Emperor meant to rule as well as reign, and when the wreck of the National Liberal Party which had kept Prince Bismarck in power rendered political concessions necessary which he refused to make.

The advance to power of that section of the working-classes whose leaders were bent on using the machinery of legislation and administration for bettering their condition was continued, and the indifference with which the feuds of the Irish Parties filled the minds of the people seemed to stimulate interest in social questions. This was indicated by the enthusiasm with which the public hailed a scheme for the reclamation of the lapsed masses, which was put forth by Mr. William Booth, the General of the Salvation Army. But there was woe in the City. The bubble of inflated speculation in South America burst in November, when the great house of Baring collapsed under its liabilities, and would have spread ruin far and wide had

the Bank of England and the leading financial firms, alarmed at the is, come forward to guarantee the settlement of all its obligations under econstruction scheme.

Seldom in the Queen's reign has the country enjoyed a happier New ar than that of 1891. Lord Salisbury's vigilant management of Foreign airs kept away the panics that vexed the nation under former governments. ty politicians were paralysed. People who supported the Administration

MR. STANLEY RECEIVING THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF LONDON AT THE GUILDHALL. (See p. 795.)

nfessed that Mr. Chamberlain's influence had merely obtained for its ser-nts permission to do the good work for the public which they were paid t of the taxes for doing. They had to admit that as no emotional agita-ns were manufactured in populous centres by either of the Irish factions— w devoted to political fratricide—it had been easy to carry on the Queen's vernment quietly and rationally.

When Parliament met on the 22nd of January the Government enjoyed unexpected advantage. The Gladstonian Irish did not oppose their o chief measures—the Irish Land Purchase Bill and the Free Edu-tion Bill. Dread of the Irish peasantry deterred them from opposing the mer and of the Irish priesthood from objecting to the latter, which

gave valuable grants to denominational schools. The Tithes Bill, which had been read a second time in December, obtained Royal Assent before the Easter Holiday. Supplementary estimates were fairly discussed, and private members, who had made a great fuss about the confiscation of their nights by Government in the previous session systematically let the House be counted out time after time on the nights set aside for them.

When Mr. Goschen brought in his Budget on the 23rd of April, he set at rest all doubt as to the prospects of Free Education. He told the House of Commons that the revenue of the year had exceeded his estimate by £1,800,000—an increase of 9 per cent. in the consumption of alcohol in England having swollen his receipts by £900,000.* For the coming year he estimated his expenditure at £88,440,000, but he refused to estimate revenue on the basis of existing taxation at more than £90,430,000, which would give him a surplus of nearly £2,000,000, precisely the amount needed every year to put England on the same footing as Scotland in the matter of Free Elementary Education. But as the school fees would not be abolished till the 1st of September only £1,000,000 would be needed for the schools. Hence he could appropriate £500,000 for building barracks instead of borrowing the money, as had been intended, and the balance enabled him to call in the light gold in circulation without loss to the "last holder." The working classes must have been prosperous during this year, for not only was there an increase in the yield of the spirit duty, but the tobacco duty showed an increase of £450,000, representing 3,000,000 more ounces than had been consumed in the previous year. Allowing twelve pipes to the ounce, the inference was that 36,000,000 more pipes of tobacco had been smoked in 1890–91 than in 1889-90. The income tax again suggested a great increase in the means of the middle-class. Sir Robert Peel reckoned that for every penny it ought to yield £500,000. When Mr. Goschen took office a penny yielded £2,000,000. He now estimated that the yield would be £2,300,000. This was really bad news for the middle-classes, because the loss of £2,300,000 a year that would be incurred every time a penny was cut off, was obviously such a serious one that it was scarcely possible to suppose a Chancellor of the Exchequer would ever venture to cut another penny off the tax—which must accordingly become a fixed impost of 6d. in the £.

The Irish Land Purchase Bill was virtually the same as the Bill that had been stranded in Committee since the 5th of December, 1890. But the Land Commission was made permanent, and the machinery of transfer under the Ashbourne Acts substituted for that in the original measure. Mr. Parnell was the only person who forced any modification of it on the Government. In order to meet his demand that the purchase money "should

* This increase of one million gallons is the largest on record since 1880. On balancing income and expenditure Mr. Goschen had a net surplus of £1,756,000.

be made to go farther," Mr. Balfour agreed that the sum to be lent to each county should be applied in proportion to the number of holdings above and below £30 annual valuation. As the original proposal was to allot the money in proportion to the valuation of the holdings in each class a strong advantage was here gained by the poorer tenantry. A few large and highly-valued holdings could no longer absorb the greater part of the money —leaving a vast number of small holdings out in the cold. Though the Irish landlords were supported by Mr. Gladstone's English and Irish followers in resisting this change in the Bill, it passed through Committee on the 22nd of May. The only concession that Mr. Balfour could be persuaded to make was to raise the limit from £30 to £50. The Lords, however, induced the Commons to accept an amendment to the effect that if the poor tenants did not take up their share in the first year it might be divided among the rich ones.

On the 8th of June the Free Education Bill was introduced by Sir William Hart Dyke. To all schools that chose to take it a grant of ten shillings per pupil in average attendance was offered in lieu of fees. Hence, where the fees were less than the grant the schools would be free. Where they were in excess of the grant they could only be freed at a loss to their managers. In this class of schools managers were allowed to charge fees to meet the deficit, but only up to a defined limit. The grant was offered only for children between the ages of five and fourteen. An attempt was made by Mr. Fowler to alter the Bill by moving an amendment withholding the grant from all schools that did not accept the popular control. His position was curiously illogical. The grant being an Imperial one, the only popular control it carried was obviously that of the Education Office. But the Roman Catholic priests—whose schools by reason of their low fees must gain more than any other by the grants—would not listen to any proposal for subjecting them to the control of elected school boards, and so Mr. Fowler was defeated by a majority of 267 to 166—Mr. Gladstone's Irish supporters deserting the Nonconformist Liberals when the division was taken. The limit of age was extended to include children between three and fourteen, and the Bill passed through its various stages in both Houses of Parliament. A useful Factory Act was passed, an amendment prohibiting the employment of children under eleven years of age being carried against the Home Secretary's opposition by Mr. Buxton. A Public Health Bill for London was the only other important measure of the year that survived.

A vote of censure on Mr. Balfour moved by Mr. Morley was rejected, and the House expunged the resolution of 1880, by which Mr. Bradlaugh had been offensively prohibited from making an affirmation or taking an oath. The grace of this step was enhanced by the circumstance that Mr. Bradlaugh was dying when the resolution was carried, and only lived long enough to hear that justice had been done to him. The session ended on August [illegible]

It had been a quiet, business-like, but sickly session. Many of the leading men had been laid low by illness. Archbishop Magee—the wittiest and most eloquent of Prelates—and Lord Granville, the most polished of political satirists, had passed away. The death of Mr. Gladstone's eldest son had prostrated the Leader of the Opposition, already enfeebled by illness. Mr.

THE MANSION HOUSE, LONDON.

W. H. Smith, the Leader of the House, was also ill, and it was feared he might have to retire from his post. Influenza had left its deadly effects behind it, and at one time the Cabinet had actually been rendered unable to transact business, by sickness traceable to this subtle malady. The only important Parliamentary changes were the succession of Lord Kimberley to Lord Granville's leadership of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and the formal acquiescence of the Opposition in the Commons to the leadership of Sir William Harcourt in Mr. Gladstone's absence. The death of the aged Duke of Devonshire transferred his son and heir, the Marquis of Hartington, to the House of Lords, and the leadership of the Liberal Unionists in the House of Commons was conferred on Mr. Chamberlain.

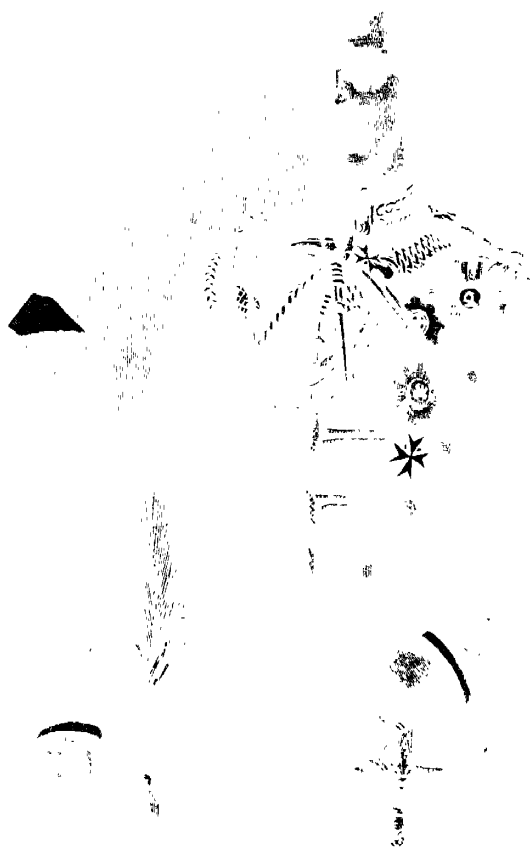
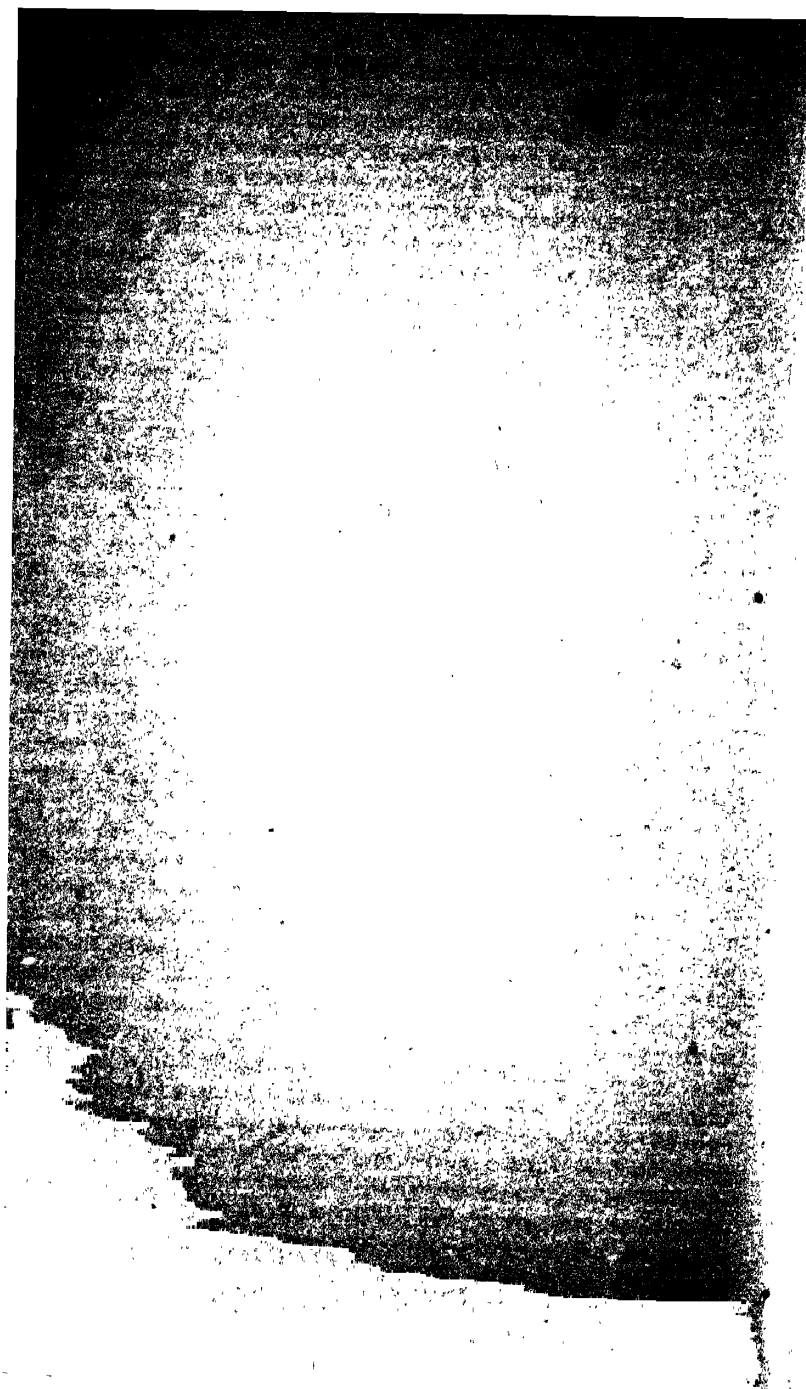
Nothing happened after the session ended to interest politicians till the

National Liberal Federation met at Newcastle and promulgated what Sir William Harcourt called its "multifarious programme." It put Home Rule in the background, but this was afterwards corrected by Mr. Gladstone, who, moreover, adopted with several qualifications the programme of Parish Councils; Small Holdings, which by public subsidies were to make abandoned land in England blossom like the rose; the "mending or ending" of the House of Lords; "one man one vote;" land law reform; taxation of ground-rents; free sale of land; popular veto on licensing public-houses; international arbitration; and extension of the Factory Acts.

When the country was discussing the Newcastle programme the face of affairs was changed by two deaths. Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Parnell both died on the 6th of October. Mr. Smith's death was generally lamented, because he had been a temperate and dutiful leader of the House of Commons. Mr. Balfour was nominated as his successor, and accordingly became First Lord of the Treasury, the Irish Secretaryship being given to Mr. Jackson, a business-like Yorkshireman, who was Financial Secretary to [illegible]asury. He proved himself quite fit to cope with the Irish party when Parliament met. He was always ready with a plain, courteous answer to their questions, and when they tried to terrify him by vituperation he only beamed on them with the kindly smile of an old playgoer at a stale comedy. Very soon the Irish members ceased to rail at Mr. Jackson. He also became popular in Ireland, because of his honest effort to carry out Mr. Balfour's remedial policy in the West. Irish Agrarian Crime had now almost ceased, and the coercive clauses of the Crimes Acts had been put in abeyance, except in some turbulent districts in Clare. The Irish Party were fighting over the possession of their political fund, which had been lodged in the hands of Parisian bankers in the names of trustees who, like Mr. Parnell and Mr. Justin McCarthy, were now in rival camps. In Ireland, however, Mr. Parnell at every bye-election was beaten by the priests. His efforts to hold his ground wore out a constitution that was never robust. It is too soon to speak of Mr. Parnell's character. Next to Pym and Peel he will rank in the history of the House of Commons as its "greatest Parliament man." In so far as he undertook to serve the Irish people three things must be admitted. He enabled the Irishman who was landless to stand up with his back straight in the presence of the Irishman who had land. He transferred about fifty per cent. of the Irish landlords' exorbitant rents to the pockets of the Irish people, who had for centuries scrimped, stinted, and starved to pay them. He had—except when the interests of the Irish party were concerned—invariably thrown his influence in Imperial politics into the scale of democratic progress, with a plain-spoken modesty and sincerity that made Englishmen regret often they could not enlist his statecraft in their own service. But his life remains—till the secret of his private papers [illegible] revealed—an enigma. He was a cold, proud, self-centred man, sugg[illegible]

always Carlyle's "fanatical, sea-green incorruptible republican"—yet with a trace of perfervid genius only held in restraint by the high aristocratic breeding which his bearing and speech usually betrayed. Like Mr. Smith O'Brien, he was the only Irish leader who was a Protestant and devoid of gushing eloquence; like him he was the only one who ever reigned in the hearts of the Irish democracy as an "uncrowned king." In losing him Ireland lost the greatest statesman she has produced in our time. He had exorcised the spirit of Fenianism from Nationalism, and converted one of the great ruling parties of England to Home Rule. That nine-tenths of the Irish people towards the end of his career turned to rend him, at the bidding of the Roman Catholic clergy—to whom, as a Protestant with strong secularist proclivities, he had been obnoxious—was regrettable, but inevitable. Mr. Parnell only shared the common fate of those who in giving their lives to the Irish people have refused to mortgage Ireland to the service of English party government. Cork, which he represented, refused to return Mr. John Redmond—his successor in the leadership of the independent Nationalists. Waterford, however, reversed the verdict of Cork when Mr. Michael Davitt contested the constituency against Mr. Redmond, after the death of Mr. Richard Power had vacated the seat.

The shadow of the impending General Election was over the land throughout the year. The first indication given of the probable defeat of the Government came from London in the autumn. The Conservative Party identified themselves with the candidature of those who sought seats on the London County Council with the intention of paralysing it. The result was that the "Progressive candidates," who were for the most part Liberals, won the fight by a large majority—their success being mainly due to the Labour vote.

Court life was uneventful in 1891. On the 26th of February the Queen and most of her family visited Portsmouth, where she launched the *Royal Sovereign*, the largest ironclad afloat. The Empress Frederick came to her after her unfortunate visit to Paris, where her trip to Versailles gave dire offence, and on the 5th of March they both graced the Horse Show in Islington with their presence. On the 18th her Majesty proceeded to Grasse, returning on the 30th; and on the 17th of May was gratified to learn that the Duchess of Fife had presented her with a great-granddaughter—the first born on English soil. On her way to Balmoral her Majesty laid the foundation stone of the new buildings of the Royal Infirmary at Derby on the 21st of May. An interesting function in which she took part was the marriage of her godchild, Miss Ponsonby, daughter of her old and faithful friend and servant, Sir Henry Ponsonby, at the Guards' Chapel in Wellington Barracks. The arrival of the French Fleet under Admiral Gervais was the sensational event of August, and on the 19th the Queen reviewed the French squadron at Spithead with great pomp and ceremonial dignity.

The new year of 1892 was again clouded by dread of influenza. The epidemic broke out, but in a comparatively mild form, though in some places in the provinces, like Tiverton, Windsor, and Dover, the attack was severe. The death of the Khedive of Egypt in the first week of the year gave rise to some fear that an attempt would be made by France and Russia to induce the Sultan to refuse recognition to Tewfik's son, Abbas Pasha, unless the British troops were withdrawn. This suspicion proved groundless, and popular interest was soon absorbed by two calamities that occurred almost simultaneously—the deaths of Cardinal Manning and the Duke of Clarence and Avondale. This amiable young prince had felt ill after attending the funeral of Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, and was reported to have caught a chill at a shooting party a few days later. Then it was said he had influenza. But symptoms of pneumonia appeared; his strength gave way, and he died on the 14th of January. Popular sympathy went out to the Queen and to his parents without stint, partly because the young Prince had endeared himself to everybody by his simple, modest life, and his manifest devotion to its highest duties. Moreover his betrothal to his cousin, the Princess Victoria of Teck, had only been announced on the 7th of December in the previous year, and in his grave were accordingly buried many high hopes and vaulting dynastic ambitions. On the same day there died in his eighty-fourth year Cardinal Manning, a scholarly and benevolent prince of the Roman Catholic Church, whose mission in life was the sympathetic embodiment by a patriotic Englishman of democratic Roman Catholicism. The Queen was so deeply moved by the universal expression of sympathy which the death of the Duke of Clarence elicited that she addressed a pathetic letter to the people thanking them for their unfailing kindness to her in moments of bereavement.

In February the virulence of the influenza epidemic abated, and interest in politics again awoke. The victory of Mr. Maden, the Gladstonian candidate, at the Rossendale election pointed a likely forecast of the result of the impending General Election. On Tuesday, the 9th of February, the last session of the Twelfth Parliament of the Queen's reign was opened. The Royal speech promised only one Bill of supreme interest—the measure reforming the Local Government of Ireland. This Bill had been postponed on various pretexts for four years. It could be postponed no longer. Objecting to Home Rule as a solution of the Irish problem, Ministers were bound to offer an alternative one. If it were bold and democratic, and if at the same time it protected minorities in Ireland from sectarian oppression whilst it kept the Union intact, it would enable the Coalition to vindicate its existence. But if the Bill failed to satisfy these hopes, it was felt that in a General Election the Government would be defeated, and Mr. Gladstone would again be permitted to take the Irish Question in hand. One other important measure was also mentioned in the Royal Speech, for increasing small agricultural holdings in

England. The debate on the Address was not notable save for Sir William Harcourt's refusal to meet the Parnellite leader's challenge when he asked whether Mr. Gladstone's proposed Irish Parliament would have its legislation reviewed by the Imperial Parliament; Mr. Chamberlain's dashing conbativeness in his first appearance as a party leader; and the demand of the Irish Parnellite members, temperately set forth by Mr. Redmond, that imprisoned dynamitards should be set free.

The death of Mr. Spurgeon, the Pope of the Baptists, on Sunday, the 31st of January, was felt as a national calamity, and diverted the public mind from politics. It took away a polished shaft in the Temple of Protestant Nonconformity, a princely administrator of charity, a statesmanlike organiser, a pastor of unaffected piety, and a preacher representing all that was most powerful and persuasive in the eloquence of the old English Puritan divines.

When Mr. Balfour brought in his Irish Local Government Bill on the 18th of February, experienced observers confidently foretold the course of events. The Government would, they said, have to go to the country on this Bill, and be beaten. It was an admirable cesspayer's bill, and it adapted with unquestionable honesty the system of English and Scottish local government to Ireland. By setting up subordinate bodies corresponding to district councils in Ireland it was even a more democratic measure than the English or Scottish Bills. But its fatal defect, from a Radical Unionist point of view, was its failure to popularise the Central Government of Ireland in Dublin Castle. It left Ireland under the Government of nine "Boards," composed not of representatives of the people, but of Crown nominees. An unfortunate clause also gave power to the Lord-Lieutenant on the petition of twenty ratepayers, and the decision of the judges in their favour, to dissolve a County Council for misconduct. Nobody was ever able to explain why faulty Councils could not be left to the power of the ordinary law.

Mr. Chaplin's Small Holdings Bill was, however, more successful. It allowed County Councils to raise loans not exceeding 1d. a pound on rating, and carrying interest at 3½ per cent., to buy land from people willing to sell it. It authorised the resale of this land in small holdings not exceeding fifty acres in extent. The buyer put down one-fourth of the value, and paid the rest by instalments. The Opposition attacked the Bill because it was not compulsory, but Mr. Chaplin's measure passed into law. There was less interest in politics in spring than one might have expected—the dread of a coal famine, due to the threatened strike of the miners in the North of England, lay heavy on family life, and in London it produced a panic that ran up the price of coal to the poorer classes till it reached £2 a ton. But political life was soon quickened by the triumph of those Radicals in the London County Council Election who had contrived to exploit the Labour vote in the interest of the Liberal party. The growing importance of the Labour vote was the most significant feature of this contest, and it suggested that in a General Election the party that failed to capture it was certain of defeat. The dispute with the United States over the right of Canadian sealers to work in

Behring Sea outside the three-mile limit of Alaskan territory was conducted by Lord Salisbury to friendly arbitration.

On the 11th of April Mr. Goschen introduced what was justly called "a humdrum Budget." With a General Election impending he was disinclined

MR. JOHN BURNS, M.P.

(From a Photograph by Lombardi and Co., Pall Mall East, S.W.)

to make proposals that might involve great changes. On the transactions of the year, partly owing to an expansion of revenue and savings in estimated expenditure, there was a surplus in hand of £1,067,000. Influenza had increased the yield of the death duties. City business had declined, but not to the extent of very seriously depressing the stamp duties, and the returns from Customs were largely in excess of the estimates. For the coming year expenditure was put at £90,253,000, and revenue at £90,477,000, leaving a probable surplus of £224,000. From this Mr. Goschen took £24,000 for a

remission of certain patent duties, thus keeping open an estimated surplus of £200,000. After the Easter holidays the House of Commons was put to the work of dealing with minor measures, but it was clear that legislators were more anxious about "nursing" the constituencies to which they were soon to appeal than about furthering public business. The victory of a Unionist candidate in the North Hackney Election brightened the hopes of Ministerialists, and the zeal of Government on behalf of their Irish Local Government Bill manifestly cooled. Yet to those who were mere onlookers of the political game it seemed as though Lord Salisbury's discouragement of Labour Legislation in a speech he delivered at Hastings was ominous. It was made when the leaders of the Labour Party in the London County Council had with ease carried a resolution forcing all contractors employed by the Council to do their work in accordance with Trade Union rules, and it therefore boded ill for the success of his party at the coming election. The second reading of the Irish Local Government Bill, by a vote of 339 to 247, however, inflamed the sanguine optimism of the Unionists. Mr. Gladstone, in an address to the London Liberal and Radical Union at the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street, made a powerful appeal for the support of all advocates of municipal reform, and then, sick of waiting for its sentence of death, the House of Commons eagerly co-operated with Government in winding up its business so that the dissolution of Parliament might be taken at the end of June. Mr. Chamberlain, in a remarkable speech at Southwark on the 9th of June, made high bid for the Labour vote, and the Irish Nonconformists published a manifesto imploring their co-religionists in England not to vote for a Home Rule Parliament, that would subject them to Catholic persecution. Their great convention in Belfast showed that the resistance of Ulster to any scheme of Home Rule to which it was not a party had been under-estimated by Mr. Gladstone. On the 20th of June Mr. Balfour told the House of Commons that Parliament would be dissolved on the 28th of July, and the country was soon deluged with election addresses.

The conflict of parties at the polls was rougher than usual, and there was a tendency to rowdyism at party meetings which recalled contests of the pre-reform era. In Ireland the fight was unusually savage—the priests taking a share in the battle that was scarcely compatible with the dignity of their office. The leaders on both sides in England endeavoured to confine the issue to Home Rule. Their followers, however, soon found that outside Ireland this question roused less interest than many others affecting the social condition of the masses and the claims of labour. The long pent-up animosity of the peasantry to the squirearchy and the clergy was not assuaged by the conciliatory agrarian legislation of the Government, and it was soon apparent that the strength of the Liberal party lay in the counties. The pollings were unusually heavy all round. The Liberal victory (marked, among other things, by the election of Mr. John Burns for Battersea), though complete, was not absolutely decisive, Mr. Gladstone having a

majority of only 40, including the Nationalist and Parnellite sections of the Irish party. The new Parliament met on the 4th of August, and Ministers resolved to retain office till ejected by formal vote of want of confidence. If they hoped in the course of the debate on the Address to extract from Mr. Gladstone some definite declaration of policy they were mistaken. The whole Opposition combined to support Mr. Asquith's amendment to the Address, and on the 12th of August the Government was defeated by a vote of 350 to 310. Ministers resigned on the 13th, and Mr. Gladstone was, for the fourth time in his career, Premier of England. He created much discontent among inexperienced politicians who imagined that his Cabinet would consist chiefly of representatives of the extreme Radical wing who had fought his battle in the country with unsparing zeal. On the contrary, it was largely composed, as might have been anticipated, of his old and tried colleagues. He himself became First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal. Lord Herschell was Lord Chancellor; Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India and President of the Council; Lord Rosebery, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Lord Ripon, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Asquith, Home Secretary; Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Secretary for War; Lord Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty; Sir William Harcourt, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. John Morley, Irish Secretary; Sir George Trevelyan, Secretary for Scotland; Mr. Mundella, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. Fowler, President of the Local Government Board; Mr. Arnold Morley, Postmaster-General; Mr. Arthur Acland, Vice-President of the Council; Mr. James Bryce, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Chief Commissioner of Works. This was considered, on the whole, a very strong combination of talent. Lord Houghton was Lord-Lieutenant for Ireland.

At the beginning of the year great interest was roused in Court circles by the announcement that the Queen in her annual trip to the land of flowers would visit Costabelle. This naturally brought to the front the district of Hyères, comparatively little known to English birds of passage in the Riviera. That it is nearer London by a hundred miles than Mentone was an advantage not to be overlooked. Her Majesty succeeded in renting two hotels, situated on a hill from which the eye can roam over a magnificent view undazed by the too near glare reflected from the sea. The death of her nephew, Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, on the 31st of December, caused much grief to the Royal Family—for the Prince, better known as Count Gleichen, was an amiable person who had devoted himself to sculpture with fair success after retiring from honourable service in the Royal Navy. Another death interfered with the Queen's plans in the spring when the Grand Duke of Hesse—husband of the Princess Alice—passed away on the 13th of March. This delayed the migration of the Court from Windsor to Hyères. On the 19th, however, the Queen started from Portsmouth for the South of France, and found on her arrival at Hyères that the local authorities had made every conceivable arrangement for her comfort, spending £1,000 on new roads and decorations alone. President Carnot's kind and sympathetic

telegram of welcome was waiting her, and her reply to it expressed in graceful and simple words her gratitude for the tact and kindness with which the people on her journey had respected her desire for the privacy needful to her after so many cruel bereavements. A veteran of Trafalgar, M. Cartigny, died at the time in Hyères, and the Queen ordered Sir Henry Ponsonby to attend his funeral as her representative and sent Mr. Childers as pall-bearer—a graceful courtesy which was highly pleasing to the chivalrous people of France. Residence at Hyères soon effected a marked improvement in the Queen's health and spirits, and she drove and walked about the country with the Princess Beatrice, and even made sketches of the scenery, renewing her practice of an old and favourite amusement. Three Crimean veterans were received by her and went away delighted by her kindliness. Her gratitude for the courtesy which she met at all hands was substantially testified by a munificent donation to endow four new beds in the local hospital. She visited Toulon, and had a charming reception there. They toasted her health with great enthusiasm on every available opportunity at public banquets in the locality, and the Princess Beatrice was loaded with presents on her birthday, some of them being most curiously artistic and original in design. This delightful visit ended on the 25th of April, when the Queen went to Darmstadt, where she met amongst others the German Empress Frederick. On the 3rd of May her Majesty was home again at Windsor, and on the 20th, with the Princess Louise and Princess Beatrice and her children, she migrated to Balmoral. On the 24th she celebrated her seventy-fourth birthday, and among the honours that were distributed was a peerage conferred on Prince George of Wales, who became Duke of York, Earl of Inverness, and Baron Killarney. On the 22nd of June the Queen returned to Windsor, in view of the approaching dissolution of Parliament. On the 27th she laid the foundation of a new church at Aldershot, and afterwards reviewed a march past of the troops. Life at Court was brightened by a visit from the young Duke d'Aosta, heir to the Crown of Italy. Clarence House, however, now became a centre of social interest, because of the betrothal of the Duke of Edinburgh's daughter, the Princess Marie, to Prince Ferdinand of Roumania. This led to a visit from the King and Prince of Hohenzollern, and many other quiet festivities in the Royal circle. Their visit was followed by one from His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda and his family, to whom her Majesty gave a particularly gracious reception. But the most distinguished of all her Majesty's guests this year was the young German Emperor, who came to Cowes for the yachting season, entering his cutter the *Meteor* for many races.

With the appointment of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry on the 18th of August the record of England and the Court during the Queen's Twelfth Parliament may fitly come to an end.

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